CONFLICTING IDEOLOGIES ON TERRORISM: A CORPUS-BASED LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF PAKISTANI AND INDIAN ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS' EDITORIALS

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Candidate of **<u>Doctorate of Philosophy</u>** at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis **Conflicting Ideologies on Terrorism: A Corpus- Based Linguistic Analysis of Pakistani and Indian English Newspapers' Editorials** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of PhD degree, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

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ABSTRACT

Discourses produced in the print media often implicitly represent worldviews that aim to ideologically influence their readers. This research study, therefore, aimed to investigate the conflicting ideologies that are portrayed and propagated in the discourses produced in the print media of Pakistan and India. Specifically, it aimed to inquire into the manner and matter in which the selected editorials of the Pakistani newspaper *The News International* and the Indian newspaper the *Times of India* present their own and each other's countries in relation to terror-related incidents in the subcontinent. Taking theoretical and analytical insights from van Dijk's Ideological Square Model and Jackson's Critical Terrorism Studies, a corpus-based discourse analysis of selected editorials from the two leading newspapers was carried out by following a mixed methods research design. The analysis attempted to find significance and meaning in discourses through the comparison and contrast of the representation of the terror-related events taking place in the two countries. The results of the study revealed that editorials of both the newspaper frame their readers as ideologically different social groups with the implicit purpose to widen the two countries' enmity, show political dominance, and label each other terrorists. Additionally, it was found that the discourses in both the newspapers construct and distribute linguistically conflicting narratives to inculcate the desired ideologies in readers. Through the use of keywords, collocations, pronouns, and binomials, positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is projected. Also, lexical items, propositions, presuppositions, implications, and semantic moves are employed to highlight the Us and Them ideology. The study has implications for discourses produced in the print media, and calls for harmonizing the current ideological conflict between Pakistan and India to maintain peace in the two countries.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Corpus Linguistics, Ideology, Terrorism, Critical Terrorism

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my Family

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

The notion of ideology denotes a system of beliefs, especially political ones, on which a nation, community and people base and construct their ideological formation. In such system of beliefs, people are made to believe that their actions are positive and the actions of the others are negative (van Dijk, 1996). One obvious example of this phenomenon is the case of Pakistan and India who, because of their strong political rivalry, use different sources of electronic and print media in order to voice their opposing political ideologies at national as well as international level (Riaz, Shah, & Ahmad 2018). Thus, the aim of this study is to highlight the discourses that voice conflicting ideologies in the newspaper editorials selected from Pakistan and India. This introductory chapter provides an overview of the major themes, concepts and constructs related to the focus of this study, before delving into the particular research problem and questions.

1.1.1 Language and Discourse

Language is integral to human existence. It is an important tool through which institutions build social reality that structures their social transactions, maintains their social relationships, and expresses their political goals (Mumby & Clair, 1997). Our thoughts, feelings, emotions are mainly expressed through the medium of language. Language is not a fixed or unitary phenomenon; rather, it is a dynamic process. Language, in other words, is not used in chunks; it includes stretches of longer communication, which we may refer to as discourse episodes. Discourse, thus, is regarded as the totality of organized language to transmit meaning (van Leeuwan, 1993). In codification of language, the meaning intended to be transmitted may be related to any domain of human interaction. Discourses, whether written or spoken, are influenced by religious, economic, cultural, social, and political issues within a society (Bakhtin, 1981). Context, particularly the sociopolitical one, plays a pivotal role in understanding the nature of political discourse.

Such discourses might adopt a written or a spoken form where religion, politics, economics and cultural /social issues provide a context for them. A critical evaluation of such discourses opens a window for critical discourse analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is grounded in adopting an interdisciplinary outlook for the study of text and talk (discourse) that considers language as a kind of social practice (van Dijk, 1993). The practitioners of the field of CDA commonly opine that the linguistic practice and the social (non-linguistic) practice create one another, and both concentrate on exploring the ways in which the power relations in a society are (re)produced and (re)enforced through the use of language (Fairclough, 1992). In this regard, it is generally argued that CDA is different from simple Discourse Analysis in the sense that CDA helps us decipher the issues of power abuse, exploitation, manipulation, and economy-/power-related structural inequalities that exist in different segments of society, such as politics and media (van Dijk, 1998). Further, such critical issues in a system or social structure are controlled through unseen powers, as indicated by Foucault (1972).

Language is used as a manipulative tool in order to get things done, so much so that the readers might not be aware of the ideological mechanism that is at work in the fabric of a particular text. This is how ideologies are constructed and shaped through the texts. Therefore, language is deemed to have a significant value for it can be used a manipulative tool in shaping the discourses. Therefore, there is no single or unitary ideology, but ideologies.

1.1.2 Discourse and Ideology

Simply defined, ideology means "construction of realities which are built into various dimensions of social practice" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87I). Ideology plays an integral role in construing and constructing the intended reality (van Dijk, 1996). In cases where a particular type of discourse, such as political discourse, is centrally controlled by a single ideological power, the intended reality is portrayed in a manner which indicates a reflection of the views held by the general public (van Dijk, 2008). Ideological formation is thus a systematic process, wherein people and polities start believing their collective actions to be the right ones and the opposite actions as wrong ones (van Dijk, 2012). This entails that ideologically influenced public gets convinced that their beliefs and behaviors

are far better than those of the rest of the polities or nations (van Dijk, 1996). Ideology, as indicated earlier, gets expressed through language and discourse.

Discourse acts as a platform for the achievement of ideological objectives. Specific ideological structures are initiated, realized, and maintained through discourse to influence perspectives and thought structures (van Dijk, 2012). The role of discourse is integral for the processes of ideological formation, circulation and modification (van Dijk, 1996). Gramsci's views in this regard are also noteworthy. Gramsci (1971) bases his work on the argument that ideology is maintained through the usage of language in different organizations, institutions, life activities as well as in groups to which people belong. He therefore emphasizes the supremacy of ideology at the heart of language and politics.

Ideologies are woven into the fabric of discourse through the use of linguistic forms, categories, symbols and structures in a way where common people accept the intended realities to be true (van Dijk, 1998). Ideologies are expressed through discourses and they transform the attitudes and behaviors of the common masses without their explicit knowledge (Pearce, 2009). Therefore, an attempt has been made to study the newspapers' editorial in order to investigate the linguistic pattern of conflicting ideologies of Pakistan and India by using corpus-based analysis.

1.1.3 Discourse and Corpus

Corpus linguistics is grounded in systematic analysis of the study of language in the form of corpora of real-world text (Stubbs, 1996). The field of corpus linguistics offers a more reliable language analysis with minimal subjective, instrumental, or experimental interference (Biber, 2012). The findings from corpus analysis are therefore more generalizable and valid than is otherwise possible in qualitative analysis. Studies in corpus linguistics mainly follow two kinds of approaches: Corpus-driven or Corpus-based approaches. In corpus-driven approaches, no prior assumptions or expectations are set for analyzing linguistic phenomena (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001). The conclusions that are drawn or the claims that are proffered in corpus-driven studies merely relate to the corpus under study; they cannot be generalized to give a larger and comprehensive picture of the phenomenon under study (Biber, 2012). Corpus-based studies, on the other hand, take a specific theoretical orientation to the data and attempt to verify the theory through

quantification as well as to draw on excerpts that work as a sample for the data (Biber, 2012). Therefore, such a corpus acts as material that could support auxiliary information. Defining corpus-based studies, Tognini-Bonelli (2001) states:

> In this regard, the evidence of corpus is taken as an extra bonus rather a determining factor in regard to analysis that is still taken into consideration according to the pre-existing categories despite the fact that it is used to refine such categories, however, it is never in a position to challenge them in this regard because there is no such evidence that they arise from the data. (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001. p 66)

As is evident, in corpus-based studies the corpus acts as a facilitating rather than a determining factor. This approach substantiates the role of qualitative analysis in addition to the quantitative analysis afforded by corpus linguistics. Corpus-based studies are, therefore, particularly relevant to discourse analysis. Thus, I have used corpus-based analysis along with qualitative analysis to find out the conflicting ideologies in the selected editorial texts.

This is where the importance of corpus for discourse analysis becomes integral. A mixed methods approach allows a researcher to first quantitatively explore the data through the corpus of discourse episodes that are generated for a particular purpose. A systematic analysis of the generated corpus facilitates in not only bringing reliability and validity to discourse analysis, but also ensures that the findings are objective and generalizable (Baker & McEnery, 2015). A quantitative linguistic analysis in terms of keywords, binomials, collocations, etc. renders clear indications about the markedness of discourse, the agents that are implicated, and the importance of each agent (Baker, 2010). Corpus analysis of discourse therefore helps generate keyness in a text. Keyness could be defined as the statistical significance of words/phrases in the corpus under study in relation to a specialized corpus (Baker et al., 2008). The use of corpus is particularly relevant to media discourse (Taylor, 2014). A quantitative linguistic analysis of electronically-stored media texts facilitates an understanding of the major themes that emerge from the qualitative analysis of media discourse.

1.1.4 Media and Discourse

Media, both electronic and print, has an enormous influence on the lives of people around the world. It also has an overriding influence on what people wear, both physically and mentally. Media has started controlling the minds of the masses in a way where people have become a slave to the ideologies that are propagated through the various media platforms (van Dijk, 1996). To take the courtesy of an example, let us consider that traditional media may be distinguished from the modern one; traditional media is actually an expansion of the human body, however, the new media is an expansion of the human nervous system (McLuhan, 1962). Regardless of the new innovations in media, the traditional print media still holds a wider readership, especially in third world countries such as Pakistan and India. Printed newspapers are widely circulated in both public and private places. In this way, the news and analysis reach out to a wider audience in the shape of those who may not be technology-literate. This also means that print media has a wider scope of influence over mass readership than the electronic media. This was one of the main reasons why print media discourse was focused in this study.

The cultures and polities of today are largely constructed around media projections. In fact, media shapes the very culture people inhabit (van Dijk, 1998). Media has a powerful effect on the minds of people, in the process shaping their cognitions. Since media is a powerful social system, it plays a vital role in shaping the sense of reality of social actors (Gergen, 1999). Moreover, we cannot ignore the role of media because it carries a significant value in terms of promoting a particular ideology of a particular group. It is thus media which creates and circulates reality – a reality which could be construed as intended reality (van Dijk, 1996). This intended reality is loaded with sociopolitical, geostrategic, and socioeconomic bias.

Take the example of terrorism. The formation of the reality of terrorism was construed by media in a way where it assigned attributes such as 'terrorist', 'extremist', etc. in an ideologically influenced manner (van Dijk, 2013). It was in this context that the incident of 9/11 and the subsequent events were presented in a manner which convinced the American public that their lives would be in danger until the scourge of terrorism was eliminated. Therefore, media was employed as a vehicle for propagating narratives that

shape discourses of conflicting ideologies (Theodosia, 2005). Thus media played a significant role in bringing people to ideological conflict between Pakistan and India. The purpose of doing so was to show one as positive and the other as negative. Such ideological conflicts were widely circulated and propagated in both print and electronic media. This study focuses on print media to explore how it promotes ideological conflicts between Pakistan and India.

1.1.5 Background to the Conflict

According to the Centre for Preventive Action (2022), territorial conflicts regarding the region of Kashmir resulted in major wars between India and Pakistan in 1947 and 1965 and a less destructive war in 1999. Though the two countries have made an agreement of ceasefire since 2003, they frequently involve their soldiers in fire across the disputed boarders, called the Line of Control (LOC). Both the countries put the blame of not observing the ceasefire on the other country and make excuses for shooting as self-defense against attacks from the other side.

Thus, these wars and political rivalry have turned the place to a war-like zone. The problem gets graver in the sense that not only these countries are political rivals to each other but this political, religious and cultural rivalry can further be seen in attitudes of the people, customs and even foods. This leads to another significant problem that is formation of in-group and out-group (van Dijk, 1996). The role of media and newspapers cannot be ignored in sharpening and promoting such politically rival ideologies of these two nations. The language of media has always played a vital role in pushing these two countries in political turmoil and instability so much so that both of the countries acquired atomic weapons, which makes the zone particularly vulnerable (Ugarriza, 2008). According to the census of 2018, India comprises a population of 1.353 billion people, whereas Pakistan is home to 212.2 million people (United Nations Population Fund, 2020). These statistics represent that almost one-third of the world's population live under a constant threat of nuclear war and are always on the edge of destruction because of the hostile attitudes of both countries. As I mentioned earlier, both Pakistan and India have fought wars in the past with severe political hostility which can still often be seen in surgical strikes upon each

other. Such rivals' attitudes and behaviors have resulted in instability of the zone and can anytime lead to war between Pakistan and India.

South Asian Terrorism Portal (SATP, 2012) gives an interesting analysis on the situation that emerged in the subcontinent during the war on terror. It claims that the invasion of Afghanistan by the USA in alliance with the NATO forces under the banner of 'war on terror' and the consequent labeling of Taliban and Muslims as terrorists provided an opportunity for both India and Pakistan for seeking their vested political interests and objectives. Pakistan, being an ally with the USA and a front-line state against terrorism in the region suffered huge losses both of precious human lives and economy. India, on the other hand, had to bear with the resistance posed by the Islamic organizations fighting to win their freedom from the Indian occupation in Jammu and Kashmir, the region that both Pakistan and India claim is their territory. Pakistan is blamed for financing, facilitating and offering safe havens to the groups and organizations of the Islamic Mujahidin that fight the Indian forces in the occupied Jammu and Kashmir. The organizations carried out their attacks on Indian forces in Jammu and Kashmir as well as slowly extended their activities to the other areas in India (Markey, 2010). SATP (2012) further claims that the arrival of the American and NATO forces in Afghanistan on the mission to root out terrorism from the region offered yet another chance to the two countries to advance their national and political interest. The Indian side, in particular, made the best out of this opportunity knocking at the door and did not waste time to capitalize on the 'war on terror' rhetoric. They labeled Islamic Mujahidin as terrorists as per the powerful narrative constructed already by the USA to bring those to justice who were involved in the attacks on the US soil. The Indians took advantage of the opportunity offered in downplaying the indigenous movement that sought for freedom and self-determination in labeling them as Islamic terrorists to the world community.

The terror attacks carried out against the American soil on 11th September 2001 marked the most defining moment for the significant changes insofar as the world view on political, economic, religious and demographic perspectives is concerned (Rabasa et al., 2009). The changes became responsible in segregating the world communities on the basis of 'Us' and 'Them' (van Dijk, 1998), for instance, Pro-Taliban and Anti-Taliban, Pro-

Americans and Anti-Americans. Therefore, the divide served in branding an individual as either a terrorist or fighting against terrorism. In response to the attacks, George Bush, the then President of the USA, drew a clear line of action for the world communities: either be one of 'Us' as friends/allies or stand against 'Us' and become one of 'Them'. Within this binary construction, the world communities had no other choice but to support America-led War on Terror. Those who either disagreed with American policy or did not think it appropriate to support were subjected to severe embargos and international sanctions, and were deemed by America as a "hostile regime" (George Bush's address to a joint session of Congress and the American people (CNN, 2001). America was quick to jump to the conclusion in defining/branding/labelling or ghettoizing Islam and Muslims and, that too, without any investigation. Branding an Islamic group Al Qaeda with its leader, Osama Bin Laden as a terrorist and the mastermind behind the attacks who was staying in Afghanistan under the Taliban auspices, the USA invaded Afghanistan on 7th October 2001 with her western allies not only to root out terrorism and to serve justice but also to punish Afghanistan as a rogue/'hostile regime'. Thus, the speech by the American President helped pave way for addition and furtherance to the existing realities and narratives and in successfully dealing with the identarian issues (Rabasa et al., 2009). It is on the basis of the speech that the formation of two blocks was made possible. Islam and Muslims around the world in general were seen being suspected as a potential threat on the basis of a minority radical and extremist group. It also paved way for terrorism to be freely and conveniently associated with Islam and Muslims. Al Qaeda and its leader Osama Bin Laden represented a tiny minority of radicals and extremists with Islamic names and organizations; however, due to the president's speech made on the occasion significantly changed the social reality (identity) for Islam and Muslims around the world whose identity was now increasingly associated with terrorism and extremism. Terrorism, extremism and violence had no particular shape, association or identity before; nonetheless, the US president's speech successfully portrayed Islam and Muslim identity in a particular shape thereby changing western peoples' perception around the globe about Islam and Muslims who now came to see or associate terrorism with Islam (Rabasa et al., 2009).

Due to its close proximity with Afghanistan both in terms of sharing borders and religion, Pakistan could not afford to keep itself detached from the developments in

Afghanistan in the aftermath of the invasion. Other than being neighbors, Pakistan and Afghanistan enjoy brotherly relations, share a common culture, practice the same religion and common interest. When Afghanistan was attacked by the US and its allies, fierce protests against it erupted all over Pakistan and in support of Afghanistan. This, however, exacerbated and added troubles to the already troubled Pakistan. While the masses in Pakistan supported Afghanistan and its people, the government of Pakistan remained largely silent about the events in Afghanistan. As a result, two fiercely opposite groups came into existence in Pakistan; this disintegration, segregation or division brought miseries for the country in many folds only to add to the rampant existing issues in the country. This also helped in changing the world view about Taliban (Raj & Rohini, 2014). The Taliban ruled Afghanistan and remained a unified force. However, division in view made them into either supporting or opposing the Pakistani government. The pro-state Taliban helped the state in achieving its agenda while the anti-state Taliban launched large scale attacks, bomb blasts, and suicide bombings against the government installations, organizations, forces, employees, and educational institutions (Raj & Rohini, 2014). Pakistan had to suffer the loss of 80,000 or more lives of its citizens while the violent spree left millions injured, mutilated or severely handicapped for life along with rampant psychological issues to grapple with (The Express Tribune, 2015). The relevance of the suicide attacks carried out on Pakistani soil against its citizens, for the researcher, is of paramount importance and quite apt in comparison to the attacks carried out against India.

For the current research study, however, the time chosen is from 2008 to 2016. The selection of the era is purely based on the fact that it coincides with the most important events that shaped the face of the history forever for South Asia in the context of terrorism and the coinage of the word. The period of time, 2008-2016, is of paramount importance as it saw the most heinous terrorist attacks carried out against the two countries that inflicted huge losses over Pakistan and India. One such instance of a terrorist activity was witnessed in Mumbai in 2008 that caused to sever links of any kind between the two neighboring countries. Other instances from the era are the attack carried out in Uri and Pathankot against Indian organizations and the state (Markey, 2010). In the same vein, a surge of terrorist attacks were carried out in Pakistan against different state organizations, personalities and installations, mosques and public gatherings because Pakistan and India

have been involved in outstanding conflicts and have been constantly trying to redefine and reshape realties and narratives since their inception (Takagi, 2009). Attack in Peshawar on Army Public School in 2014 is one such instance of a large number of attacks carried out by the terrorists. It is the terrorism and terrorist activities carried out during the time period in both the countries that the study undertakes to evaluate. The large body of text produced during this time period is highly important for us to study as the text either supports or goes against Pakistan or India. Yousaf, Elahi and Adnan (2018) viewed that it is through newspapers discourse that India and Pakistan sought to accomplish their vested political, strategic and economic goals. In order for this to happen, it is through a vibrant and constant flow of narrative building and the formation of new and intended realities that a state likes to propagate certain ideological conflicts to gain the support of their social groups, international groups and to render the issue of terrorism vaguer a concept. Thus, the discourses circulated through newspapers on daily basis among the masses are meant to develop a certain ideological standpoint (van Dijk, 1996). For this purpose, both electronic and print media in India and Pakistan were brought to serve the cause so as to spread their particular ideological standpoint as well as to maintain what the masses should think. Keeping the importance of the print media in mind due to its wider reach to the common populace, both Pakistan and India made use of print media to shape and reshape the intended realities and flow of narratives (Yousaf, Elahi, & Adnan, 2018). None other than print media could offer a better platform for such ideological construction (Phelan & Dahlberg, 2011). Therefore, both the countries heavily invested their time and resources by bringing the media discourses aligned with the issue of terrorism during the time period. It was in a revivalist spirit that the conflicts between the two nations were given a new mode by adding terrorism to its list.

Pakistan and India are two strong South Asian nuclear powers that dominate the region. Being neighboring countries, Pakistan and India have been engaged in longstanding direct conflicts. Two main conflicts have been ruining their chances for a harmonious co-existence since very long: ideological and territorial. Instead of resolving the conflicts peacefully, the two countries have been striving to prolong the life of these conflicts. Though the 9/11 terrorist attacks have redefined and rebranded terrorism into altogether different contexts and dynamics, Pakistan and India have missed the opportunity to settle

down the pattern of accusations of terrorist activities that they level against each other (Gibson & Hanna, 1992). It is partly due to the fact that Pakistan is dominated largely by radical Islamists while India is dominated by radical Hindus (Gibson & Hanna, 1992). Consequently, the US-led war on terror provided the two countries with an opportunity to use proxies in Afghanistan against each other. It was through the proxies that they tried to accomplish their political goals in South Asia (Gibson & Hanna, 1992). SATP (2012) deliberates on how both the countries, Pakistan and India, tried to use the post-9/11 'global war against terrorism' so as to serve their individual national interest; therefore, the case that India has been making in the context of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), for instance, is one where India deems it their right to not only defend Kashmir of the foreign intervention but also to chase them out to their places of origin to eliminate terrorism (SATP, 2012). Capitalizing on the terror discourse, India presents its efforts as actions put in place to avoid 'cross-border terrorism'. India has not been quite happy about the double standards followed in the discourse on terrorism on global level while treating terrorism in J&K a mere regional issue with no largely looming threat to any one at all. As a result, India not only wanted the USA but also the western world to declare Pakistan as a terrorist state that facilities terrorist sanctuaries and training camps, although the facts on ground may be different.

Raj and Rohini (2014) believe that the most serious issues, for instance, terrorism and talibanization, have not only been endangering the existence of the world communities at global level but also have serious consequences for Pakistan. Pakistan is perhaps the most affected country after Afghanistan that suffered the ravages of war on terror. The war that the US brought to Afghanistan spread rapidly to the bordering areas of Pakistan, into the erstwhile FATA region (now a part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and into even the settled and secured areas that were previously considered impenetrable. Its impact was even noticed strongly spreading to India. The war that was supposed to have been fought in Afghanistan could not be contained. This spread in terrorism around the region added to the already strained relationship between the two bordering countries, Pakistan and India. In this context, editorials offer an avenue and an opening to act as the voice of the states in dealing and furthering its policies and intended realities.
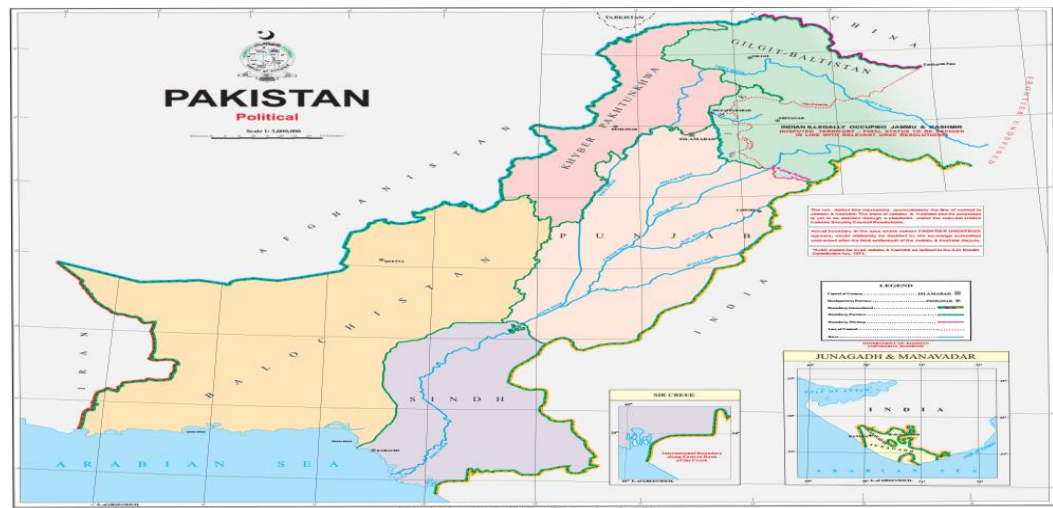
Figure 1 **Map of Pakistan with Disputed Territory of Kashmir (www.nationsonline.org)**

Despite the fact that critics attribute the issue of Kashmir as a main factor of political rivalry between Pakistan and India, the two countries have many times engaged in other political disputes as well such as water and air space. These two countries even conspired proxy wars on regional issues; they fought wars of words on international platforms; and they fought wars through their language either on political platforms or in talk shows and newspapers (Lee, 2011). Thus, both Pakistan and India have been using print and electronic media as a manipulative tool for voicing their ideological narrative.

According to Khan (2013), Pakistan and India have been indulged in direct war in the past along with various types of disputes including proxy wars and water disputes from time to time. Currently, the proxy war is dragged into the war against terrorism in Afghanistan because now both Delhi and Islamabad are facing each other in Afghanistan where the US and NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) troops also reside in the region since 2001. This sort of confrontation is further supported by the national as well as international communities. Here media is at play as both Pakistan and India have been using media as a manipulative tool for shaping the opinion of national and international

communities. Moreover, promotion of respective ideologies requires language – a manipulative tool – in order to shape beliefs of the public. Thus, newspaper editorials are designed linguistically in such a way where self is represented as positive and other is portrayed as negative (Shabir et al., 2014). This special usage of language serves the purpose of bringing ideological conflicts into play and thus convinces the in-group members that their actions are good and that the actions of their out-group members are bad and wrong. Therefore, such usage of language in newspaper editorials needs to be investigated critically in order to see representation of ideologies.

1.1.6 Portrayal of Indo-Pak Conflicting Ideologies in Editorials

Newspaper editor maps the mind of the readers as much as s/he becomes famous among the readers (van Dijk, 1996). He/she, in turn, starts exercising greater control over the thought patterns of his/her readers and thus makes the readers open to receive and believe in what the writer has to say in no time and space (van Dijk, 1998). Editorials written in newspapers in Pakistan and India have the same influence when it comes to shaping the readers' thoughts and ideological construction. Readers from the two countries are more receptive to the editorials that make use of emotional intensity in its style of composition. Similarly, such editors enjoy great command over the readers for their readiness to believe in whatever the editor has to say about a particular point of view and successfully draws the desired effects from his/her readers. In order for this to happen, the editors make use of certain linguistic nuances through which the language is shaped in an appealing manner for the readers so as to convince/wheedle them into thinking in line with the policies, realities and political narratives (van Dijk, 1996).

The way the editors accomplish their task is to either appreciate or depreciate an idea, or elaborate on it (van Dijk, 1996). The elements that editorials set in motion are significantly important elements of an ideology. Consequently, editorials assumed an important role in defining the relationship between Pakistan and India in the context of the ideological perspectives that ultimately influence the readers to either support or oppose any such perspectives: the divide of 'Us' and 'Them' becomes even clearer here. It is no more about the effort to peaceful and harmonious co-existence but is about the division created in either being right or wrong. Hence, the role of editors is to provoke readers to

act in certain manner. This makes it evident that editorials writers' role is to have the spark to either persuade or dissuade readers. To persuade is to convince readers into thinking from a particular perspective in a more symbolic manner without making them to realize that they are being pushed towards a preconceived understanding. The editors must be more suggestive while the readers should be open to receive the editorials without being openly told about it. Gibson and Hanna (1992) describe persuasion as a change of mind in a subtle manner. Thus, persuasion is an integral part of discourses that aims at shaping and influencing the minds of the readers. It is the same change that van Dijk indicated towards in the readers' thought, actions and behavior (van Dijk, 2012).

Though print media has a long history of existence, it is still thought of as the most authentic medium of information in our times. Dozens of newspapers are currently in circulation in Pakistan and India and are published in different languages. Similarly, a large number of newspapers are published in English language in Pakistan and India (Yousaf et al., 2018). 'The News International' (TNI) from Pakistan and 'The Times of India' (TOI) from India are the two leading newspapers.

1.1.7 The News International

TNI enjoys a respectable position among the newspapers published in English language in Pakistan. Shabir et al. (2014) talk of the publication of TNI (ISSN 1563-9479) as on daily basis from Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi/Islamabad. Its edition for the overseas Pakistanis, particularly for the ones residing in the United Kingdom, is published from London. Its wide and large circulation in English language has been adding as well as making occasion for a change of perspective in social, economic and political considerations of life for people in the country. Mir Khalil Ur Rehman founded the newspaper in 1991 under the auspices of the Jhang Group. Press Reference, an organization which provides information about the circulations of newspapers, projects The News International as the English newspaper having the widest circulation in Pakistan, with 120,000 copies sold each day, followed by the Dawn with 109,000 copies. All Pakistan Newspapers Society also corroborates these data..

1.1.8 The Times of India

TOI is an important newspaper published in English language in India. The group, Times Group, owns and runs it while at present it enjoys the status of the bestselling newspapers published in English language. Its circulation is made sure both nationally and internationally as it continues to attract a wide range of readership. According to Natarajan (2018), its first edition was published on 3 November 1838 as The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce. It was published on Wednesdays and Saturdays in a week, was supervised by Raobahadur Narayan Dinanath Velkar, a reformist from Maharashtra, and largely reporting with news items from UK, globe, as well as India. J.E. Brennan became its first ever editor. The year 1850 and onward saw its publication on daily basis (Natarajan, 2018). Being one of the oldest newspapers, it is greatly engaged in a dialogue with the history and culture of India. Guinness World Records (2009) crowned it as an English newspaper with the highest circulation in the entire world, with more than three million copies sold each day (3146000 copies, to be exact). Bearing in mind the number of copies circulated on daily basis, it has a wider readership and following that proves vital in changing the realities and narratives on a routine basis for the people of India as well as that from around the world (Riaz et al., 2018).

Both the newspapers have a significant part to play in the formation of ideological constructs for the people belonging to Pakistan and India along with that of the international readership. Given the wide circulation of the two newspapers, TNI (Shabir et al., 2014) and TOI (Riaz et al., 2018) within the two countries as well as their international readership, both the newspapers have greater reach and domain in order to change potentially the socio-economic, socio-strategic and socio-political landscape for the two countries. The fact that the two newspapers are circulated widely, they have been equally instrumental in producing extensive material and text in covering the stories on terrorist activities in the region that the two countries inhabit.

According to Akram (2021), the two countries, Pakistan and India, have been making use of media as an instrument in order to impress upon people the ideological construction of realities, narratives and the creation of myths due to its vast readership and following. The two capitals, Islamabad and New Delhi, invest heavily to mold, shape,

reshape their strategies to make their people think into achieving their political, strategic and economic domination over one another. It is this important role that the newspapers editorials play in the circulation and shaping up of the ideology of the 'self' and the 'other' in view (van Dijk, 1996), that the researcher intended to conduct a systematic investigation into this area. Specifically, it was aimed to first quantitatively study the selected corpus of the two newspapers for ideological categories and to qualitatively explore the corpus from the angle of discourse strategies that are employed to project conflicting ideologies in the context of the subcontinent.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Several scholars have established a link between print media and promotion of implicit ideologies that are aimed at influencing the minds and behaviors of the common masses. Such ideologies are of particular notice in discourses representing the national interests of one country in relation to another. This seems to be the case in the context of Pakistan and India. Sharing a traditional history of rivalry since their inception, the two countries remain constantly engaged in blaming each other for the problems they mutually face, such as the scourge of terrorism. The print media of the two countries represents this antagonism at the level of conflicting ideological discourses. While the blame-game through conflicting discourses in the leading newspapers of Pakistan and India has been going on since long, little research effort has gone into the matter and manner of such discourses that portray conflicting ideologies, especially in the context of terror-related incidents. This study, therefore, has been conceived with the aim of analyzing the discourse strategies employed by the Pak-Indian print media concerning terror-related incidents (2008-2016), and the ways in which these discourses promote conflicting ideological standpoint of the two countries.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This research study aims to:

- Identify conflicting ideological themes in the newspaper editorials of the Indian the *Times of India* and the Pakistani *The News International*, and

- Explore the discursive strategies used for the representation and propagation of conflicting ideological themes in the two newspapers.

1.4 Research Questions

Keeping in view the objectives of the study, the study will address the following research questions:

Q1: What major conflicting ideological themes emerge in the terrorism-related editorials of two leading Pakistani and Indian newspapers during the 2008-2016 period?

Q2: What lexical and syntactic choices are used for enacting conflicting ideological themes in the selected editorials of the two newspapers during 2008-2016?

1.5 Delimitations of the Study

There are several delimitations set for this study in order to make it appropriate to the context. Firstly, the study is limited to selected terrorism-related editorials of a specific period of 2008 to 2016. The reason for delimiting the study to this period stems from the fact that most of the major terrorist-related incidents in the two countries happened during this time-period. Secondly, the study is delimited to one English newspaper from Pakistan and one English newspaper from India. The selected newspapers are the leading English dailies in each country with a worldwide readership.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The current study is significant on various counts. The primary significance of this study rises from the sociopolitical dynamics of the subcontinent in the wake of terrorism. While quantum research has gone into the reasons and remedies of the arch rivalry between India and Pakistan, the role of the print media is largely ignored. It is, however, common knowledge in the field of discourse analysis that print media can be manipulated for emanating discourses of discord and conflict, thereby propagating conflicting ideologies. It is also common knowledge that such ideologically-laden discourses may have an overriding influence on the opinions of the general masses. It is therefore significant to

explore the ways in which the print media of the two countries propagate conflicting ideological discourses, thereby exacerbating the divide between Pakistan and India.

The study draws further significance from the fact that the common reader needs to understand the complex ways in which language and discourse can be manipulated for vested sociopolitical interests. The study is expected to broaden the vision of the common reader concerning the discourse strategies that the print media employs to achieve its ideological designs.

Furthermore, this study is important from epistemological perspective in the sense that no such broad and systematic study with such a large sample has been conducted so far regarding conflicting ideologies on terrorism in the newspaper editorials of the two countries. An in-depth investigation of the phenomenon is expected to help the future researchers in deciphering the discourse strategies that represent conflicting ideologies.

Lastly, this research study works as a contribution to the already existing treasure of research in the field of CDA. In fact, it goes one step further in combining Corpus Linguistics with Critical Discourse Analysis, thereby bringing more validity and reliability to the discursive dimensions of the under-study text. The analysis is expected to help the future researchers in exploring discursive conflicting ideologies between two opposing groups.

1.7 Definitions of Key Terms

Ideology: Ideology refers to "construction of realities which are built into various dimensions of social practice" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87I).

Conflicting Ideologies: Political and social ideas that are prevalent and are constantly at odds with one another (van Dijk,1998). Pakistan and India are a case in point.

Discourse: Discourse is regarded as the totality of organized language used for the purposes of transmitting a particular kind of meaning (van Leeuwen, 1993).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): CDA is a system that critically examines human language and how it works in perpetuating unjust practices in any given society (Van Dijk,1998).

Corpus: Any collection of more than one text of the same type/genre, electronically stored, can be called a corpus (McEnery & Wilson, 2001)

Corpus Linguistics: The study of language based on examples of 'real life 'language use (McEnery & Wilson, 2001)

Terrorist attacks: Bomb blasts, suicide attacks, and any other attacks carried out on forces, organizations, employees and public in the context of Pakistan and India.

Extremist(s): The term was/is associated with Islam and Muslims after George Bush's speech in 2001. Here the term is used for both Muslim and Hindu radicals.

Terrorism: The term has been used in the context of Pakistan and India.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

In the preceding portion of the research, a short overview of the history of the subject at hand was offered by the researcher on how India and Pakistan's opposing ideologies were depicted in their respective newspapers' editorials. Additionally, the study's critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics/analysis were highlighted along with the study's topic, objectives, research questions, significance, and methods. In this chapter, the researcher presents a thorough and critical analysis of the body of literature that is currently accessible on the subject. As a result, the main emphasis is placed on numerous viewpoints that experts in the field have contrasted on newspaper editorials, media discourse, written discourse, discourse and ideology, critical discourse analysis, and critical terrorism studies. Additionally, the conflicting ideologies between the two mentioned countries and how they are portrayed in each nation's media discourse are also discussed.\

2.2 Discourse

Discourse refers to any communication, whether spoken or written, that can be used to convey and/or analyses a wide range of ideas (Baxter, 2015). It is the language that is used in everyday situations, such as casual conversation or group interactions. According to Baxter (2003, as cited in Ponguta, 2013), discourse is a type of societal activity that creates, upholds, and strengthens concepts. It is important to note that discourse plays a significant role in all of the conversations and interactions that take place in our daily lives. Examples of discourse could be someone's thoughts, perception, ideas, intentions, or words expressed in a given context. It demonstrates that speech is an activity that is rich in meaning and always delivered in a suitable contextualized circumstance and culture. Similarly, discourse is described as a phenomenon that occurs in a certain environment and is composed of ideological and cultural features by van Dijk (1993) and Fairclough (2013). Discourse has the power to transform a space into one that is "socially and culturally meaningful" (Blommaert, 2005, as cited in Ponguta, 2013, p. 4). It helps an individual in

establishing oneself well within a culture and its associated particular traits (Ponguta, 2013).

Similar to how language is guided by the meaning-making process, meaning and knowledge are viewed as different subsets of the same phenomena. The social order and activities are organized by this system of meaning-making. The discussion of text, language, conversations, and social behaviors fall under the areas that are analysed in the succeeding sections. These topics are classified as another sort of discourse because they are based on extensive avenues of knowledge and information meant to appropriate the system in the long run.

2.2.1 Discourse: Talk, Texts, and Enduring Structures of Thought

What we say and what we write are generally a reflection of what we think. According to Soza (2014), discourse plays a vital role when the process about the development of thought and society is focused upon. Soza's (2014) view regarding discourse is based on the practices carried out in a society through various acts, for instance, conversations in the form of utterances or sentences, which creates multiple levels of understanding in any given social situation. These levels of understanding then correlate within a socially significant way. However, Alvesson and Kärreman (2000, as cited in Soza, 2014) contend about the two methods to understand discourse, both of which are heavily influenced by theories. For them, language itself is most important, followed by the knowledge and meaning it contains. Like them, Putnam and Fairhurst (2001) distinguish between language used and how it is understood (or meaning). They contend that there are only two distinct discourses: language and sense (meaning). The interpretation of a text, the meaning of its language, and social practices are all considered to be one type of discourse, whereas texts, language, daily conversations, and social practices are all considered to be another type of discourse that indeed depends upon extensive schemata for the system (Soza, 2014). According to Putnam and Fairhurst (2001) and Foucault (1972, as cited in Soza, 2014), the world is normalized and naturalized by different orders of discourses to the extent that any specific discourse can affect an individual's subjectivity and the way they think about themselves, feel, and view the world. By establishing it as logical and commonplace from the standpoint of discourse, discourses

establish power and knowledge. Therefore, by behaving in a certain manner that is informed and time-constrained at the same time, discourse aids the populace. By arranging societal norms and customs, it enlightens us about the outside world by educating individuals about the way one should live.

2.2.2 Discourse and Power

Discourse is also inextricably connected to the issues of power. By giving meaning to the circumstances surrounding a social actor with the aid of lexical items, gestures, semiotic qualities, and all forms of spoken or written text, discourse is a tool with enormous power (Fairclough, 1992). It is a tool that people use to effectively influence the fellow beings around the globe (Fairclough, 1992). The tool may enable the social actors to acquire a distinctive position within any social situation with the aid of engaging in dialogue (van Dijk, 1993). According to Ponguta (2013), discourse and power have a strong relationship. Power is central to the concept of discourse; however, it is hardly present before the production of a certain discourse. On the contrary, there cannot be established any discourses in its absence. The aforementioned instances can be noticed both in our routine as well as global lives.

Fairclough's (1989) contribution to the idea of "discourse and power" is highly regarded among CDA theorists and practitioners. Only the first of the two categories of power linked with discourse—"power behind discourse" and "power in discourse"—is closely relevant to the current research project. The definition of Fairclough's concept of "power in discourse" is provided below.

In reality, the power that rests in discourse is the power of the individuals who actively contribute to its formation. According to Fairclough (1989), such individuals impose restrictions and manage the contributions made by the helpless participants in discourses, and as a result, they have complete control over how discourses are manipulated. Three kinds of restrictions imposed on discourses by the dominant group are listed by Fairclough (1989). They are constraints on:

- Contents: what is said or done;

- Relations: the social relations people enter into in discourse;

- Subjects: the 'subject positions' people can occupy.

According to Fairclough (1989), "relations" and "subjects" are closely related, and all three of these sorts of restrictions occur at the same time when exercised; however, the basic distinction should be clearly made while one describes the phenomena apart. In this regard, the concept of hidden power comes into play.

2.2.3. Hidden Power

Observations on discourse and power vary in face-to-face as well as written discourses. While the face-to-face discourse pays more attention to the hidden power, the written discourse that takes participants from different background of power relations remains neglected (Fairclough, 1989). However, the mass media, that includes movies, radio, television, and newspapers, has had the richest discourses in terms of the interaction between power and discourse (Fairclough, 1989). The power relations that are practiced in mass-media discourse are largely ambiguous, making it an intriguing subject for discourse analysts to investigate and lay bare the power that is "hidden" in the relations.

Media discourse is of particular interest in relation to exhibition of hidden power. According to Fairclough (1989), media discourse differs from face-to-face speech because of its "one-sidedness." Face-to-face discourse involves speech actors speaking directly to each other while simultaneously acting as both text creators and interpreters. The producers and interpreters of text are clearly separated in media discourse, just as they are in general writing, participants involved in the production and consumption of a discourse (Fairclough, 1989). The quantity and type of the audience are two additional distinctions between the aforementioned two discourse regions that Fairclough (1989) makes. According to him, based on the power relations, the producers in face-to-face discourse add to the discourse as per their assigned role with the audience in interaction. As a result, he argues, their choice of words and expressions create a relationship with the audience. The creation of media discourse, however, aims at a large audience, and mostly, the discourse creators have no idea who their audience might be because they occasionally speak to the entire country or even the entire world, or they occasionally, for instance, write articles and editorials that do not address any particular audience (Fairclough, 1989). However, all media discourse producers must keep some interpreters in mind, as predicted

by Fairclough (1989, p. 49), and as a result, they speak explicitly or implicitly to their target audience, like listeners, readers, or viewers. Since actual viewers, listeners, or readers must establish a connection with the ideal audience, media discourse incorporates a subject position for the ideal subject.

Thus, it becomes of paramount importance to elaborate the role of power relations and mass media discourses in the context of the words like "discourse producers" and "discourse consumers" as discussed preceding portion. As per Fairclough's (1989) view, producers of mass media exercise considerable influence upon the consumers of the media as they enjoy power over what to say, what to exclude out of discussion, how to present certain situations, and what position to take in a communication with the audience. This becomes obvious as neither media professionals nor media organizations ever fairly reflect the entirety of a population in their reporting (Fairclough, 1989). For instance, government politicians are assigned a more important role in reporting than unemployed people. When reporting, media professionals almost invariably favor and embrace the viewpoint of the group with power.

The hidden power that media enjoys emanates from several inter-connected sources. Fairclough (1989) elaborates that some organized trends in producing and reporting of discourse tactics are what give the media's discourse its hidden power and provide the dominant group the ability to use it. Media professionals, he claims, accomplish their objectives, i.e., to manipulate through the hidden power, with not just a single text but by the frequent portrayal of certain methods in order to handle its causation for the reader, etc. Mass media enjoys greater reach these days, and thereby a large number of people have access to a huge variety of materials making it easier for the discourse producers to exercise their clout in shaping and reshaping of the social structures, customs and opinions for the readers. However, it is important to note that, as per Fairclough's (1989) standing, mass media alone cannot do that. For producers to exercise their hidden power, they must keep the masses at a distance or pit them against one another in an immediate conflict.

However, it is now debatable whether or not the influence of media discourse is deceptive. It could be challenging to provide a response, in all finality, to any such

proposition. Fairclough (1989), views that media and its power can be used for manipulation in some cases, but not always. Investigating whether the influence of media discourse is genuinely concealed from the audience or also from media professionals would help us better understand this topic. In order to demonstrate that there are instances from the past when the media discourses were found in support and purposeful manipulation in favour of the dominant group, Fairclough (1989) brings out two instances: BBC Radio's role in support of Government during the Strike in 1926; and Hassan's (2018) on ARY News' support in Pakistan's drive to rid the country of the terrorists. Fairclough (1989) and Hassan (2018), believe that in such unprecedented circumstances, only the media professionals understood the true worth and power of the media discourse but did not acknowledge its importance publicly. The media workers were even kept in the dark about its worth. As a result, the media workers are exploited/made-believe by the dominant group and power holders through their power to conform to the demands of their discourse by either declaring in the name of standard media practices or limiting them to follow the desires and wants of general public. However, media professionals, as indeed their role, is highly important in this process of keeping the audience in the dark about the crucial role and influence of media discourses.

2.3. Discourse and Ideology

Ideology may be termed as an extremely nebulous as well as an abstract concept, making it challenging to define with accuracy. The focal point of it should be to pay heed to how it steers through certain social, political, historical, and cognitive conditions and functions of ideology, as well as how it is viewed through discourse, according to van Dijk (1998), who claims that any final or conclusive definition is yet to reach at because "its definition is as elusive and confused as ever" (p.vii).

In order to decipher ideology and the way it works, we need to delve deep into van Dijk's (1996, 1998) contribution to the concept. There are four underlying presumptions that underpin van Dijk's (1998) definition of ideology. He first claims that ideologies are composed of a "belief system," (p. 116) which is a collection of ideas. Every ideology is founded on a set of ideas, and the consistency of those beliefs is what gives an ideology its power. Second, beliefs are "socially shared" (van Dijk, 1998, p. 116) by a group of

individuals rather than being private or personal. There is no such thing as a private or personal philosophy, just as there is no such thing as a private or personal language because languages are shared by a community of people. People from a certain profession, political party, or movement are examples of social groups. According to van Dijk (1998), these groups have their own belief systems, and those systems define their ideologies. Thirdly, ideologies work very actively to influence people's attitudes and ways of thinking, unlike sociocultural information, which is passive in people's brains. For instance, a feminism ideology may influence or affect how individuals feel about female employment, education, and other gender disparities. Similar to this, a racist ideology may alter how people feel about immigration in a nation, etc. Fourthly, ideologies, van Dijk (1998) argues, are produced very gradually; they do not emerge suddenly. It may take an ideology a lifetime to establish itself in a fully completed state. "To acquire or subvert ideologies, a variety of discourses and experiences are typically needed simultaneously" (van Dijk, 1998, p.116). The opposite is also true; an ideology is highly resilient and any effort at altering or dissolving it may not be possible at a quick pace; this may need a long while, dialogue, and background work to make it ineffective.

Ideology and power are closely related, because power alone determines how an ideology is initiated, created, modified, maintained, and implemented. Ideology is a way of thinking, an impulsive cognitive approach to how people see the events happening in the world around them. Ideology molds people's thoughts and provides the whys and hows of events in their surroundings (van Dijk, 1998). A social group's ideology is influenced by a number of variables, and those variables are systematically and deftly connected to the social group's existence. A group's members are subtly led to believe that if they do not join or practice any certain philosophy, they may have little chances to stay afloat in the world. That is why, van Dijk (1998) argues, ideology is produced and placed like a shared objective, or a combined imaginary; all the individuals take it upon themselves as their prime duty to accomplish the defined objectives. Ideologies serve as humans' compass and direction, and they instill in them a deep conviction that what they are adhering to is the unquestionable truth. The forming, creation, modification, and application of an ideology are all matters of power in the consequences. van Dijk (1998) believes that it might be challenging to persuade a particular social group about issues that affect them on a daily

basis. Ideology, like discourse, depends on power whether at individual or collective level; since it is a power game. Political and social ideas that are prevalent are constantly at odds with one another. Pakistan and India are in a similar situation.

2.3.1. Conflicting Ideologies between India and Pakistan

Given the specific situation and location of the two South Asian countries, Pakistan and India have been at ideological odds for a very long time. Pakistan and India, two significant South Asian nations that split in 1947, have been at odds with one another ever since the two republics were divided (Ali & Perveen, 2015). The two-nation doctrine, which was already at odds with Indian philosophy, was the justification for Pakistan's partition from India. The ideological disparities between the two nations serve as the foundation for their respective power politics. These conflicts can occasionally be direct strategical conflicts, but they are mostly ideological conflicts.

The Kashmir problem has always been at the center of the ideological tension between the aforementioned two nations. On the one hand, it has fed Pakistan's ideology, and on the other, it has kept India from compromising on its own philosophy. The surge of terrorism has given both countries greater chances to play power politics using terrorism as a tool in this hostile climate. In the post-cold war era, Ugarriza (2008) discusses the significance of ideology in relation to economic factors. Modern battles are undoubtedly motivated by economic benefits, but this is not the situation with India and Pakistan. Here, the economy is either minimally or completely absent, and the conflict is driven by contrasting social and religious ideas. As the principal source of contention between the two nations, the Kashmir problem is discussed here.

Kashmir has been, historically speaking, the bone of contention between India, Pakistan, and to some extent China. Although the history of the area is complex, the current conflict began after Pakistan and India were split from the Indian subcontinent in 1947. The subcontinent was divided into two sovereign states after the British left, based on the demography of each religion. Nearly 40 million people were uprooted during the partition. The migration is regarded as the biggest mass movement in human history (Sadia, 2016). The division of areas and states between India and Pakistan was done on the basis of the people that lived there. Therefore, the areas that had Muslim majority were included in

Pakistan, whereas those that had Hindu majority were included in India. However, the circumstance in Jammu and Kashmir was more problematic. The majority of people in the area were Muslims, but Hari Singh, a Hindu nobleman who ruled the state, chose to enlist it in India.

Kashmir became a hotspot for both the countries since then. Sadia (2016) claims that the main reason for the tense relations between Pakistan and India is Kashmir. Kashmir has been the main cause of the raging dispute between the two nations ever since they gained their independence. Both of them continue to be hostile against one another, and there are ongoing attempts to wage battles for ascendency and supremacy within the region. According to Hussain and Majid (2016), armed struggle for ascendency is an age-old phenomenon over the history of the two countries. Despite a number of efforts aimed at normalizing of relations both at regional and international level, the two countries remain stuck in the quagmire forever, without any hope of getting out of it.

The Kashmir dispute has since been used as a tool to maintain a persistent and ongoing confrontation of ideologies between the two neighboring countries. It strengthened the hostility between the two nations, and the ongoing battle between India and Pakistan now includes new fronts. According to Kalyanaraman (2015), the two countries have been competing for a distinctive identity and character. This, as a result, has been giving way to further conflicts and even is responsible for further degradation. Instead of helping the two countries to recourse to efforts on peace building measures, the conflict has been a constant cause of disruption, skirmishes and wars on full scale. Thus, their ideological stance has left them with no option than to threaten each other for eternity.

Ogden (2013) emphasises on how India's security stance has been integrated on the basis of the role of Pakistan in supporting terrorism. He takes into account the two wars fought between the two countries; Kashmir war (1947–1948) and the 26/11 Mumbai attacks. He also explores Pakistan's actions and their part in the conflict. Ogden (2013) refers to it as Pakistan's ongoing behavior toward India. India acts in the same ways and plays the same role in response to Pakistan's involvement in the conflict. However, the struggle between the two rival nations has persisted for over 70 years and shows no signs of ending in the upcoming decades. The ideological confrontation between the

aforementioned two nations in the context of terrorism was formed by the ongoing terror-related incidents in the subcontinent. Pakistan is being accused of terrorism by the Indian media. Radical extremism is a new term that is employed in the modern era to heighten the ideological conflict between the aforementioned countries. According to Reed (2015), India is speaking about Pakistan's past involvement with terrorism and radical extremism inside Pakistan.

Indian hostility towards Pakistan has been evident in the recent past through Indian propagated connections between terrorists and the Pakistani government. According to Khan (2013), Pakistan has suffered a great loss as a result of joining the war on terror, which was never its battle. Pakistan fought as a front-line state against terrorism, which has severely damaged Pakistan's capacity to unite politically on the international stage, to improve its poor economic progress, and to strengthen its social and political systems. In Pakistan, there are two opposing perspectives on terrorism, claims Khan (2013). On the one hand, Pakistani media assert that the nation is doing everything possible to combat terrorism, but on the other, Pakistan is accused by India of instigating and funding terrorism. The researcher's goal in the current study is to analyze and interpret editorials from the newspapers published in both countries with particular focus on the common portrayal of the opposite sides. Both Indian and Pakistani newspapers portray each other as the instigator and financier of terrorism as well its eliminator.

According to Markey (2010), Pakistan-based organizations that have established themselves as having participated in carrying out terrorist acts in India include Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jesh-e-Muhammad. He, however, fails to give enough substantial evidence to back his claim. These groups are identified by the Indian media as terrorist organisations, and they are held responsible for numerous terrorist incidents in India, again with no solid proofs. Bombay bombing (1993), bombing of the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly (2001), the Indian parliament (2001), the Mumbai bus (2002), the Delhi bombing (2005), the Mumbai train (2006), the Samjhuta Express (2007), the Mumbai attacks (2008), the Srinagar attack (2013), and the Pathankot attack (2016) are some of the incidents that they quote and link to Pakistan. However, attacks described above are important to mention as these caused immense ruins and brought about a severe strain in

relations between the two countries as well as the region at large. A number of other incidents are also associated, as per Indian media reports, with the terrorists from Pakistani origin. According to Indian media, these attacks either exploited Pakistani soil or Pakistani-affiliated organizations.

Such attacks are not, however, unilateral; Pakistan has also experienced them. Pakistan experiences more of these terrorist strikes than India does, which increases the frequency, devastation, and conflict. Since the start of the war on terror, Pakistan has experienced more than a thousand attacks, both significant and little. Suicide attack on Benazir Bhutto (2007), attacks on the Sri Lankan cricket team in Lahore (2009), and attack on the Army Public School in Peshawar (2014) are some important incidents as these brought the threat of terrorism to the attention of the world. The 3rd March 2016 arrest of Kalbhushan Jadhav, an Indian spy from their secret service RAW, in Baluchistan enhanced Pakistan's allegations of Indian participation in terrorist strikes there. The arrest confirmed India's involvement in terrorism in Pakistan further. These figures demonstrate how both countries have suffered from terrorism either directly or indirectly, but it is also clear that both countries are actively involved in using terrorism to advance their own power interests in the region.

Noor (2007) provides insight into the problem of terrorism and its consequences on ties between India and Pakistan on the global stage. There is a significant degree of mistrust between the two nations as a result. It also appears impossible to demonstrate or establish the truth/fact of allegations regarding terrorism that Indian and Pakistani sides so readily blame each other for because of this deep-seated enmity between them. As a result, the situation is caught in the blame game. Instead of negotiating and discussing the facts, both nations often accuse one another of being responsible for the terrorist attacks committed in their respective nations. In a similar vein, each nation denies being involved in subversive efforts against the other nation. Here, it is clear that mistrust serves as a solid foundation for their divergent views when the phenomenon of terrorism is discussed. They blame each other for the terroristic activities carried out in the region while speaking to media on regional and global platforms. To achieve their goal, they make use of the language of the media so as to support their assertions and strengthen their ideology. In order to

demonstrate how these editorials are influencing people's views on terrorism in both countries, the current research study analyses the language used in newspaper editorials on the subject. The primary premise of the current research study, taking insights from critical terrorism studies, is that there are competing ideologies on the terrorism.

2.4. Discourse and Media

Media and discourse have an integral relationship since media is the primary tool used for promoting discourses in a society. Brussel, Carpentier, and Cleen (2019) claim that conventional discourse studies theorists and practitioners have paid relatively little attention to the significance and the function of media in modern politics and society at large. However, Muofee (2007, as cited in Brussels at el., 2019) believes that discourse theories have seriously failed to take into account the importance of media and communication institutions. In the same way that discourse studies can profit from the body of literature on communication and media, media can support the practice of discourse analysis. By employing a specific method of critical discourse analysis, the field's practitioners may experimentally and linguistically study the media literature.

According to Yaghoobi (2009), the media is a reflection of a group's ideology and is extremely important in influencing the social and cognitive structures of the general public. According to Fowler (1991, as cited in Yaghoobi, 2009), news (media discourse) "is not just a value-free reflection of facts" (p. 3); in fact, news provided through media is based on certain ideological constructs. To put it simply, Gee (1999, as cited in Yaghoobi, 2009) contends that discourse producers create a specific discourse on media so as to uphold a certain worldview and perspective that Yaghoobi (2009) refers to as ideology. As a result, media language may be used to both inform and control people. Reath (1998, as cited in Yaghoobi, 2009) asserts that attitudes are thought to influence people's conduct in a society and that media discourse is crucial in influencing and controlling attitudes. Media discourse serves as more than just a vehicle for information delivery; it also functions as a tool for social engineering, which influences the audience's ideological perspective. In the presence of different discourses, different media form the worldview and understanding for us. Similar to Phelan and Dahlberg (2011), "from a discourse-theoretical standpoint, media discourses are regarded not merely as specialised machines that originate, replicate,

and modify social events, but rather as passively describing or reflecting social realities" (p. 5). In addition, Phelan and Dahlberg (2011) use the phrase "media politics" to describe the complex interaction between political and media discourses in modern society. The political and politics in modern countries are based on and expressed through media discourse. When he states that CDA seeks to understand how media organizations and media discourses impact social ideas and values and create ideologies, van Dijk (1998) further clarifies the connection between CDA and media discourse. As a result, he views media language analysis as a good tool for examining social power dynamics including dominance and inequality.

It is also the case that media influences a common individual's life to a great extent. According to Phelan and Dahlberg (2011), there is a profound impact of media in making sense of how modern people live their lives. This is especially true keeping in view the way the modern world has been constructed/formed/structured for us by media, thereby turning us into mindless followers of what is said or shown in the media. It is also true that contemporary humans have begun to believe what the media tells them without questioning its authority and authenticity. That is what McLuhan (1962) attempts to convey to the public; the media itself, or the channel through which information is presented, is crucial because it determines what information is exhibited and what is not. In other words, media is the message in itself. It can influence and determine what should be incorporated into and rejected from human civilization (Shousha, 2010). McLuhan (1964) accentuates this point when he states that when a new medium comes into existence, regardless of the nature of the concrete content it conveys, the new medium of communication in itself creates a force that leads to social transformation. Thus, the media plays a crucial role in the modern world since it not only disseminates information but also has the ability to influence the human schemata. Additionally, this tactic is employed in the global war on terror as well as in the contentious nature of relations between India and Pakistan.

Media also shapes how we live and develop our ways of life and culture. Pearce (2009a) contends that media projections serve as the foundation for contemporary cultures and societies. Media shapes contemporary civilizations, and it has so completely taken over people's thoughts that they are unable to venture outside of it. He contends that it is

regarded as the most lethal weapon in contemporary political and economic warfare because of this. The media has a significant impact on people's thoughts and helps to mold their cognitive processes. According to communication experts, the term "media" refers to a specific medium used to address a sizable, diverse, and occasionally anonymous audience (Pearce, 2009a). Therefore, the study of media encompasses both the investigation of media effects, or the potential influence that media may have on a particular audience, and the way cultural groups are represented. Pearce (1995) opines that the social constructionists do not believe in any objective or ultimate reality. In contrast, scholars who do not agree with this point of view elaborate it further by declaring it an entity based in a specific culture or knowledge. As a social system with immense power, media has the capacity to shape and also subvert the sense of reality of audience at large (Orbe, 2013). The effect of media is so pervasive that even social actors who are conscious of how they use media are nonetheless subject to its ideological sway. As a result, the media has been tasked with social construction through the production and dissemination of reality. Thus, the so-called planned reality, which van Dijk (1996) refers to as 'intended reality', cannot be free from certain political, economic, or social agendas. However, there are requirements that must be met by journalistic authors (Bell 1991; Merrill et al., 1994) in order to (re)produce and circulate a reality; these are detailed in the next section.

2.4.1. Criteria of Journalistic Writing

Journalist writing in the media is expected to follow certain regulations. The three main categories of mass media are print, film, and electronic. The focus of the current study is on print media, specifically newspapers, and an analysis of how India's and Pakistan's competing ideologies are portrayed in such publications. What do we commonly understand by news, for example, and other pertinent concerns are satisfactorily addressed by Merrill et al. (1994). According to Merrill et al. (1994), the most crucial components of news are proximity, correctness, fairness, completeness, novelty, speed, prominence, and impartiality. Other factors include conflicts, accidents, consequences, and human interest. Merrill et al. (1994) use an analogy to describe objectivity. In the same way that attorneys and doctors occasionally have to work with patients and clients they do not particularly like, journalists frequently put those social actors in the background and save them when they typically have little to no sympathy for them. According to Merrill et al. (1994), that

is acceptable. However, Merrill et al. (1994) deem it inappropriate if the newspaper reader can tell the journalist's attitude. The primary focus of the current research study is such journalistic practices.

Additionally, Merrill et al. (1994) present several advantages and disadvantages of mass communication practitioners. Mass communicators have a vibrant presence as they insinuate in the mind of the people that which is of prime importance to their interest with a liberal availability and control over the language and the related strategies. The journalists might also have some bad characteristics in addition to the aforementioned favorable ones. For instance, they frequently lack sufficient knowledge of geography, foreign affairs, international relations, and history. They frequently practice what is known as the ultimate end that justifies-the-means ethics, according to Merrill et al. (1994, p. 31). Additionally, the journalists tend to be members of any given group whether social or political group or community, and being a member of that community gives one the confidence to expose others in accordance with one's own beliefs and opinions. Such behavior causes them to develop biasness, which is frequently challenging and nearly impossible for them to conceal.

Propaganda, according to Merrill et al. (1994), is one of the most important roles played by the media. Journalistic writers intentionally try to sway the behaviors and attitudes of the general public by disseminating their sometimes-skewed thoughts, which is why they are appropriately referred to as "propagandists" (Merill et al., 1994, p. 37). When attempting to persuade or make the specific people to think in a certain way or in a preconceived manner or with preconceived ends in mind, the propagandists make use of a number of strategies to acquire their target, "engage in propaganda and use diverse propaganda techniques." (p. 37).

According to Shousha (2010), the journalistic writing process also has an important cumulative effect, which can be a very effective tool in the hands of a professional media propagandists. Politicians, propagandists, and advertisers are the main users of this mechanism of cumulative effect. The media employs the repetition technique to highlight a specific viewpoint. The media, in the process of representation, may either place over-emphasis on any standpoint in the form repetition or leave it to rest and avoid it being

mentioned in order for the representation to be to minimum. Thus, as a result, the general public's perception or shaping it in the media is made possible according to producers' desired way.

Media has faced criticism for several reasons other than the ones mentioned above. Critics accuse news media of being "too big, too biased, inaccurate, negative, arrogant and unfair," according to Merrill et al. (1994, p. 341). The primary cause of this complaint is the information that is lost in a message as a result of numerous obstacles. When a reporter sends a message to an editorial body during the phase of communication, all constituents (semantics, politics, religion, ideology, economics) all become jumbled up with the intricate and varied traditions and cultural values, according to Merrill et al. (1994). Both the sender and the recipient of the communication, they contend, should become familiar with one another in order to communicate and understand one another successfully. Additionally, a media professional who conveys information, such as a reporter or an editor is constrained by specific institutional norms, beliefs, principles, and standards as well as by national laws, regulations, and policies. Also interfering, argue Merrill et al. (1994) are other internal reasons like competition with other media outlets, peer pressure, stress from a pay raise or promotion, getting to and reporting on the most recent events first, meeting public expectations, etc. However, according to Merrill et al. (1994), journalists also enjoy a certain level of freedom and liberty; despite the fact that they have certain constraints, they select any point to draw their discussion on, explore any avenue of that selected area, and get it published without being bothered about the time and space. As journalists are at liberty to pay more attention to one or the other point while putting its other aspect in the background, this freedom of journalism is sometimes referred to as "subjective enterprise." Thus, the journalist's objectivity is frequently subjected to harsh criticism.

The media nevertheless plays a crucial role in achieving the desired outcomes, notwithstanding the criticisms outlined above. According to Merrill et al. (1994), "media (newspapers and magazines) must attract readers' interest with information worth reading and excellent writing, else the readers will keep flicking pages" (p. 71). A few ethical guidelines must also be followed by media professionals. They ought to be fair, complete, and unbiased.

2.4.2. Discourse and Representation

Media, and discourse contained in the media, is used for representations of different kinds. According to Bingell (1997), news is a kind of representation primarily designed by using certain properties of language like linguistic signs, words, and other signs like photographs, rather than the straightforward transmission of facts. In terms of speech, representations are derived from specific perspectives, and they are reliant on these perspectives. It is to use language within a given discourse to assign meaning to an individual or community, as well as to that group's social or political views and behaviours, is what Wenden (2005) described as representation in discourse analysis. It also has to do with how language is used to interpret different social, ecological, and other contexts.

The same view is shared by Fairclough (2003) in regards to discourse and representation. He makes the case that speech is a "means of describing components of the universe - the processes, structures of the material world, the mental world of thoughts, beliefs, feelings, and so forth, and the social world" (Fairclough, 2003, p.124). It is about the way the world is described, including the individuals and their productivity, that is at the heart of the discourse issue. Simply put, different discourses are different ways of describing different situations. Fairclough (2003, p. 124) opines on discourse as:

> Media discourse is in fact a representation of reality, and has become a target for CDA. In this regard, media reports represent different perspectives of the same event. Media news constitutes a part of the resources which people deploy in relation to one another, particularly when competing and dominating (Fairclough 2003, p.124).

According to Fairclough (2001), it is important to study/examine news media as it is worthwhile as well as an intriguing topic for examination since it reveals the subjective approach of the news in a given social and political context. News is how the world is described and seen through language, according to Fowler (1991, p. 4). It indicates that discourse uses a variety of linguistic techniques and discourse conventions to depict an event. Fowler (1991, p.4) states that:

> Language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented; and so inevitably news, like every discourse

constructively patterns that of which it speaks. News is a representation in this sense of construction; it is not a value-free reflection of facts.

Fowler (1991) asserts about the common ground/connection between news and the human exposure. Human values and life experiences shape news, while the same goes true about the news. Language cannot and never does appear on its own. Its appearance is always the product of an ideological and discursive system's portrayal. Fowler (1991) goes on to claim that the differences between different languages are not just a result of their structural (lexical, phonological, and syntactic) differences, but also of the differences in the worlds of experiences that impact the ideological standpoint of the reporters.

Fowler's (1991) statement, however, sheds light on the matter with the assertion that it seems an impossibility for professional media personnel to maintain any balance or neutral ground while working on events within a discourse deeply ideological. Instead, they keep on producing material that reflect their personal understanding, beliefs and values. In such state of affairs, Fowler (1991) argues, it is difficult to maintain objectivity, thereby becoming all the more and highly subjective in representation and news.

In the light of the aforementioned discussion on media discourse and its relationship with representation, it can be argued conveniently that the producers of discourse cannot, by any means, remain objective as their leaning is ideological, especially the conflicting attitudes of its producers. According to Chiluwa (2011), in order for a certain kind of representation, the producer may overlook/ignore certain incompatible realities while the same producer may favor and even represent the other side of the representation less plausible due to the subjective attitude of the producer. Thus, as a consequence, such association or representation focuses more on the violent side of it. This research study investigates into such conflicting ideologies as represented through the editorials that appeared in the newspapers published on both sides of the borders in the both the countries: Pakistan and India. The next section of the discussion elaborates on how the ideological opposition make the difference for a different representation through the editorials published in the newspapers in the two countries.

2.4.3. Media Discourse and Newspaper Editorials

The publication of editorials is carried out through newspapers as well as journals, periodicals and magazines. Editorials are produced on mass level for public consumption and are labeled as mass communication that consists of opinions in the form of a discourse. Apkan (2000) views editorials as the publication on mass level for public consumption whether the readers read it or not. Editorials are primarily meant to inform and exert influence over the elite of the society as compared to the common masses in the society.

Duyile (2005) believes that editorials are structured more or less in the fashion/style of a literary work. He thinks it quite difficult to approach or explain literary style in any definite way, however, any work that employs language in a refined and well-groomed manner would do the job. For him, an editorial resembles in proximity and language to that a literary piece of work in literature. Along with the literariness of language what distinguishes editorial from a literary work is the inclusion of the facts and figures within the discussion in an editorial. It is on the basis of this quality that the study of newspaper editorials offers quite promising avenues for researchers to pursue in the field of discourse. It is in particular to the language as a distinctive attribute, its unique structure of grammar and language markers along with the composition of its semantic structure and embedded ideological investment that its offerings can best be understood. Similarly, it is an artful manner that thoughts are seen being weaved within the language. It is through this mastery of the language and language games that we see a metaphorical representation of the intended meaning, thought and ideology are embedded. The readers are not only challenged to look for what is more important in the form of information but how a particular ideology is advanced through the subtle use of language.

According to Akpan (2000) and Afolabi (2012), readers value editorials not just as the work of astute and educated minds, but also as the components of information and knowledge. Since surface readers only look at the editorial themes, deep readers usually devote special time and attention to the editorial pages. Both the theme and the body are deftly chosen and developed to quench the thirst of both categories of readers (Afolabi, 2012). Though the topic sentence within an editorial insinuates the ideological components inherently setting stage for the full argument to grow towards a convincing conclusion. It

also offers rich tapestries and dominant strain of the same in the body of an editorial so that the readers should experience an intense engagement with the full argument of the editorial by its author.

Akpan (2000), explains further that the socio-cognitive composition of any editorial can also be found at work in its structure; it normally takes the first-person pronouns while the descriptions regarding the personal experiences and narratives are not commonly found thematic. Editorials, he contends, traditionally do not trade into the personal and emotional human sphere and can be seen free of any personal grudge or bias. Editorials draw on its argument from the news on political, social, economic and cultural spheres. In addition, the varying components of its compositional style will pay attention to this institutional, open, pretty much conventional properties of the specific situation, e.g., its choice of words or diction, its sentence structure and the methodology that an editorial use to develop its argument (Ukonu, 2005). An editorial, by the standard of its defining components, is a chorus in unison about the burning issues pertaining to the current affairs and is open to any walk of life (Afolabi, 2012). It enjoys the status of a forerunner as compared to the rest of the newspaper. Duyile (2005, p. 63), for instance, has two conditions that equate with or describe the purpose of an editorial: it is to break a topic for the readers to a level of common understanding, and to offer an opportunity to the readers to make a choice in favor or against the topic. It is to insinuate as well as to offer a choice to the readers that make an editorial interesting. Duyile (2005) believes that highlighting the problem or issue through the pioneer takes the illustrative writing style and its subsequent impact that drives the argument home. Duyile (2005) features an editorial as something that takes up a subject, an issue or an argument to be arranged in a manner so as to ponder over whether it is of an urgent nature or a pass time. It deliberates on an issue in line with the logic and systematic organization of thought. Its purpose can be either to convince and win over the readers' attention/sympathy, their acceptance of the argument or to make them disregard a particular opinion depending on the validity and power of persuasion of the author. Okoro and Agbo (2003, p. 125) perceive an editorial as an organized body that carries out its task as per its mandate; it brings upon itself to analyze, scrutinize, open up an argument or intervene about the current issues that the author would like his readers to pursue. Hoffman (2007, p. 113) terms an editorial as an articulation of what may possibly develop as a

situation in the local market. Daramola (1999) considers the publication of an editorial with the sole purpose to highlight or put in place certain concepts that journalism, at large, is about as a field of studies in a dramatic manner. Daramola (1999) also labels an editorial as a publication that deals with reality as well as feelings commonly observed in the public sphere beckoning for a reckoning. Keeping in mind the most defining words and aspects of an editorial, it is safe to say that an editorial has to cater to the needs of a corporate feeling. Its primary work is to impart knowledge pertaining to the essential issues for clarity, to get the readers engaged in an internal dialogue and to probe into the essence of an argument. Ukonu (2005, as cited in Jegede, 2015), describes an editorial of a decent level that it should be plain, simple and easy to understand with clarity of thought and substance, exact and precise, with authentic information and dialogue, while capturing the essence of the reality with a total disregard shown to speculations. However, what we see in practice, particularly in the context of Pakistan and India, is quite different since the editorials are ideologically-laden, as will be discussed later.

2.4.4. Newspaper Editorials and Mind Control

A contrasting view from the one presented in the previous section is provided by several scholars. Saffee (2016) contends that editorials published in the newspapers primarily function as platforms for the expression of opinions since readers are more likely to value the viewpoints of experts. The more the editor discusses the reader's thinking, the more popular he or she becomes with readers. Because of this, a well-known editorialist or columnist can capture readers' interest very quickly because they eventually begin to believe him or her more readily and quickly. The same is true of editorials written about relations between India and Pakistan. The readers in the two countries prefer editorials made on the basis of emotions, and those writers are more widely read (Takagi, 2009). In order to implant the desired realities and tales in people's brains, those writers are used, keeping in mind their level of popularity. In order to achieve this, the structure of the language in an editorial is constantly replicated, while the author makes its language like a honey trap so as to attract readers into reading the piece with pleasure and ease (Safe, 2016). As a result, the editorial is planned to be designed in a way that would enable it to accomplish its main objective: to bring about a change in the values, beliefs and social attitude of its readership. Ideology depends, for its existence, on the aforementioned

aspects. It, therefore, is appropriate to claim that editorials in the context of the two countries, Pakistan and India, are generally directed to insinuate and drive their particular point home based on their ideological construct or to convince the readers into thinking that their proposition is upright while at the same time discrediting the others. As a result, an editorial comes to serve a social function by motivating the reader to take action. To achieve this goal, the editors merely (re)produce and interpret a behaviour, an occurrence, or a concept by endorsing or disparaging it.

The process of persuasion is thus a crucial factor for those who create editorial discourse. The author of an editorial influences its general populace to make them think, do or accept an author's preferred position (in a subtly indicated manner) through the process of persuasion. However, persuasion is all about transformation, according to Gibson and Hanna (1992). They contend that, just as when people are convinced to buy a thing, which results in the real act of buying the product, the change brought about by persuasion may be visible in society. Comparably, the change that editorials may affect can also be cognitive, such as altering social actors' views, values, and attitudes. In order to record the effort in changing and formation of the opinions of the populace of both the countries, this research study focused on editorials published on the subject of terror attacks in Pakistan and India from 2008 to 2016. The research study was carried out in consideration of the published editorials that seemed most promising in order for the belief systems to be changed. In addition to it, the prime task of an editorial is to demonstrate how one social group is portrayed in comparison to others. In the current study, the researcher aims to determine how editorials produced in the context of regional terrorism help to create an ideological struggle between Indians and Pakistanis. The editorials selected that wrote on the subject of terrorist activities (see chapter 3) from 2008 to 2016 were borrowed from *The Times of India* (India) and *The News International (*Pakistan) so as to be to analyzed for ideologies with an obvious conflict under the rubric of Critical Discourse Analysis.

2.5. Media Discourse in Pakistan and India

The subcontinent has remained a battleground for opposing ideologies for a long time. Media also played its part in the promotion of their ideologies for both the South

Asian countries, Pakistan and India, who have remained traditional adversaries since their inception. Both the countries' print and electronic media use these ideological differences to bolster their respective countries' positions on the relevant topics. Saffee (2016) declares that media is a strategic player as opposed to the public's primary information source. It now plays a strategic role in forming and directing discourses. He has used the *Times of India* and the *Dawn*, two influential newspapers, which analyze how media operates as an actor strategically for the ideological discourse to function. Comparing the research work carried out on the editorials borrowed from the two newspapers reveals that media in Pakistan frequently responds towards incidents only when the incidents happen. As a result, the response is determined by the circumstances around which the media builds its stories. In international media, there is a clear aggressiveness. Saffee (2016) states:

> An interesting trend in Pakistani media is the emergence of extensive campaign geared towards highlighting Indian sponsored terrorism. These allegations of Indian involvement in Pakistan are also a reaction to counter Indian media and government campaign of maligning Pakistan. (p. 96)

It is a fact that media is used as a tool by both Pakistan and India in order to mold and manipulate, to support as well as disseminate their ideological standpoint and claims made by their respective governments in the fight against terrorism. Each state's portrayal in the media places the blame for other countries' complicity in terrorist activities on their land. The Indian media responds by blaming Pakistan for creating a terrorist haven inside its borders, while the Pakistani media holds India responsible for the terrorist actions taking place within Pakistan. Jammu and Kashmir and terrorism appear to be the two main topics in Indian print media, whilst the dispute over fundamentalist Hindu ideology is the main topic in Pakistani media. For instance, the 2008 Mumbi attacks are described by Rabasa, et al. (2009) as the 9/11 of India. Even though the strikes were deadly and caused significant damage to India's whole security infrastructure, Pakistan cannot reasonably be held responsible. The Indian government and media immediately placed the blame for the assaults on Pakistan and the Laskar-e-Taeba (LeT) organisation, which purportedly has its base in Pakistan. The assertion was made in a hurry, and the media was crucial in supporting the discourse of the public and the Indian government both socially and

intellectually that presented Pakistani government as the perpetrator of the crime and tried to frame Pakistan for its involvement in the terrorist activities and that, in turn, Pakistan was branded as looming threat to the peace of the world. The Indian claim in this regard could not be justified because of a lack of evidence, nevertheless. The mystery remained as to whether the LeT carried out the attacks on the behest of the Pakistani government and its supposed involvement in the act. It is still an enigma in determining who carried out the attacks; some are of the view that it was supported by the government of Pakistan, some, the Pakistani Army, while others placed the blame on the secret services of Pakistan. It is also uncertain to the day whether any approval was sought for, granted, encouragement appreciated and instigation carried out by the Pakistani government or Army (Rabasa et al., 2009, p. 2).

It is through such illustration that the numerous "ifs" and "whethers" raise doubts and questions on whether or not the Indian media was transparent about the attackers. The truth is that India accused Pakistan directly in order to bolster public opinion and spread the rumour through the media. Whether Pakistan was engaged in the assaults or not is still up for debate. India has not offered any proof of Pakistan's involvement, but they have spread the notion that Pakistan poses an ideological danger to India. By using its words and language, the media contributed to dividing the population rather than uniting them. Without sufficient evidence, Pakistan cannot be held directly responsible as the media did during the initial stages and subsequently later.

Regarding the Indian media's evolving viewpoint on terrorism, Raj and Rohini (2014) make connections between the terms "terrorism", "Kashmir," and "Pakistan." This media-based matching method demonstrates how they relate terrorism to social groups. To create the ideological impression that Pakistan is committing terrorism in India, the Indian media purposefully places Pakistan and Kashmir in the context of terrorism. On the other hand, Pakistan is attempting to equalise with India by claiming that there is state-sponsored terrorism within Pakistan. Both sides' media, particularly the print media, made every effort to shape the terrorism ideology and place the blame on the opposing social groups.

The incessant blame game remains in full circle and is most visible when attention is paid to the level of accusations made by both the sides. The Pakistani side names India

for whatever unforeseen happens in or around the Pakistani interest in the country, Kashmir or in the region in violation of the human rights, while the Indian side places blame on the secret services agency of Pakistan in case a terrorist activity occurs in India or in the region threatening Indian interest. (Raj & Rohini, 2014, p. 82).

Interestingly, the contradictory views regarding terrorist activities can be seen integrated into popular media's societal narratives. The social narratives that Kashmir is an essential component of both India and Pakistan's territories and that it solely belonged to them are quite strong. The mantra of the ideological conflict is replaced with the new mantra of terrorist jargon. The growing issues go out of fashion while the animosity coming down to us from the times of the old keep on dragging the two nations to the abysmal depth of crisis to the day. The Mumbai attacks had a big part in the development, modification, and dissemination of the terrorism ideology throughout the south Asian region. As I mentioned previously, these attacks are known as the 9/11 of India. The people of India are forced to believe that LeT was responsible for the attacks. In the long-running struggle between India and Pakistan, the Indian media sensationalized the subject of terrorism by emphasizing the goals and motivations of terrorists. Because of this, the media's importance in current ideological battles and the clash of civilizations cannot be overlooked. These motivating elements led this study in examining the editorials published in the newspapers from both the countries focusing primarily on terrorist incidents using corpus analysis to analyze its language and content in order to examine its impact on the relations between the two nations in the way of the wars in an ideological modern construct.

2.6. Conflicting Ideologies in Newspapers Editorials

Newspaper articles, according to Takagi (2009), play a significant influence in influencing political and ideological dialogue. Takagi (2009) draws the conclusion that incidents of great importance can be seen handled carefully and posed with utmost caution after thoroughly studying and reviewing various newspaper stories. According to van Dijk (1995), editorials are a crucial component of newspapers. The same applies to editorials. These editorials are always located on the same page, in the same spot. They are at the centre, where readers' attention is fixed. People often read these editorials and form opinions on local and global events based on what they read. Here, it is unavoidable to

admit that these editorials serve a fundamental purpose in influencing people's opinions about events (van Dijk, 1996). Editorials shape and articulate popular opinion.

Newspaper editorial narratives are effective discursive production, replication, and strengthening or changing tools for ideologies about our sociopolitical reality and national identities. These narratives are created through discourses in the appropriate environment, and because of this, they serve a variety of cultural, political, and ideological purposes within that context, such as influencing or altering the sociocognitive traits of social groups (van Dijk, 1996). Tulving (1983) contends that editorials are the fundamental elements influencing how social memory is formed. This social memory is kept in long-term memory, or "semantics." Communities and social groups share these kinds of constructs. Contrary to communal memory, personal memory is linked to individual experiences (van Dijk, 1998). Editorials have a significant role in social formation because they take part in the process of constructing and reconstructing social and community identities. These elements distinguish one social group from another and are the cause of human diversity.

The best resources for critical discourse analysts to examine how public opinion and social identities are formed through discourses are newspapers. According to Richardson (2007), CDA starts with the identification of a social issue that is currently in vogue. It comes to extend its help and advocacy for those who are suppressed and marginalized while conducting a critical analysis of the powerful group who act out in violation of the rights of the dominated and marginalized group as well as those who have the resources and the opportunity to address the issue. CDA also responds to the perpetration of injustice and violence. Tischer et al. (2007, as cited in Richardson 2020) suggest that this critical field employs an approach based in research that encompasses (the examination of) politics. According to Richardson, there is a direct correlation between news and the views and deeds of those in authority, and news must be evaluated in light of the intended and target audience (readers). He goes on to say that the important issues cannot be accounted for in the absence of proper studies carried out in ascertaining the role of media and the associated personnel. It is only to pay attention to how individual journalists discharge with their duty that a complete sense of the system can be formed. Without determining their role, not much can be attained in the process.

Ahmadi and Safaei (2013) examine various editorials from Iranian newspapers in the context of shaping public opinion with an eye on the Iranian presidential elections. This session includes an overview regarding the key results as well as recommendations related to the ideological construct that the research by Ahmadi and Safaei (2013) makes regarding the ideological development of discourse during the 9th Iranian election held to elect a president. Rafsanjani was significantly influenced by the news reported by Iranian media. The new placed a lot of emphasis on the candidates, in particular the right-wing candidates. Due to his revolutionary nature, Moin was predominantly depicted in the editorials in Irani news. For instance, Iran Daily's editorials mainly covered the events. These editorials primarily represented the left-leaning candidates. Primary representation of Moin was favourable, while the editorials placed Rafsanjani in second. Tehran Times and Keyhan International, however, portrayed the four contenders unfairly. These two publications favoured right-wing politicians and topics that were important to the country's political and economic systems, such as battling foreign foes, governmental issues, and other topics of national interest. Different candidates are presented in different ways, with Rafsanjani receiving special attention. Print media thus upbraided and fed public opinion in a direct manner to promote what it desired.

According to Croteau and Hoynes (2003), the political figures make use of different media to unleash their attack on their opponents since the political figures use such channels available to promote particular ideologies and worldviews from diverse political vantage points. As a result, when it comes to ideology and ideological control, the mass media prioritizes some sets of views while undermining or ignoring others. Because of this, it is correct to state categorically that the media are the agents and instruments of the dominant groups, imposing their ideas on the audience through the employment of discursive methods. The dominant group's opinions and ideas are portrayed through media, where they may also be at odds with one another (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003).

According to Theodosia (2005), media editorials make distinctions between "us" and "them" in order to advance and adhere to in-group ideas and objectives in light of the 9/11 devastation. Here, editorials fulfilled the fundamental role of ideological carriers by bolstering and defending the USA's position behind the idea that one group should be

distinguished from another. To accomplish these ends, a contrast between the ideologies that are being supported and opposed is made. Editorials are a tactic used to incite an ideological conflict amongst social groups. This research work capitalizes on critically evaluating a number of editorials published both in Pakistani and Indian newspapers that elaborate on the fact in what way it advances their claims laid in order to label the other state responsible for terrorist activities and its promotion on the ideological fronts. Though the fronts are new, however, it aims at the same pernicious propagandist attitude so as to officially declare the other as a rogue state.

Editorials' fundamental purpose is to spread the prevalent ideologies among the general public by acting on the questions of "who," "why," and "how." As a result, newspapers allocate them a specific and appropriate place. The editorials of Pakistani and Indian newspapers, which are the center of this discussion, regularly publish materials that concentrate particularly over the question of the one's responsible for terrorist activities, the reason and motive behind the acts on the part of the opposing group, and in the way the terrorist crisis is brought about within each other's countries. Through editorials from both nations, I aim to learn about this process of ideological construction and preservation.

According to Hutleng (1973), editorials are the heart and spirit of journalism. The topic matter of editorials always develops methodically and gradually. They resemble essays greatly. Editorial structures are categorised by van Dijk (1996) as summary, evaluation, and pragmatic conclusion. The pragmatic conclusion, which attempts to address the question of what comes next, is the most remarkable component. And what will we do in response to this? Here, one can see how editorials are turned into a common obligation to find a solution and become action-oriented in the process of forming public opinion. They are skilled at manipulating the masses to follow their collective fantasies. The idea that members of a social group are required to comply with or legitimise the activities of authorities. Omojola (2005, as cited in Tobechukwu & Olaitan, 2009) states that editorials are a vital tool for persuading and influencing the opinion of public at large regarding some crucial issue on national level. If a media powerhouse meets an event or situation which needs to be improved upon, propagate or suppressed, the media people of that media powerhouse may simply develop the situation in an editorial to mold tendency

of the public towards or away from that situation. Thus, writing or developing editorials are used to form or break the opinions of the public. The editorials coming out of the publishing houses in both the countries focus more on the subject of terrorism and, in particular, in the context of Kashmir issue.

2.7 Conflicting Ideologies in the Indian and Pakistani Editorials

A country's national mainstream media always prioritizes national problems and international policy (Ali & Parveen, 2015). The majority of the time, this is also true of Pakistani and Indian mainstream media. Yousaf, Elahi, and Adnan (2018) draw the conclusion keeping a large number of editorials in mind published on the subjects of violence, war and terrorism in comparison with editorials published elsewhere in the world after analyzing 441 newspaper editorials from both countries. The major media of the opposing nations uphold the foreign ideals in regard to their respective nations. In developing the opposing narrative and in glorifying their national narrative, each blames the other of wrong doings and of terrorist activities. When discussing the contentious issues affecting these nations, the publications' editorials tend to promote and favor their own nation while readily blaming the rival.

Ahmad et al. (2012) provide an overview of Pakistani print media in English, paying particular attention in how relations between the two countries are depicted in these publications as well as how India is framed in connection to Kashmir and terrorism. Newspaper editorials from both nations are committed to defending their respective ideological stances on current social and political concerns. The views of Pakistan's government and people on the subject of terrorism and India's philosophy are in stark opposition to one other. Regarding topics like terrorism and the Kashmir dispute, both nations are headed in divergent directions. In contrast to Pakistan's attempts to link India to terrorism and internal insurgencies, Indian editorials have linked terrorism to the Kashmir conflict. In this way, public perceptions are molded and altered.

Similar to this, Ali and Parveen (2015) examine how the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan is portrayed in the Indian newspaper the Tribune and the Pakistani newspaper the Dawn. They contend that both newspapers' editorials prioritize the national interests of their respective countries above anything else. The Tribune represents the

Kashmir conflict in line with India's foreign policy and hence supports Indian government's position more than that of the Pakistani side. The Dawn portrays Kashmir conflict in a totally different angle, i.e., it extends its support to further Pakistan's foreign policy on Kashmir.

Riaz, Shah, and Ahmad (2018) elaborate on Kashmir that has been pivotal in the contention between Pakistan and India for the past seven decades, and the print media of both nations contributes to the formation of public perception by crafting narratives in favour of one nation and against the other. The researchers have found that the Kashmir issue is covered more frequently in Pakistani editorials than in Indian editorials after looking at editorials published in Dawn, The News, The Hindu and The Tribune. Additionally, they contend about Kashmiri freedom movements are depicted favourably in Pakistani media using terms like "Kashmiri Freedom Fighters," "Kashmiri Freedom Movement," "Kashmiri Freedom Struggle," and "Jihad," among others. Riaz, Shah, and Ahmad (2018) view this favorable representation as the main objective to justify Kashmir's independence and division from India. On the other hand, they are depicted negatively in editorials in Indian newspapers, like "armed organizations of terrorists fighting for the secession of Kashmir from India."

According to Yousaf (2015), there are two competing narratives in current times involving Pakistan and terrorism: reality and the image that is cultivated through media. India uses the same strategy in its editorials to blame Pakistan for the rise of terrorism both abroad and within its own borders. To lure Pakistan into that trap, a false environment is created, and the same thing is done with the aid of its editorials. However, Pakistan is attempting to escape this snare by portraying itself in its editorials as the victim of terrorism. Although Riaz, Shah, and Ahmad (2018) and Yousaf, Elahi, and Adnan (2018) assert that Pakistani editorials cover the Kashmir problem more frequently than Indian editorials, Yousaf et al. (2018) establish that both countries' editorial portrayal of the issues is legitimate and reliable.

According to Khan and Shakir (2011), there are three topics that Pakistan and India disagree on: terrorism, the Kashmir conflict, and water. The Nation and the Dawn, two English-language newspapers published in Pakistan, frequently centre their editorials on

terrorism rather than Kashmir or the dispute over water between the two countries. This demonstrates how the Kashmir issue holds more significant than the issue of water while most editorials published in Pakistani newspapers attaches importance the aspect of terrorism too. Furthermore, findings of Khan and Shakir's (2011) study suggest that when analyzing the three main confrontations between the two countries, editorials in Pakistani English newspapers seem more in of favor a war frame in comparison over a peace frame.

According to Shabir, Khan, Adnan, and Safdar (2014), editorials published in the Nation also favor Pakistani position in the context of Kashmir and the policy to enter into a dialogue so as to prioritize finding a long-term solution to the Kashmir dispute. The Nation concurs with the Pakistani government's response to the Mumbai attacks. According to Shabir et al. (2014), the Nation editorials display patriotism and support the government by refuting the claim made by India and Pakistan. When Pakistan is held accountable for terrorist acts committed in India, the Nation editorials discredit India's government and media, negating any accusations made against Pakistan.

Similar to this, Shabir et al. (2014) claim that the Nation editorials in Pakistan emphasize a long-term solution to the Kashmir conflict and favor that strategy over that of "negotiations." The nation agrees with Pakistan's position on the Mumbai attacks. According to Shabir et al. (2014), the Nation's editorials back the government and display patriotism by refuting the claim made by India and Pakistan. The editorials of the Nation refute any accusations that Pakistan is responsible for terrorist acts committed in India by attacking the Indian government and its media.

It is clear from the preceding thorough discussion that media narratives are effective tools for discursively producing, reproducing, strengthening, or altering our beliefs, our character as a nation within our social and economic situation. The purpose of such narrative development is to create a kind of context with an appropriate environment to practice the various aspects of an individual's life, for instance, influencing/altering the social and cognitive traits of communities in any given society. Media narratives are presented in India and Pakistan through text, either spoken or written. The media discourse creators in both nations must work hard to sway the public's perception of the cross-border interactions between India and Pakistan. The discourse producers create hundreds of texts

in the form of newspaper editorials as a result. These editorials cover all the contentious events that are happening in both countries, and they seldom ever overlook any of them. Additionally, they make every effort to construct and depict an occurrence within the framework of established narratives that are already contentious and diametrically opposed internationally. To support in what they call and follow as their distinctive ideology within the competition for identity in the social and political context of both the countries, newspaper editorial discourses evaluate and present recently occurring episodes in the context of earlier ones. It is through the editorials published in the newspapers within the two countries for consumption and formation of opinions that newspaper editorials assume importance. The subcontinent is witnessing an extraordinary rise in terrorist activities and is thereby experiencing a new battlefield based in opposing ideologies. To further stoke the ideological conflict between the two nations, they connect and reframe terrorist activities and ideology with the narrative and troubled shared history. In a nutshell, editorials have been of great significance in supporting and molding the opinion of its society about their national assertion. This is how a large bulk of editorials can be seen focusing particularly on the conflict between the two countries. Thus, Corpus-based CDA will bare upon the editorials produced and published in the English newspapers in the two countries through the current research work to identity the opposite views and perspectives of the two nations.

2.8 Discourse Analysis: Critical and Non-Critical Approaches

There are in fact two groups of approaches towards the study of discourses and those approaches may be differentiated on the basis of 'criticleness' (Badran, 2002). The foundation of the non-critical approaches may be traced back to the work of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) investigations who reacted against the structural approach, particularly of Chomsky, and aimed at evaluating about the role of spoken and written sentences and even beyond that (p.4). Badran (2002) is of the view that though the approach of Sinclair and Coulthard focuses on the functions of utterances, in the traditional sense, it cannot be termed as a 'functional' approach because it, as they opine, aims at exploring the point of contact between a sentence/utterance and how it operates within a given discourse (Badran, 2002, p. 28). In addition, Bardan (2002) argues, their approach does not take into account the 'functional' perspective of Hallidayan approach, rather it just focuses on the textual and contextual features of texts. The second non-critical approach which Bardan (2002)

mentions is Conversation Analysis which looks at language as a method for association, not just a method of activity and is different from the previous approaches because it considers turn-taking, quietness and arrangement of articulations, etc, as fundamental units of conversation.

Bardan (2002) considers both these approaches as 'non-basic' because they do not help explore the relationship between language, ideology and power relations. Such non-critical approaches met a failure because they considered primarily focused on the exploration of sentence as the primary units of analysis rather taking sentences as part of larger and increasingly real vehicle of talk.

In contrast to what is known as non-critical approaches, the placement accommodates an immense number of other critical approaches towards the study and analysis of language. The very initial critical approaches are (i) the Linguistic Criticism (LC) proposed by Fowler et al. (1979) and Fowler (1986) and (ii) the Critical Discourse Analysis of Fairclough (1989, 1995). Though apparently, these two approaches are more or less the same, however, they differ in their scope. They are similar because, first, both of them can be traced back to Hallidayan theory of functional linguistics (1985) and secondly, both of them revolve around the issues of power, domination, subordination, ideology, etc., as van Leeuwan (1993) argues that CDA and CL must focus on discourse in order for a social construction to be generated in the presence of power and social control (p.193). Despite of these similarities between the two approaches, they differ in a number of ways, however, the central difference the two is that Fowler's approach toward the study of text is completely linguistic in nature whereas, Fairclough's approach is both textual as well as intertextual.

Bardan (2002) argues why it is not advisable to practice or use only one theory/approach in order to study a text. The critical linguists acknowledge the lack in the studying a particular discourse. It is, therefore, appropriate to acquire a number of approaches used in a blended way in any study carried out in future as a model. This bringing of the approaches in one study should be well directed so as to produce results in harmony in an appropriate manner following an organized linguistic system of evaluation (Toolan, 1997). Similarly, its function should be flexible. In such a proposition, the design

is effective as long as it depicts with clarity the relationship of a discourse with a system socially organized in a clean manner with an advantage and edge so as to be utilized and followed as a viable method. The pragmatic nature of any such intention is the basis it follows. As Birch (1989) argues:

The key to any future success would lie with interdisciplinary approaches to analysis. This would mean recognizing the restrictions and constraints of single disciplinary approaches to the subject. (p.151)

2.9 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is approached by different experts in different manner. Fairclough (1995) explains CDA on the basis of it as an organized system that interacts through and studies the relationship based on how control, power, dominance and discrimination can be found linked to a language. He is of the view that it is the purpose of CDA to explore the different ways in which the control and means of production of certain activities like the texts and events are followed in order to establish or acquire power. It also helps to reveal the patterns that decides on how and why it happened the way it is with essentially no obvious or clear results. It also pays attention to texts, events, and the discursive practices and finally, how it is related to form and association of any culture and its society. In the same manner, van Dijk (1998) explicates on the task of CDA being the study and analysis of the ways the utterances and sentences are structured so as to establish a system that should expose certain practices that try to perpetuate, through discursively formed critique, the constant pattern in promoting the power, domination and bias inherent in a social system. CDA also plays an important role in the process of its analysis of the speech patterns from social, political and historical point of view. Stated otherwise, CDA is a system that critical examines human language and how it works in perpetuating the unjust practices in any given society. Van Dijk's view can be seen summed by Sheyholislami (2001), the primary purpose of CDA is to make connection visible between discourse in any given social situation which otherwise cannot be even observed by common people (El-Sharkawy, 2017, p. 17).

CDA is described like an approach that elaborates and focuses more on the study towards the discourse with special attention towards the unjust practices carried out in a

society, domination, and how power is exercised in an abusive manner, perpetuated and how it is through speech that it is challenged with a social and political context, van Dijk (2001). The description by van Dijk described above is a little more sophisticated than his (1998) definition because it includes, in addition to tasks within CDA, its resistance to domination, unjust social power and its abuse within the domain of language. In other words, CDA investigates how language (re)produces power in texts as well as how language is used to resist the misuse of power. Van Dijk's (2001) definition of CDA is further developed by Asghar (2013), who believes that it suggests a few aspects of CDA. First of all, CDA is analytical by nature. A critical analyst confronts and makes apparent the social inequities present while evaluating a discourse, rather than only attempting to understand them.

According to Asghar (2013), CDA causes social transformation, making it crucial in the social area of critical research. Asghar (2013) asserts that current research findings indicate that language and discourse play a role in the problems with social action, social practices, resource management, and social structures or systems. When it comes to how we interact with others to negotiate our relative status, discourse frameworks build power relations. Such societal, political, and linguistic phenomena must be examined from the perspective of CDA since they are interconnected. So, "the established objective of CDA is to study language's role in sociopolitical misuse of power" (Asghar, 2013, p.3014).

Although social inequalities can be studied and discussed in a variety of ways, according to Rahmani (2010), who explains the vocabulary of critical discourse analysis, CDA tries to approach and analyzes it in the context of language and discourse. Discourse intervenes as a tool and means by that offers avenues for the (re)production of power as well as its misuse resulting in social inequalities. Discourse either (re)produces or resists domination depending on the power of the ruling group in society. It is at this moment that CDA comes to serve the purpose of language by scholarly approaching/analyzing the subtleties embedded in language and how these subtleties are responsible for (re)production of the dominant structure or working of resistance against any such form of domination.

2.9.1.   Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis

A number of eminent scholars and experts belonging to CDA as a field of study have elaborated on the guiding principles and have coined specialized terms so as to refer to certain phenomena in analyzing an argument. Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p.271) offer an insight into the most guiding principles as per its significance:

i.   CDA deals with issues pertaining to social significance.

ii.   Discursiveness and relations based on power.

iii. Discourse influences society and culture and in turn is influenced by society and culture.

iv.   Discourse constructs, shapes and resists ideologies.

v.   Discourse by itself is history.

vi.   The link between discourse and society is a dialectical one.

vii. Discourse analysis goes beyond the level of description and tend to interpret and explain texts in relation to the discourse practices and socio-cultural contexts.

viii. Producing discourse similar to performing social action.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argue that the first tenet of CDA is that it primarily deals with social issues rather than just linguistic issues. Although language is the main tool of CDA, its primary concern is to deal with linguistic aspects of social and cultural procedures. CDA investigates the use of language which takes place in real-life situation and highlights the issues pertaining to society, for instance, inequity in gender, inequality observed based on the difference of race and difficulties involving association with power so as to leave the issues exposed. Guiding principle number two in CDA can be described in terms of association based in power and is excercised through discourses. CDA as a field of studies takes it upon itself in clarifying the tactics that are discursive and methods used to exert and negotiate power relations in society. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), the third tenet of CDA is that discourse is how society and culture are created. In other words, every use of language contributes in some way to how society is transformed and (re)produced, including how it organises power relationships. The performance of

ideological activity by discourse is the fourth principle. It indicates that ideologies are created, passed down, bolstered, changed, and confronted through conversation. They contend that in order to understand how ideologies are formed, discourse analysis alone is insufficient. Discursive practices and social practices must also be taken into account in order to understand the social influences on discourse consumers' thoughts. They propose the fifth principle, which is that discourse has a history. Therefore, when studying a discourse, the analyst(s) must take the discourse's historical context into account. The relationship between text and society is reciprocal, according to the sixth principle. CDA suggests the idea of mediation rather than being deterministic (Fairclough, 1993). Fairclough considers the "orders of discourse" to describe this reciprocal relationship between society and text (Fairclough, 1989). Fairclough and Wodak's (1997) eighth principle is that CDA is interpretative and explanatory. It seeks to interpret a text and explain it, rather than being restricted to a simple textual study. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), these interpretations and explanations are flexible and dynamic and are subject to change when new contextual information becomes available. The final tenet or guiding principle of CDA is that it views discourse like a social activity. From critical discourse analytical perspective, discourse producers 'do' language rather than just 'using' it and while analyzing a discourse, the aim of an analyst is to explore and make transparent the hidden agendas behind discourses (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

2.9.2   Critique of Critical Discourse Analysis

The theories and models of CDA were questioned as well as challenged coming both from inside and outside the discipline, much as CDA has also been criticised by the subject-matter experts or other social scientists. People first opposed and questioned the theoretical and practical applications of CDA and its goals, theories, methods, etc. The main criticisms levelled at CDA are briefly summarised below:

2.9.2.1 Critiques of the Aims of CDA

Numerous academics, such as Widdowson (1995, 1996), Hammersley (1997), and others, have questioned CDA's objectives and asserted that it introduces an excessive amount of subjectivity when its theories are used to evaluate political discourses. The study in this topic, according to Widdowson (1995), is "an exercise in interpretation" and is therefore "invalid as an analysis" (p. 159). He challenged the notion of "genuine language"

and its validity in addition to the objectives, tenets, and applicability of CDA. In a similar vein, Hammersley (1997) questions the choice of a specific political stance when examining a discourse because, in his opinion, all individuals have political leaning and support different political organizations and trends. As a result, the subjective political and ideological leaning of an analyst may interfere seriously with the investigation of a text during examination and thereby may lead to erroneous judgments. Study of this nature could become troublesome, unorganized, as well as biased towards political objectives rather than those of analysis and interpretation.

2.9.2.2 Critiques of the Methods of CDA

Many academics both inside and outside of this field have criticised and drawn attention to the methodological flaws of CDA, particularly with regard to the "reader-response" that occurs during the gathering, interpretation, and justification of data while analysing a text. Examples of these academics include Stubbs (1997) and Widdowson (1998). The method of gathering data for analysis has been the focus of the majority of criticism. By identifying and analysing the language of a concerned discourse, a researcher may, and typically does, study social power relations while conducting a critical discourse analysis. The study of ideology through the discovery, description, and interpretation of grammatical and lexical elements, according to Widdowson (1998), can be unorganised and problematic. He does not necessarily object to the inquiry of evaluating ideology through the study of a text, but he questions any possible negligence in the research of a text. A researcher (critical discourse analyst) may concentrate on particular linguistic elements while ignoring others because CDA typically uses a small corpus of randomly gathered data. This might affect the findings of one's research and can also result in bias in the data collection and analysis. Most CDA opponents and experts recommend that greater caution be used when gathering and analysing data in order to resolve such problems. This is possible in particular when a scholar selects large chunks of language as samples in order to conduct meticulous analysis.

The prominent figures of CDA seemed to support this standpoint by presenting a number of their views on it. van Dijk (1993, 1995), for instance, opines that majority of the theorists and practitioner of CDA do support certain ideologies as well as endorse its organizing body which the theorists and practitioners of CDA belong to are themselves

related to political and social life. Thus, the job of the practitioners of CDA is not confined to the socio-political explorations of discourses, rather they may act ac activists and critics in society. In the same way, Fairclough's support (1996) in rejecting the criticism leveled against CDA is also worth mentioning. He rejects the objection on the subjective nature of criticism by drawing a clear-cut line between CDA and politics and argues that unlike politics, while attempting to make explicit the oppressive practiced carried out to marginalize people focus mainly on language involved in the marginalization and in doing so, the analysts never bring in their political leaning. He further argues that critical discourse analysts attempt to see the involvement of language in the misuse of power and address the issue from linguistic perspective. Thus, critical discourse analysts should not be termed to 'subjective politicians' (emphasis added). To Fairclough (1996, as cited in Zahed, 2019), critical discourse analysts help the masses understand the discursive ways in which they are subjugated and thus, reshape and correct the biased social structures. In furthering his argument, he says that it is completely inevitable in social sciences to hold a political positioning. He disagrees with Widdowson and argues that job of critical discourse analyst is not to interpret to merely support a particular ideology, rather, during their analyses, they tend to follow a proper systematic procedure. Thus, CDA presents its full pledge and organized tool for analysis.

2.9.2.3 Strengths and Limitations of CDA

Critical Discourse Analysis has some faults and strengths, which are briefly described here, much like any other area of study. The ability of CDA to integrate analyses and subtleties of language from discursive as well as social perspective, and even the analyses beyond the level of description of the processes that gives way to the creation/production and consumption, accounts for a significant portion of its persuasive power. Integration of the whole CDA stages or levels includes the level of textual, discursive, and social levels that provides an opportunity for analysts and researchers to analyze the relationship between power and ideology in society and the role that language plays in their creation, assertion, or opposition.

The primary focus of the analysis in the current research study is on text, specifically editorials from Indian and Pakistani newspapers, which is thought to be crucial for understanding both the discursive aspects of discourses as well as the social, discursive,

and structural dimensions that run parallel to the textual analysis. According to Zahed (2019), the investigation of the discursive strategies used by discourse producers contextualized in larger political and social practices may render transparent the hidden agenda of the discourse producers because a text offers itself as a solid site for inquiry in discourse. It is important to note that studying literary elements alone is insufficient; in addition, as was already said, it is necessary to look into the sociopolitical aspects of the text. Another aspect of CDA's power is that it offers the "subject/recipient" a proactive part in the discourse practise process. By concentrating on the way they consume discourses and how those discourses affect their mental and social cognitive models, CDA treats discourse consumers as very active participants rather than as passive listeners.

Regarding the function of recipients in discourse practices, a significant weakness of CDA that is frequently emphasised by academics is that its practitioners tend to focus primarily on the discourses created by powerful groups while ignoring the counter discourses created by those who the critical discourse analysts are actually interested in. According to Zahed (2019), CDA should take into account the discourses that the wider audience create (marginalized and superior communities) so as to bring the true and full picture in view of the problem under investigation, despite the fact that CDA is designed with a purpose to expose covert ideologies and agendas of the powerful as well as dominant groups in a given society.

2.10   Critical Terrorism Studies

Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS) is an emerging theory that is intrinsically linked to critical discourse analysis. The field of CTS emerged as a direct response to the traditional terrorism studies, which, according to Jackson (2007) and Burnett & Whytte (2005) mainly focused on counterinsurgency and the prevailing studies relating to security. Application of such traditional approaches to terrorism studies was criticized because this traditional "terrorism research adopts state-centric priorities and perspectives and tends to reproduce a limited set of assumptions and narratives about the nature, causes and responses to terrorism (Jackson, 2007, p. 244). However, most of the findings of such research are

questionable since there are fundamental flaws in the modes and manners adopted in reaching the conclusions.

A critical approach to terrorism studies, on the other hand, starts with a contestation of the state-centric view of terrorism and challenges the broadly accepted viewpoints in relation to terror-related incidents. CTS takes the stance that terrorism-related knowledge is deeply influenced by the language and discourse that together make up the social processes and is influenced by the broader sociocultural context (Jackson, 2007). Research under the auspices of CTS, therefore, does not aim to report the real facts about terrorism; it rather focuses on deconstructing the overriding narratives with a view to exposing the political side of discourse, i.e., the politics that is at play behind the terrorism-related information that is presented as ostensibly neutral. A CTS approach thus questions the neutrality of the so-called objective knowledge about terrorism and attempts to decipher the hidden political agendas behind such knowledge (Shaw, 2003).

More importantly, CTS takes into account the fact that terror is used as a strategy by different nations for gaining political ascendency (Schmid, 2004). According to Schmid (2004, p. 200), "terrorism is sometimes the only and sometimes one of several instruments of a political strategy". He further argues that terrorism is not merely limited to violence; rather, its primary practice is in the form of propaganda, which is mainly propagated through the mass media. The editors, their selections of news items, and their editorials can thus also have an overriding influence on how a terror-related incident is presented to the readers. In the words of Schmid (2004, p. 2008), "Where terrorism is predominantly media-oriented—and a great deal of it is—editors can become accessories (often unwitting accessories)".

2.11   Corpus Linguistics

Many linguists have developed their own ideas and terminologies for the study of language, but Corpus Linguistics (CL) has been the most useful. The general studies of corpus-based linguistics are the ancestors of corpus linguistics. According to Cheng (2018), corpora are empirically investigated for the purpose of language description in corpus linguistics. Like Stubbs (1996), corpus linguistic analysis refers to a method of inquiry in the analysis and examination of language and its corpus that is the combination of large samples acquired from language used in real life, for example, newspaper discourses,

textbooks, etc. The collection of the samples can be made in an organized or in an arbitrary manner that can be saved as computer databases. Corpus linguistic analysis takes for its purpose as the identification of specific lexical, grammatical as well as linguistic structures and principles within any given text. As they may be part of corpus language, speeches, publications, articles, and text messages can all be analyzed using corpus linguistics. Literally, corpus refers to a grouping of written works, specifically the entire body of work by one author or a grouping of writings on a single topic. As a result, the field of written content that is collectively created on a specific issue can include newspaper editorials.

According to Baker & Ellece's (2011) citation of Mcenery and Wilson's (1996) research, corpus linguistics is "the study of language based on real life examples of language use" (p.25). Corpus linguistics makes use of electronic encoding software to analyze, document and report lexicons, its relationship and how a text is frequented with it. By testing the already available theories that are subjected to further verification by conducting large-scale analysis and by testing keywords and collocations to display discursive structures, this helps to reduce researchers' bias (Baker, 2008, as cited in Baker & Ellece 2011).

Text is the major concern of Corpus linguistics, which simply means that it is readable. Corpus linguistics does not deal with the theoretical development of language-based analysis. Rather it deals with the language used in a real-life situation unmediated by the presence of any analyst or linguist (Stubbs, 1996, p.2). In this research study, the researcher focuses on text collected from the newspaper editorials of Pakistan and India

Corpus linguistics has recently become quite popular for exploring linguistic usage, trends and as a tool for developing language lessons in the classroom. Large collections of spoken and written discourses that are organized on computers are studied in corpus linguistics. A researcher can quickly examine the linguistic patterns being employed by making use of the many electronic-based tools. Although the words "computerised corpora" and "corpus linguistics" are similar.

According to Stefan (2009), corpus linguistics is one of the approaches in modern linguistics that is expanding the quickest. With time and the application of corpus rules to significant amounts of data, its significance has grown. With the use of corpus linguistics,

it is now simple and accessible to interpret various linguistic elements in use, including both grammatical as well as lexical, their frequency by which they have been used in a particular text and the number of times for which they have been used.

According to Kyrala (2009), the study of meaning and the problem of how people manage conceptual content have always been the main goals of language study. In today's technologically advanced world, researchers can now quickly and effectively locate a large number of data entries while conducting research. Before corpus analysis, academics had to rely on their standard language choices. However, many obstacles to studying intricate texts have been removed with the use of corpus analysis since it enables academics to examine how people use language, what the many actual norms of language use are, and how text variations differ from those norms. Due to the linguistic principles used in this research, a large amount of data can be used quickly.

By itself, corpus linguistics is a method. According to Leech (1992), corpus linguistics is a methodological approach for doing linguistic research. Therefore, it is a method in and of itself that offers a methodical route for carrying out and performing linguistic investigations. A corpus is a method for gathering texts or portions of texts that can serve as the basis for general linguistic analysis. It gets closer to a method than an analysis when corpus becomes a way. Because computational, descriptive, and theoretical linguists make use of electronically large databases of texts to base their linguistic analyses on genuine data, such as instances gathered from spoken or written data taken from language used in real-life situations. Leech (1992) feels that corpus linguistics is not a distinct model of linguistics, rather a method of analysis. As a result, it serves as a way for conducting linguistics analysis in this context.

Corpus linguistics is distinct from practical linguistics, which is often known as empirical linguistics. The empirical method to linguistic analysis frequently concentrates on spontaneously used written or spoken data that is largely recognized in part because of the advent of electronic gadgets as well as materials. According to Anthony (2013), there are four main characteristics of corpus-assisted analysis, including (i) the analysis of authentic language from empirical perspective, empirical analysis of real linguistic structure made use of in natural texts, (ii) use of a large sample of discourses produced in

a natural and real-life situation known as a "corpus," (iii) use of computers for the analysis, and (iv) both qualitative as well as quantitative orientations.

Corpus linguistics uses both qualitative and quantitative methodologies on the basis of which it sets it apart from other fields of study. The qualitative and quantitative methodologies are combined in corpus linguistics, claim Nordquist and Richard (2019). It starts with quantitative results before moving on to qualitative ones. Even if the process of gathering data may go through different cycles, it still depends on both techniques. For instance, it is typically preferable to explain how any particular pattern of frequency arises by qualitatively analyzing quantitative results. On the other hand, the qualitative approach, as mentioned by Leech, Hundt, Mair, and Smith (2012), may be useful for classifying cases in a corpus along with its connotation, analysis of quantitative data may assist a subsequent qualitative analysis.

Depending on the corpus text, numerous corpus kinds have been established. Typically, a corpus can be classified in more than one way. Wynne and Prytz (2012) contend that the first category, or Monolingual Corpus, is the most typical. The text created uses only one language, and the emphasis is on highlighting the proper word usages, word combinations, etc. The second type, called a parallel corpus, consists of two monolingual corpora, where one is the translation of the other. The third form is frequently confused with parallel corpus and is commonly called as multilingual corpus. This corpus contains many language translations of a specific text. The fourth one is referred to as Comparable Corpus, which is a collection of more than two monolingual corpora that all follow the same patterns but use different languages. These corpora are comparable because of their similarities, but they are not literal translations of one another.

A different kind of corpus that refers to language sets created by language learners is known as a learner corpus. Researchers can carefully examine the errors and problems that language learners encounter when learning a language thanks to the learners' corpus. The next is a diachronic corpus, which often includes texts from multiple eras and enables a researcher to examine how language has changed and developed over time. The Multimedia corpus is the last corpus; it contains writings that have been taken out of audio

or visual recordings. Because the Monolingual corpus exclusively contains newspaper editorials in the English language, it was chosen for this study.

Corpus linguistics is a useful approach that offers a number of benefits. Sinclair (1998) asserts that corpus analysis provides a more objective picture of the linguistic objects than any alternative method. He makes the case that this is the case because the speaker lacks accessibility to the linguistic patterns that are present subconsciously. Additionally, corpus analysis is capable of uncovering nearly any type of linguistic pattern, including phonetic, morphological, lexical, grammatical and even the very meta-discourse level. Such an analysis also supports in assessing specialized goals, such as the distinction between masculine and feminine tag-questions, the capacity for children to learn past tense, or even mistakes made by Japanese students when making counterfactual claims. According to Baker and Ellece (2011), corpus linguistics deals with a variety of fields, including language teaching, forensic linguistics, language variations, stylistics, forensic linguistics and dictionary development as well as more general areas like translation studies and the study of ideology.

2.12   Corpus Based CDA

The discipline of study known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) employs methods principally found in stylistics (Eská, 2020). According to Eská (2020), studies in the subject of CDA try to comprehend the mechanisms and justifications underlying a text's impacts on listeners and readers. While CDA employs stylistic tools in addition to different others in order to examine texts that are non-fiction, how these impact readers of the texts and its consequent reception, and how stylistics utilizes certain techniques and tools to define and approach a particular work of fiction to inspire and impress its readers. For qualitative text analysis, CDA analysts traditionally used techniques grounded in a frameworks like transitivity, nominalization, and/or modality. Nevertheless, due to the researchers' high levels of subjectivity when using these frameworks, CDA has come under fire as a qualitative method of linguistic analysis from many academic theorists (Cheng, 2018). For example, Orpin (2005, cited in Cheng, 2018) critiques it for the analysts' engagement in subjectivity. Similar to this, Stubbs (1997) questions both the generalizability of the conclusions drawn from such an analysis as well as the

representativeness of the brief and randomly chosen data used for the analysis. The similar complaint is made by Mautner (1995), who claims that CDA is of great potential in regard to tiny corpora when it has to treat a topic of representation that apparently rules dominant (p.3). In addressing these issues in line with CDA's analytical approach, Researchers Dijk (1988, as cited in Mautner, 1995) and Cheng (2018) recommend the analyst should combine qualitative and quantitative methods. Dijk (1998, as cited in Mautner, 1995, p. 4) addresses CDA's quantifying method with qualitative technique and envisions a future, assisted by computers, will revolutionize the field in making it possible to quantify the qualitative analysis of language. The only other option is to combine CDA with Corpus Linguistics because a CDA researcher working alone is unable to assemble a team of analysts because they must come from many fields and have enough financing as well (Cheng, 2018; Mautner, 1995).

According to Baker et al. (2008, as cited in Kyrala, 2009), CDA and corpus linguistics work in concert. Their research demonstrates that, in contrast to the CDA alone, the results of their corpus analysis increased the objectivity and dependability of the CDA analysis (Baker et al. 2008, as cited in Kyrala, 2009). They particularly advise using corpus linguistics to "give a generic 'pattern map' of a huge volume of data" in relation to the function of corpus linguistics in CDA (p.4). Corpus linguistics can be used to interpret ideological viewpoints present in a vast body of material. It can improve implementations CDA further by offering a pattern map for a large amount of text. Because the foundation of my research was corpus analysis, it was conceivable to interpret the ideological components of a sizable body consisted of editorial/text published on the subject of terrorism in Pakistani and Indian newspapers.

2.13 Research Gap and the Present Study

This study in particular brings out novel as well as distinctive insight because it is the first time a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis has been used to conduct a systematic investigation of the conflicting ideologies between India and Pakistan. The researchers who have carried out their research works in relevant fields I have included a few recent works here. According to Khan and Shakir (2011), there are three topics that Pakistan and India disagree on: terrorism, the Kashmir conflict, and water. The Nation and

the Dawn, two English-language newspapers published in Pakistan, frequently centre their editorials on terrorism rather than Kashmir or the dispute over water between India and Pakistan. They believe that Pakistani English newspaper editorials favour the peace frame less than the conflict frame. According to Yousaf (2015), India blames Pakistan for the growth of terrorism both abroad and within its own borders in its editorials. However, Pakistan is attempting to escape this snare by portraying itself in its editorials as the victim of terrorism. Although Riaz, Shah, and Ahmad (2018) and Yousaf, Elahi, and Adnan (2018) assert about Pakistani editorials covering the issue of Kashmir more frequently than Indian editorials, Yousaf et al. (2018) establish that both countries' editorial portrayal of the issues is legitimate and reliable. The research study by Yousaf et al. (2018) found that when discussing the contentious issues that are occurring in these countries, the newspaper editorials of both countries have a tendency to support and prefer their own nation while leveling accusations against the other. Similar to this, Ali and Parveen (2015) examine how Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan is portrayed within the Indian daily The Tribune and the Pakistani weekly Dawn. They contend that both newspapers' editorials prioritise the national interests of their respective countries above anything else. Similarly, Riaz, Shah, and Ahmad (2018) found that Pakistani editorials discuss the Kashmir issue more frequently than Indian editorials, based on their analysis of newspaper editorials from Pakistan's Dawn and The News and India's The Hindu and The Tribune. Additionally, they contend that the freedom movements in Kashmir are portrayed favourably by Pakistani media in order to legitimise Kashmir's independence and division from India. On the other hand, they are depicted negatively in editorials in Indian newspapers, for instance, the common place depiction of the organizations engaged in an armed struggle against the India in Kashmir are labeled as terrorists bent on the secession and liberation of Kashmir from India. In addition, editorials published in The Nation from Pakistan, view Shabir, Khan, Adnan, and Safdar (2014), favour the approach of the government directed on the issue of Kashmir that is placed above and beyond the negotiation policy and emphasize need for a long-term resolution to the Kashmir dispute. The Nation concurs with the Pakistani government's response to the Mumbai attacks. According to Shabir et al. (2014), The Nation editorials display patriotism and support the government by refuting the claim made by India and Pakistan.

The current study's interpretations of opposing ideologies in editorials from Pakistani and Indian newspapers are based on corpus-based analysis. To provide a good proportionate and representative overview of the topic at hand and the sort of dialogue throughout an adequate time period, a corpus of text was created (from 2008 to 2016). The linguistic analysis, which remained limited to the study of editorials in print and online made references towards the occurrence of words like war, terror, terrorism, and terrorists, keywords, concordance, and collocation that are found being used in the editorials addressing terrorism-related incidents from The News International and the Times of India. The corpus remained focused and depended on keyword searches in the websites of the respective newspapers. It specifically comprised of texts from editorials regarding terrorism published in Pakistani newspaper The News International and the Indian newspaper The Times of India. The data were imported as a.TXT file into the AntConc analytical software, instructed as well as detailed, for instance, by Tang (2011), through automated analysis that was carried out because LexisNexis lacks an internal capability for corpus analysis. In addition, a thorough theoretical framework for the current study was created by combining Corpus Linguistics with van Dijk's ideological square, thus this study is corpus based critical discourse analysis.

In order to lend credence to the present study, a plethora of material have been reviewed by the researcher in this chapter on literature review. The chapter drew heavily on relevant literature available on the topic from the point of view of the issue relevant to the current research study. Additionally, the chapter revealed the competing ideologies between India and Pakistan that are spread over the body of newspaper editorial discourse are yet to be examined using a corpus-assisted critical discourse analytical study. This suggests about the significant gap within the bulk of knowledge and scholarship that is currently available on the subject. Hence, the present research study attempted at bridging the gap.

2.14 Summary

Within the space of this chapter, the researcher gave a comprehensive account of discourse, its relationship to authority, ideology, and the shaping of public opinion. The researcher also looked into the significance of corpus linguistics and its use in CDA. It was

followed by an overview of the strained relations, hostilities and how both countries (Pakistan and India) utilized them to promote and carry out their own philosophies in the area. Literature available on India-Pakistan relations, the function and significance of editorials in this context, as well as the role of media (both electronic and print), were briefly understood and discussed. The research investigations of Khan and Shakir (2011), Ahmad et al. (2012), Shabir et al. (2014), Ali and Parveen (2015), Yousaf (2015), Zaheer (2017), Riaz et al. (2018), and Yousaf et al. provide ample evidence for the argument that editorials are employed largely for ideological purposes (2018). According to this research, editorials' main purpose is to defend powerful individual ideologies or dominant state ideologies. According to the literature analysis mentioned above, editorials are the most important, consistent, and permanent component of newspapers. They can be used to further any kind of propaganda or public, political, social, or economic agenda. Due to this, editorials have created a significant volume of writing about ideological conflicts in the in relation to terrorism. The editors in Indian and Pakistani editorial publications have used ideologically-loaded words in their editorials on terrorism-related opposing philosophies. Using conventional methods of analysis to discuss such a big body of material is challenging. For this reason, the present research uses corpus linguistic analysis, which can quickly analyse a vast number of texts. My proposed questions that there are competing ideologies in the editorials of Pakistani and Indian newspapers were further supported by the literature to some extent in this chapter. I also mentioned that I could effectively use corpus-based critical discourse analysis to uncover these competing ideologies regarding terrorism.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This chapter presents the theoretical methodology and conceptual framework. The chapter begins with an explication of the theoretical framework underpinning this study. The research design for the study is then presented along with mixed methods research and corpus-assisted discourse studies. It is followed by the data collection procedures adopted for this study. The chapter ends with a detailed discussion of how the quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed keeping in view the theoretical and analytical frameworks.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

The current study takes into consideration editorials of Pakistani and Indian newspapers concerning construction of ideology. Therefore, this study required theoretically and analytically a comprehensive model for the sake of analyzing the text replete with ideology. Thus, I have used a theoretical framework that comprises Ideological Square Model (ISM) postulated by van Dijk (1998), and Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS) presented by Jackson (2007). In relation to the first model, although several scholars have dealt with critical discourse analysis (CDA), van Dijk stands tall among them because of his extensive work on the subject. Furthermore, van Dijk's work on CDA is particularly relevant to this study since he deals primarily with media discourse, which is the focus of this study as well. Moreover, van Dijk (1996, 1998) frequently makes a reference to and explains conflicting ideologies portrayed in the print media, something highly relevant to this study, as it explores the conflicting ideologies represented in the print media of Pakistan and India. Moreover, since the study aimed to explore conflicting ideologies in the context of terrorism, it was considered prudent to include a model that deals with critical perspectives on the subject. Jackson's (2007) contribution to terrorism studies is particularly relevant to this study because he places CTS in the context of political discourses, as is discussed in a later section.

3.2.1 Ideological Square Model (ISM)

Contrary to the commonly held conceptions which equated ideology with beliefs, van Dijk (1998) provided a new framework for understanding ideology. He pointed out that "ideologies may be very succinctly defined as the *basis of the social representations shared by members of a group.* This means that ideologies allow people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, *for them,* and to act accordingly" (van Dijk, 1998, p. 8, emphasis in original). In this sense, he argued, ideologies may influence the conception of what is true or false, depending on what is relevant to a certain group. This resultantly leads to group polarization, dividing the mindsets of people into the US and Them binary. Such polarization indicates the presence of group conflicts, with each group having a particular ideological image of their own group and the opposing group. Therefore, in the words of van Dijk (1998, p. 69), "positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation seems to be a fundamental property of ideologies…... In other words, an ideology is a self-serving schema for the representation of Us and Them as social groups". The polarization strategies in terms of positive description of in-group members and negative portrayal of out-group members can be connected to the ideological square in the following manner:
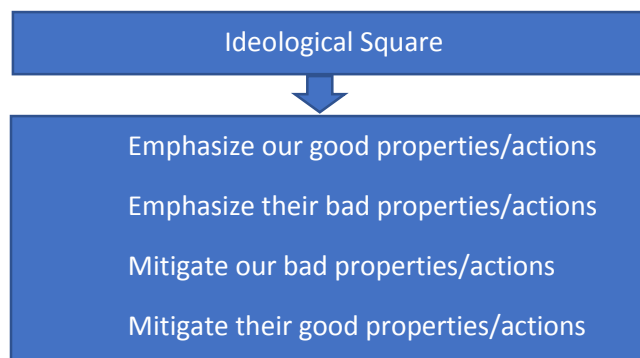
Figure 2. van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square Model

In this regard, van Dijk (1998) further postulates that in order for us to explore the ways in which ideologies are created, implemented, amended, and redesigned, "we need to look closely at their *discursive manifestations.*" (p. 6, emphasis in original). It is therefore logical that in order to explore the conflicting ideologies in the case of Pakistan and India, one needs to explore its discursive manifestations in the print media. Since the aim of this

study was to investigate such conflicting ideologies in relation to terror-related incidents that occurred in the two countries, a closely-related theoretical model of Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS) was selected, and it is to this model that we next turn our attention.

3.2.2   Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS)

The theory of CTS challenges the traditional assumptions associated with state-centric view of terrorism. According to Jackson (2007, p. 245), CTS rests upon "an understanding of knowledge as a social process constructed through language, discourse, and inter-subjective practices". He further argues that views about terrorism reflect the sociocultural context in which they take place. CTS thus dismantles the neutrality of objective viewpoint on terrorism. In the words of Jackson (2007, p. 246), CTS "evinces an acute sensitivity to the ways in which terrorism knowledge can be deployed as a political technology deployed in the furtherance of hegemonic projects and directs attention to the interests that underlie knowledge claims. Thus, CTS starts by asking: who is terrorism knowledge for, and what functions does it serve in supporting their interests?". In keeping with this objective, research carried out in the domain of CTS dismantles the traditional interpretations; instead, it shows "the inherently contested and political nature of the discourse" (Jackson, 2007, p. 247), something which is at the core of the current study. The theoretical model of CTS is relevant to this study since it emphasizes constructivist approaches that open up avenues for an interpretive understanding of the terrorism phenomenon (Jackson, 2007).

3.3 Research Design

This study takes a constructivist-interpretivist stance epistemologically (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011). That is, it conceives reality to be constructed through contextual influences and interpreted differently according to the special and temporal dimensions of the phenomenon (Holliday, 2015). Fitting this constructivist-interpretivist orientation is a comparative research design. Since the current study envisaged to explore the conflicting ideologies in the context of Pakistan and India, a comparative research design was deemed appropriate. Such a design helps identify the similarities and differences between cultures and viewed realities (Walliman, 2018). Within a comparative research design, both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies could be accommodated (Walliman,

2018). Concurrently, the methodological research design chosen for this study is mixed methods, with the qualitative dimension carrying more significance, as has been elaborated below.

3.3.1. Mixed Methods Approach

This study aimed to compare the conflicting ideologies represented in the editorials of renowned Pakistani and Indian newspapers. In order to make the analysis appropriate, valid, and significant, mixed methods research is believed to be the most relevant methodological approach. The primary importance of mixed methods research is that it combines the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative paradigms, thus strengthening the validity of research outcomes since the findings are converged and corroborated, resulting in a greater acceptability of the study to a higher number of audience (Dornyei, 2007).

In this study, therefore, a mixed-methods approach has been applied. Firstly, the collected data has been quantitatively analyzed for major linguistic features that pertain to the main focus of the study. Thereafter, a qualitative analysis of the major themes emanating from the collected data has been carried out. Furthermore, in the field of linguistics, corpus-assisted discourse studies typically follow a mixed-methods approach (Backer & McEnery, 2015), something we discuss next.

3.4 Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies

Research often requires a particular design and methodology for the sake of substantiating the study and for retrieving quantitative and qualitative data and for carrying out a thorough analysis of the text and the data (Masso, 2009). Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) offers a unique methodological paradigm to conduct mixed methods studies; it complements the quantitative analysis based on Corpus Linguistics to qualitatively carry out CDA. CADS allows us to analyse various issues in media text corpora (Taylor, 2014). It helps in quantitative analysis of the significant aspects of language use in electronically-stored media texts, and complementation of it with an in-depth qualitative analysis of the lexical patterns that are related to the focus of the study.

Such a systematic analysis offers a great degree of validity, reliability, and objectivity to the findings of the analysis (Baker & McEnery, 2015).

CADS is particularly relevant to the studies of political discourse, especially in relation to how ideologies are enacted through media discourse. More importantly, CADS allows calculating word frequencies and lexical patterns that give a clear clue about the markedness of discourse, the central agents therein, and the salience of each agent (Baker, 2010). CADS thus helps determine the *keyness* of a text in comparison to another text. Keyness, according to Baker et al. (2008), refers to the words or phrases that are statistically significant in a text with high frequency in the under-analysis corpus in comparison with another corpus that is specialized.

The present research aimed to carry out a rigorous analysis of editorial texts centred on terror incidents in the context of Pakistan and India in order to find the ideological stances projected by the two countries. CADS therefore suited it most appropriately. Following this, the corpus of the data was first analysed quantitatively through following the recommended measures for corpus analysis, which are discussed in detail in latter sections.

3.5 Data Collection Procedure

For the purpose of analyzing conflicting ideologies in Indo-Pak newspapers, two popular and widely read English daily newspapers were selected from both the countries. From the Indian side, one of the most significant newspaper in India, *The Times of India, was selected*. The reason for selecting this newspaper lies in the fact that it is the most widely acclaimed newspaper of India. The Guinness World Records (2009) mentioned it as the newspaper with the widest circulation in the entire world, with more than three million copies sold each day. From Pakistani context I selected The *News International* and it too is a reliable English newspaper with the widest circulation in Pakistan. Pressreference.com mentions it as the English newspaper having the widest circulation, with 112,000 copies sold each day, followed by the Dawn with 109,000 copies. I then selected written editorials from both the newspapers in the context of terrorism from online sources. Editorials from both the newspapers subscribe to variant incidents of terrorism that took place on different occasions in Pakistan and India. Moreover, the rationale for the

selection of *The News International* lies in the fact that the researcher himself has been acquainted with this newspaper because of daily reading and secondly because this newspaper lays a particular emphasis on the nature of political issues especially Pakistani and Indian and finally because it is published at international level from London.

van Dijk (1991) is of the view that mass media holds a strong control over masses and at the same time it manufactures popular consent especially in the domain of ethnic relations. Headlines, columns, cartoons and editorials in newspapers are one of the central domains for registering the discursive deployment of what van Dijk refers to as symbolic resources. A newspaper editorial is considered the most insightful portion of the newspaper discourse because of several reasons. Firstly, the typical anonymity and the rhetorical purpose it provides assist the newspapers' editors in forwarding their vested agenda on a significant current issue (van Dijk, 1998). Secondly, the editorial genre makes use of multiple discursive resources such as others' views, statistical evidence, etc., to solidify the arguments presented (van Dijk, 1998). Lastly, and more importantly, the very structure of the editorial includes a call for action towards the end, indicating the significance of the representation of hidden ideologies (van Dijk, 1991). For these reasons, newspaper editorials were considered to be the most appropriate text for the exploration of conflicting ideologies.

3.5.1. Sampling

In this study, I aim at investigating the ideological confrontation regarding Pakistan and India. For this purpose, I used purposive sampling in order to analyze the themes related to my study in the respective editorials of newspapers in English language from Pakistan and India. The reason for selecting purposive sampling is that such a sampling is acceptable for special situations and it uses the expert's judgement for the selection of certain cases with a specific purpose in mind (Neuman, 2007). Therefore, this kind of sampling suits my study.

3.5.1.1   Selection of time period

The time period of the editorials ranged between 2008 and 2016. The purposive selection of the time period was based on (a) the major terrorist events that occurred both

in India and Pakistan, (b) resulting in heavy human losses, (c) which resulted in higher tension between the two neighboring states, Pakistan and India.

3.5.1.2   Selection of editorials

Selection of editorials from the two newspapers during the stated time period was done on the basis of their relationship with the terror-related incidents on both sides of border. The researcher used skimming technique which is a method of previewing the text for the sake of finding the main idea (Dhieb-Henia, 2006). Skimming was done on the basis of reference to terror along with its inflection at the end like terrorism , terrorists etc. This resulted in a total of 113 letters, 60 of which were found in *The News International*, whereas the remaining 53 were found in *The Times of India*. Further purposive sampling was carried out, reviewing these letters to reject those which were not directly relevant to the conflicting ideologies, which was the main focus of the study. This resulted in 50 editorials each from each of the newspapers in the form of a corpus of 100 editorials, making it truly comparable data. Conclusively, a total of 100 editorials were collectively selected for this research, with 50 each from *The Times of India* and *The News International*.

Since the number of terror-related incidents in India and Pakistan is huge, it was not feasible to mention all the incidents which terror motivated. Therefore, I have selected incidents of terror from both the countries on the basis of the following points:

1   Terror attacks carried on civilians and armed forces in India and Pakistan
2   Terror attacks subscribing to high number of causalities and fatalities.
3   Terror attacks causing highly negative influence on India and Pakistan relations.
4   Terror attacks labeled as incidents of "terrorism"

3.6 Quantitative Data Analysis

In research, qualitative and quantitative modes of inquiry are used. However, my research in context of corpus-assisted aspect is confined to quantitative mode of inquiry. Quantitative method of analysis provides emphasis upon counting and measuring (Kamil, 2004). Quantitative data analysis was carried out using the analytical framework for polarization schema as provided by van Dijk (1998b). I made an attempt to find out polarization in key words, multi-key words and collocation through membership, activities, goals, values, position and group relations, and resources. And in binominals and pronouns,

I have identified polarization through inclusion/exclusion and social actors/agents. The researcher selected hundred editorials from both the newspapers *The News International* and the *Times of India* for the sake of investigating the ideological confrontation. Further, the generated corpus of the data was analyzed using AntConc Software. The level of frequency and the related Keynes has been determined by comparing the self-generated corpus with the British National Corpus (BNC), which is a specialized reference corpora most suitable for the current study. The analytical framework and the analysis procedures are detailed below.

3.6.1. Analytical Framework

The analytical lens for the data was taken from van Dijk's (1998b) suggested categories for deciphering the structure of ideologies. He refers to this as polarization schema, and argues that group conflicts and the related ideologies can be analyzed keeping in view the broader polarization schema, which is constituted of the following categories:

Membership: What is our identity? Where we come from? What do we do? Who is from our group and who does not belong to us?

Activities: What we perform? What others expect from us? What is the purpose of us being here?

Goals: Why we do what we do? What is the point of our realization?

Values/norms: What are our pivotal values? How do we look at ourselves and others? What we should do and what not?

Position and group-relations: how can our social position be defined? Who can be called our enemies? Who are like us, and who are different?

Resources: What essential social resources our group has or needs to have?

(Van Dijk, 1998, pp. 69-70)

The Keynes of the frequently occurring words and phrases was categorized based on this polarization schema. The detailed analysis procedures are provided in the next section.

3.6.2. Data Analysis Procedure

The corpus was designed so that a systematic and accurate representation of the topic and kind of discourse over a particular time period can be gained. The Keyword list and their frequency, binominals, pronouns and collocation found in the chosen editorials were the primary focus of this linguistic study.

Two docx files were generated. One contained text from *The Times of India*'s website, while the other contained text from *The News International*'s website. The files needed to be processed to remove unnecessary text and characters before being labelled for part of speech. Author bylines, byline dates, website links, and formatting-related symbols were among the extraneous material. Whitespace that was clearly missing was filled up. Spelling errors weren't fixed. Except for instances when a symbol interpretation problem occurred from the process of transferring online content into a word processing document, punctuation was left alone.

I used two procedures to build a corpus. The initial step was to get a corpus ready for Anthony Laurence's AntConc software to examine. The reason for using two procedures was that Sketch Engine provides a number of monitoring tools provided through an online web site, but requires a subscription fee for access, while AntConc is free software that can be accessed and utilized by anybody who has a suitable computer. Therefore, in the event that more evaluation was needed without access to Sketch Engine, the corpus developed for AntConc would be available.

To make files that could be used with the CLAWS part-of-speech tagger from UCREL, I installed Antony Laurence's AntFileConverter for the AntConc corpus and used it to convert the supplied .docx files to .txt files. *The News International* and *The Times of India* subcorpora were tagged with the CLAWS 7 tagset using the online CLAWS tagging tool. The most recent tagset accessible using the online tagging tool is CLAWS7.

Both subcorpora were added to Sketch Engine, which according to defaults use the part-of-speech tagset provided by TreeTagger. Each sub corpora were examined for conjunctions followed by nouns, adjectives, adverbs, or verbs in order to look for binomials. The results were arranged according to total frequency in the sub corpora. Pronoun usage statistics are provided in separate files for the two sub corpora. The

distinction between inclusive and exclusive pronouns has not yet been made for these. Sketch Engine was used to conduct four distinct keyword searches, two for each sub corpus. In a single search, all relevant information about a single keyword is displayed, including its frequency in the target sub corpus, its frequency in the British National Corpus (BNC), which served as a reference corpus, and its Keynes score, which indicates how frequently it appears in the target sub corpus. On the basis of high frequency and Keynes, the tables were generated. Although there aren't many longer-than-three-word keywords, those that do show up in the second search appear several times because they are subsets of the longer keywords. The second search displays multi- keywords up to five words long.

3.7 Qualitative Data Analysis

For qualitative interpretation of the data from the two newspapers, the discourse strategies as enumerated by van Dijk (1996) are mainly used for analysis. That is, the lexical items, propositions, implications, presuppositions, description, local coherence, and global coherence are determined in relation to the editorials in the two newspapers. In each of the cases, the conflicting ideologies are reported separately, i.e., for each of the discourse strategy, both positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation have been analysed from the point of view of both the newspapers. The analytical framework and analysis procedures are discussed in detail below.

3.7.1. Analytical Framework

According to van Dijk (1996), the different levels and dimensions of discourse can be analyzed with felicity in discourse analytic approaches. These levels and dimensions as represented in text and talk integral to media and press discourse (van Dijk, 1996). Following are the main levels and dimensions of discourse that can help us decipher the hidden conflicting ideologies in the two under-study newspapers.

3.7.1.1 Lexical items

Lexical items may be deliberately chosen to represent or contextually express certain values that may be good for self and bad for others; van Dijk (1996) refers to them as value judgements. Whereas some of these words may be used as a way of opinion (e.g., 'pretty', 'dull', etc.), others may be used in way where they represent a fact or evaluation (e.g., 'contaminated', 'independent', 'intellectual' (van Dijk, 1996)).

However, van Dijk (1996) believes that in order to decipher the more complex ways in which discourse represents ideologies, we must go beyond lexical items analysis. Moreover, I have gone beyond the lexical analysis in the form of propositions, implications, presuppositions, descriptions, local coherence, global coherence and topics, and semantic moves which are as follow:

3.7.1.2 Propositions

The lexical items are generally accompanied by propositions that are expressed in whole clauses or sentences. According to van Dijk (1996), we analyze propositions in terms of actions and events and they predict the argument with variant semantic roles for example patient, agent. He further argues that propositions are generally expressed in the form of model auxiliaries and passive sentence construction.

3.7.1.3 Implications

Sometimes it may occur that instead of directly expressing a proposition, the proposition may be implied. In this regard, van Dijk (1996) writes: this theoretically shows that any given preposition may infer an event-model or context model which might reflect a certain attitude or knowledge. Implications, therefore, can only be understood in the light of the event or the context model that the text represents overall.

3.7.1.4 Presuppositions

According to van Dijk (1996), presuppositions are also a hallmark of opinions expressed in the press. Propositions are sometimes expressed in a way where they presuppose an earlier model or event, thereby influencing an opinion which may be completely incorrect. The us and them dichotomy is "described, implied and presupposed" (van Dijk, 1996) through the use of text and talk in the press.

3.7.1.5 Descriptions

By descriptions, van Dijk (1996) implies the use of generality or specificity when describing events or actions. It is often the case that the good deeds of the self and the bad deeds of the other are described at a specific level. Contrarily, the bad deeds of the self and the good deeds of the other are described at a broader, abstract, and general level, with a clear indication of distancing.

3.7.1.6. Local coherence.

Van Dijk (1996) proffers that one of the significant semantic conditions for any textuality is coherence because coherence shows the way sentences and utterances "hang out" together and make sense of unity. In other words, coherence is relative and referential. Coherence thus has an integral connection with ideologies that are represented in text and talk. Coherence in text at the local level may be referential, extensional, intentional or functional, in a way that one proposition may lead to another proposition for the purposes of specification.

3.7.1.7 Global coherence and topics

In order for a text to be coherent, mere propositional coherence is not sufficient, according to van Dijk (1996). A certain global coherence is necessary to make the overall text ideologically consistent with the broader narratives surrounding an event or action. van Dijk (1996) argues that prepositions may indicate towards the belief-positions and macro-propositions which represent reality. Locally as well as globally an editorial is registered in expressing the local and global opinion. This global coherence remains consistent throughout the topics discussed in editorials, and is also connected to the macro-level ideologies in a given context.

3.7.1.8 Semantic moves

The last important discourse strategy is the sequence of clauses and sentences in a text, which may indicate the "ideological strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation" (van Dijk, 1996, p. 15). Within one sentence, one clause may contain a proposition for achieving one strategy and the other clause may contain a different proposition to help achieve another strategy.

I have taken the above categories as a conceptual and methodological framework for analysis of the editorial text from van Dijk's Ideological Square Model because they suit with the nature of my study and thus fulfil my purpose.

3.7.2. Data Analysis Procedure

For the purposes of qualitative analysis, the data from the two newspapers were read and reread in order to find codes that could help generate categories that are related to the main

themes (Holliday, 2015) of the discourse strategies as discussed above. Specifically, in relation to each discourse strategy, the following procedure was adopted to code the data.

3.7.2.1 Lexical items

Lexical items were chosen keeping in view van Dijk's (1996) recommendation that these may generally come in the form of adjectives. Words and phrases that represented opinion, fact, or evaluation were coded. These coded words and phrases were then corelated with the overall text to judge whether they represented positive self-presentation or negative other-presentation.

3.7.2.2 Propositions

For the purposes of finding propositions, van Dijk's (1996) recommendation of exploring model auxiliaries and passive sentence structure was strictly adhered to. Within that, both positive and negative propositions were coded.

3.7.2.3 Implications

For deciphering implications in the data, the propositions expressed were read and reread to explore whether they implied any related propositions or not. These inferred propositions were then compared with the overall context of the event to ensure that the analysis is true.

3.7.2.4 Presuppositions

Whenever a proposition is introduced in a way where it presupposes something which may not be true in relation to the overall context, the same was coded. The process was repeated several times for generating the categories of positive and negative presentation of self and other in the case of both Pakistan and India.

3.7.2.5 Descriptions

In each of the data sets for the two newspapers, description was coded (a) when the good deeds of Pakistan and the bad deeds of India were specified and vice versa, and (b) when the bad deeds of Pakistan and the good deeds of India were generalized and vice versa.

3.7.2.6 Local coherence

For analyzing local coherence, propositions were focused on with a view to finding similar propositions in the same text about the same event. That is, each time a proposition

was expressed, it was compared with the rest of the text of the editorial to find local coherence among the various propositions expressed in that editorial.

3.7.2.7 Global coherence and topics

Global coherence was analyzed both within and across different texts. Within the text of a specific editorial, clauses and sentences that related the under-discussion event to a global phenomenon were highlighted. Additionally, editorials across each newspaper were analyzed to explore whether they cohered with each other at the broader and macro level.

3.7.2.8 Semantic moves

For exploring semantic moves, compound and complex sentences were mainly focused on. The focus was whether different strategies were being achieved by giving two different propositions in the same sentence.

3.8 Validity and Reliability of Research

Research validity is connected to the accuracy in measuring the different concepts used in research, whereas reliability connotes consistency in the measurement (Walliman, 2018). Validity in the current study mainly stems from the fact that that a pre-decided analytical framework offered by van Dijk (1998) has been used, which contains concepts that have been measured. Further validity is granted by the use of corpus linguistics, where AntConc is considered to be a valid and reliable software for determining the salient aspects of the collected data. Content validity has been ensured through generating a selected corpora that includes only those editorials which refer to terror-related incidents in the context of Pakistan and India in a specific time-period. Construct validity has been ensured through qualitatively exploring the corpus-generated categories, which helped in determining whether the corpus data actually related to the concepts that the study was exploring. Reliability of the research, on the other hand, is enhanced by the very fact that the quantitative data generated from the corpus has been qualitatively analyzed to ensure consistency. Further reliability is added by creating a specialized corpora that only related to newspaper editorials on terror-related incidents in a specific time-period.

3.9 Summary

In this chapter, the methodological framework of this study has been put before the reader. The chapter started with a discussion of the theoretical framework, followed by the research design adopted for the study. The data collection and analysis procedures were also elaborated upon in detail. Further, the analytical frameworks used for both quantitative and qualitative data were explicated towards the end of the chapter. The next chapter provides the results of the data analysis.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Overview

In the previous chapter, I discussed the various tools and techniques used for the collection and analysis of data. In this chapter, I report the analysis of the data collected from *The Times of India* and *The News International*. The main focus of the analysis is on how the two newspapers presented the Indo-Pak terrorist incidents within the selected time frame (2008-2016), the ways in which they pushed the ideological conflict forward and upheld their own ideological stances. To do so, corpus analysis was carried out first. The analysis was limited to keywords, pronouns, multi-keywords, binomials and collocations. Qualitative analysis was then carried out based on the main themes emerging from the data.

The present chapter has been divided into two main sections. The first section consists of the analysis of the corpus data in terms of keywords, multi-keywords, pronouns, collocations and binomials. The level of frequency of these aspects is recorded and analyzed. In the second (qualitative) portion of the chapter, extracts are taken from the editorials containing the real usages of keywords, binomials, pronouns, collocation and multi-keywords, and analysed. The analysis helps in determining the inclusion and exclusion strategies leading to the positive 'us' and the negative 'them' image.

4.2 Quantitative Data Analysis

For quantitative data analysis, the selected corpus of the editorials of the two under-study newspapers was analyzed from the point of view of frequency of keywords, multi-keywords, pronouns, collocations and binomials. The analysis was carried out keeping in view van Dijk's (1998b) analytical framework for identifying conflicting ideologies through group membership, activities, goals, values/norms, position and group-relations, and Inclusion and Exclusion. The same is presented in the sections below

4.2.1 Keyword Analysis

Under the corpora, Keywords are selected from the TNI and TOI which are analyzed here in this section. The importance of the keywords and their representation in the text cannot be undermined. They are kept for the specific purpose of ideological

manifestation in the text. The association of certain words in text with high frequency may show the direction in which the text tries to lead its readers or audience. The readers unconsciously search for these words for their own ideological satisfaction. It is basically the function of the keywords that determine the direction of the text. The keywords relate the readers to the issue discussed in the text and set their minds in a particular direction. That is why in CDA, the analysis of the keywords is of primary importance.

4.2.1.1 Polarization in Key words list from *The News International*

Some of the ways in which key words could help us is the way Agent/Social Actor, Goals, Activities, Membership and the related values are presented to express polarized opinions, which project conflicting ideologies. Table 1 below shows the list of key words showing polarization in the editorials of TNI.

Table 1 List of High Frequency Words in *The News International*

Single Word	Keyness	Frequency in TNI	Frequency in BNP
Mumbai	1988.34	70	1
Peshawar	608.74	32	57
Islamabad	507.8	33	97
Nawaz	361.31	21	75
Pakistan	358.88	209	1762
Modi	272.79	20	124
Kashmir	218.95	27	285
ISI	213.24	9	24
militant	192.66	58	857
terrorism	174.01	40	628
Punjab	173.85	21	277

extremist	141.37	23	412
Pakistani	130.71	25	504
Afghanistan	129.15	30	636
India	125.09	184	4622
Delhi	124.93	27	584
terrorist	118.26	59	1494
Ashraf	107.77	5	38
Muslim	82.97	37	1324
cooperation	76.33	31	1196
intelligence	62.27	58	2887
bombing	60	23	1123
Indian	53.7	72	4204
terror	52.2	25	1431
blast	50.83	30	1789
attack	34.04	175	16436
border	18.55	30	5098
military	10.95	37	10774
peace	8.4	21	7950

Table1 includes the keywords selected from Pakistani newspaper, *The News International*. The keywords are selected from the corpus. They are selected only from the editorials of the selected newspaper in the context of terrorism. The words included for corpus analysis only to compare them with the words selected from the *Times of India* published in India. In the keywords list, the newspaper TNI presented the words like Attack, Blast, Terror, India' 'Pakistan' 'Indians, Pakistani, Extremism 'terrorism' 'Islamabad' 'Delhi' terrorists, peace, cooperation with high frequency and significant Keynes. This shows that Pakistani print media followed the ideological construction and implementation process. It has also given specific time frame and contextual space for keywords that can affect the mental structure of the readers. For both countries, Pakistan and India terrorism is an issue, however, Pakistani print media has established Membership through words like Pakistan, Islamabad, India and Delhi. These words in the context show group membership as Pakistan and Islamabad are shown as In-group members that are the victims of terrorism and India and Delhi are shown as out-group member, blaming Pakistan and Islamabad as the transporters of terrorism and safe havens for terrorist. Words such as Cooperation, Intelligence and Peace are circulated in TNI to show Activities which is another Ideological category for polarization. With the help of these words in the context show that Pakistan is very much interested in peace with India and is ready to cooperate with India and is willing for mutual intelligence cooperation specially in terror incidents such as Mumbi and Pathankot attacks for which India blames Pakistan. On the other hand, India is shown as aggressive, noncooperative and a player of the blame game to label Pakistan as a terrorist and failed state.

Through same words cooperation, intelligence and peace the third Ideological category Goals is brought to the fore front and polarization in TNI is also done through Goals. The circulation of these words in pakcorp show that this is done for the purpose to remove the tag of terrorism from itself and to realize the world and India that it is not a state for sponsoring terrorism and looking to India as polar to link it with Pakistan. High frequency words with significant Keyness as terror, terrorist, extremism, attack and blast with words like Mumbi, Delhi, India, Pakistan and Islamabad in context lead to the category of Values in which Pakistan evaluates itself as peaceful, victim of terrorism and responsible. On the contrary India is evaluated as it glues terror, terrorists and extremism

with Pakistan. TNI has also circulated some Social Actors and are given high frequency and so is done by TOI. TOI has circulated words Pakistan and terror or terrorism along with Pakistani being an adjective and Islamabad being an actor. TNI has also included international actors like Afghanistan, Ashraf Ghani, along with security agencies like RAW and ISI, and has included Kashmir as well with a high frequency. Thus, it tries to internationalize the issue and convince the readers that along with the Indian confrontation, Pakistan is trying its best to fight the international issue of terrorism.

It is evident that Pakcorp along with Indiancorp use the words like terrorism, Pakistan, India, Pakistani, New Delhi, terror, Islamabad, blasts, attacks, security, State Heads names, terrorist etc. more statistically more frequently to recognize the issue of terrorism as burning one in the region. All the keywords with more frequency suggest the aboutness of the text and that aboutness shows that the text is talking about terrorism in the Indian and Pakistani context. The Inclusion and Exclusion is also done through key words in TNI.

4.2.1.2 Inclusion and Exclusion in Keywords

Van Dijk's (1998) ideological square emphasizes on Inclusion/Exclusion and shows that in discursive texts, good qualities are included and bad ones excluded. Leeuwen (2008) also argues that the producers of discourses make the use of discursive strategies of inclusion and exclusion of actors in their discourses to achieve their goals and purposes in relation to the consumers (readers). Inclusion, in the field of CDA, is a useful strategy for the reflection of power. With regard to conversation, the greater frequency of the inclusion of an actor foreground generally the domination and control of the actor over the conversation and particularly, his/her power in society. Similarly, the discursive strategy of exclusion has also been the central concern for investigating critically the ways in which social actors are represented in discourses. In conversations, the high frequency of actor exclusion results in his underrepresentation, and sometimes, the conversation leaves no representative traces of the actor and the actor, along with their activities, is completely omitted from the conversation. Such a strategy is referred to as Suppression and Backgrounding. Thus, Indiacorp and Pakcorp do include and exclude to modify the ideological stance. This method is also applied in the circulation of keywords. In keywords analysis Pakistani newspaper tries to include Kashmir as it has given high frequency and

the Keynes is also high and significant and is used more frequently in TNI. Both are including and excluding the issue of Kashmir to fulfill their own stance and ideological conflict. Pakistan includes it because they want to satisfy the ideology behind it as to show it an international issue, while India excludes it to make it their internal problem. Moreover, Indiacorp does not give any frequency to the war on terror in Afghanistan that's why they do not use keyword Afghanistan while Pakistancorp has given a measurable frequency to the keywords Afghanistan, Ashraf Ghani, borders, and terror. India uses keywords like Pakistan, terror and terrorism to link all these three nouns and adjective, while on the other hand Pakistan is internationalizing the issue of terrorism in the curtain of Afghanistan. Pakistan also includes peace with a suitable frequency and has used the names of different agencies as to show that it is taking measures to maintain world peace.

4.2.1.3 Polarization Through Agent and Values in Key Words from The *Times of India.*

Key words could assist us the way Agent and the related Value are presented to express polarized opinions in TOI. Table 2 below shows the key words express Polarization.

Table 2: List of Key Words in the Times of India

Single Word	Keyness Score	Frequency in *TOI*	Frequency in BNC
Pakistan	616.1	233	1762
Terror	427.14	133	1431
India	136.1	130	4622
Attack	30.25	101	16436
Islamabad	616.1	41	97
Pakistani	571.05	71	504
Terrorism	308.06	46	628
Terrorist	277.73	90	1494
Delhi	227.9	32	584

Blast	114.74	44	1789
Indian	51.69	45	4204
Border	35.21	37	5098
Security	26.86	66	12069
Military	15.94	35	10774

Keywords are the main and frequently occurring words that give an idea or clue regarding the 'aboutness' of a particular corpus. In simple words, the keywords of a corpus show what the corpus is all about. Most of the words are related with Pakistan, India, terrorism, blasts, military, security, borders, Delhi, Islamabad etc. these words show or gives a glimpse of what is going on. The dominant representation according to the frequency is given to the words like "India, Pakistan, terrorism, boarder, military, and terrorists" give an outlook about the text relevance and validity. Here it can be easily suggested that the text is dealing with the issue of terrorism between India and Pakistan. And this aboutness and theme is carried out throughout the text of the newspapers. The understanding of the fact is provided by the keywords and their representation within a given context. For example, from the keywords, it becomes easier for the readers that someone is talking about India and Pakistan and that the topic between them is war and terrorism. Most of the time words related to war, terror and blasts etc. are related with one another. Therefore, it is one of the most important aspect of keywords that they give a complete overview of the text.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a kind of analytical research that mainly focuses on the strategies of producing, reproducing, legitimatizing and opposing social inequalities and power abuse with the help of the discourses which take place in a political and social context. This contrastive analysis of computed keywords are done on the corpora of Indian newspaper, 'Times of India' in the perspective of the developmental process of ideological conflict between India and Pakistan through editorials. This list of keywords is

selected from the editorial text of 'Times of India'. These keywords are selected from the editorials comprising of period from 2008 to 2016 under the thematic representation of terrorism and linking it with Agent, a special doer. Words like Pakistan, Islamabad, military and terrorists are used as subject in the sentences and negative role is given to these Agents In the Indian newspaper. Words like 'Pakistan', 'Pakistani', 'terror' 'attacks', 'Islamabad', 'terrorism' etc. have high frequency in the editorials. It shows that these words are now and again distributed among the masses to shape their minds in certain direction. Words like 'Pakistan' with keyness score of 616.1 and frequency of 233 and 'Terror' with keyness of 427.14 and frequency of 133 show that both the words are developed for conceptual development and used to become part of ideological process. Here the Ideological category Values is done. Terror is related with Pakistan. The text is generated under a specific political purpose. India and Pakistan always try to indulge in ideological conflict so that the common people do start believing in what is shown to them and they may not object over the political purposes characterized by hegemonic designs. For this purpose, many issues are made controversial and conflicts are strengthened in the region. Although, both the countries in a longstanding conflict always search new areas to keep the ideological conflict alive, but the modern challenge of terrorism in the region is made much more controversial through text of newspapers. The terrorist incidents carried out in India or in Pakistan are presented in such a manner to fold the ideological conflict in such a critical issue. Instead of solving and eliminating the problem from the region, it is utilized for their own political purposes. The above table shows that how *Times of India* tries to highlight the bad qualities of Pakistan and to uphold their own good qualities. The following keyword selection from TOI is clearly evident that how some keywords are circulated with high frequency to negate Pakistan or a social group inside Pakistan.

4.2.1.4 Polarization Through Membership, Goals and Activities in the Times of India in keywords.

Another way in which keywords are the important indicators with the help of which we find Ideological categories such as Membership, Goals and Activities in TOI. Table 2 and 3 show the key word express Polarization are discussed below. Keywords also provide us a complete overview that how polarization is done through Membership, Goal and Activities. `

Table 3 List of Keywords in the Times of India

Single Word Term	Keyness Score	Frequency in Times of India	Frequency in BNC
Pathankot	1280.22	29	0
Mumbai	1050.32	24	1
Islamabad	971.1	41	97
Jihadi	750.89	17	0
Taliban	618.56	14	0
Pakistan	616.1	233	1762
Pakistani	571.05	71	504
Peshawar	527.41	18	57
CRPF	525.66	12	1
Jawan	442.11	10	0
ISI	436.98	12	24
Terror	427.14	133	1431
Ahmedabad	402.68	10	11
Vaidik	398	9	0
Narendra	384.32	9	4
Saeed	378.16	10	19
Uri	376.27	12	46

Van Dijk (1998) is of the opinion that linguistics and cognitive psychology usually ignore it, but social sciences deal very extensively with the fact that social actors (individuals as members of society) may also be the members of an ideological group or a social or political movement, and being part of the group or movement, they work and communicate together and thus, may share certain attitudes and opinion regarding the fundamental issues of the concern of their group or movement, for instance, abortion, poverty, immigration or terrorism, etc. Here it can be seen that some keywords with high frequencies are linked with the keywords related with the fundamental issue of terrorism such as Islamabad and Pakistan. In these editorials keyword 'Pakistan' has the highest occurring rate while keyword 'terror' has the second highest frequency. Therefore, word grouping is done and Membership is formed in such a manner that both are linked together to make one dependent on another. It is woven in such a manner to convince the readers that their understanding on a large scale is presented and make to believe that the specific issue of terrorism is initiated by Pakistan using such noun for it or Pakistani in shape using adjective.

The ideological manifestation is quite evident from the above tables as different keywords are showing their aboutness under a specific purpose. Words like 'attacks' 'Jihadi' 'Pakistan', 'Pakistani, are represented with high frequency and they show their association with the country, the people living in a specific country and the purpose behind doing jihad in the area. The Ideological category Goals is manifested here therefore, an attempt is made to link Pakistan and word jihad with the word like terrorism and terrorists. Pakistan is represented with the frequency of 233, Pakistani with 71 and terror with 133. All this representation is tried out only to relate bad qualities with Pakistan being an opposite group while to show it globally as an agent of spreading the menace inside India and rest of the world.

Keywords lists are used to briefly describe the distinctive features of a corpus, and yet they are not capable enough of producing generalizable and reliable discourses on their own. The generation of keywords rely mainly on statistical analysis and they primarily take into account quantitative data. As Baker et al. (2008) illustrates, one has to perform multiple types of analysis to produce reliable and generalizable discourses. When we look

at the keyword Pakistan in the corpora text we can see it is being linked with the keywords like terror, terrorism, militants and so on. When India is looked as a keyword in the text the picture is drawn with the words like attack, blast and security. They are ideologically represented as the victims of terrorism while Pakistan is represented being a rogue nation spreading terrorism in the area. Discourse structures influence mental representations of the social groups and providence of certain and fixed data at a regular interval of time becomes part of their mental structures, in reality it becomes an ideology for them. They start believing them and feeling that ideology is integral for their survival. They become their identity.

Table 4 List of Keywords in the Times of India

Single Word	Keyness	Frequency in TOI	Frequency in BNC
Extremism	144.64	6	94
Insurgency	139.57	5	66
Blast	114.74	44	1789
Extremist	113.83	12	412
Infiltration	111.42	7	200
Insaniyat	89.22	2	0
Counter terror	89.22	2	0
Preparedness	90.88	4	107

Another table, containing keywords from *The Times of India* is analyzed here. These keywords are   blast, extremists, infiltration, extremism, and insurgency produced in the context of terrorism and the Ideological category Activities is formed that what we do and

what they do? Some of these keywords do not have very high frequency and Keynes but these are of a great importance because they are directly linked to the Ideological categories which are related to the dichotomy of "Us and "Them". As they all are related to Pakistan in the context. India is shown as "Us" and Pakistan as "Them". The main purpose behind the usages of such keywords is to circulate them on the daily basis for shaping Ideologies of the common readers.

In Editorials of times of India, within the specified period, some fixed words as presented in table 1 are circulated with high frequency and they are tried to become the fixed part of the readers' minds. Baker et al. (2008) although suggests that a complete and comprehensive picture cannot be drawn from only doing keyword analysis, we need more terms to involve while drawing a complete ideological construction from the text, however, it can be concluded from the keyword analysis that what sort of words are highly circulated and what should be the motives behind the circulation of these words with a high frequency and within a fixed period. Therefore, it is not possible to draw a comprehensive picture from keyword analysis presented in the Times of India's editorials regarding ideological conflict, however, it is analyzed that what sort of words are circulated with a high frequency to push forward the ideological conflict between India and Pakistan.

The results drawn from the aforementioned keywords may be supported by the study of Yousaf, Elahi and Adnan (2018) who claim that war-journalism is very prominent in the newspapers editorials of the subcontinent and prefer to portray disputes, issues, clashes and conflicts. The mainstream media, particularly the print media of both the said countries cover the conflicting issues and ideologies, keeping in view the principles of foreign principles of their countries. The newspapers editorials of both the countries, while discussing the conflicting issues taking place in these countries, tend to support and favor their country and put the blame on the other. In addition, the results of Ali and Parveen's (2015) research study are also aligned with the present study. Just like the present study, they have explored the representation of the conflict between India and Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir in the Pakistani newspaper Dawn and the Indian newspaper The Tribune. They opine that the editorials of both the newspapers keep the national interest of their

respective countries as the supreme priority, thus, their results further prove the results of the present research study.

However, the keywords analysis in particular, categorically negate the results of the research study of Riaz, Shah and Ahmad (2018), who, as a result of investigating newspaper editorials of the Pakistani Dawn and The News and the Indian the Hindu and The Tribune, concluded that the coverage given to the issue of Kashmir is more frequent in the Pakistani editorials as compared to the Indian editorials. In addition, they argue that the Pakistani media present the freedom movements in Kashmir in a positive way such as 'Kashmiri Freedom Fighters', 'Kashmiri Freedom Movement', 'Kashmiri Freedom Struggle' and 'Jihad', etc. The purpose of this positive representation, according to Riaz, Shah and Ahmad (2018), is to legitimatize the independence and separation of Kashmir from India. The Indian newspaper editorials, on the other hand, portray them in a negative frame, such as 'armed groups of militants fighting for the separation of Kashmir from India' But, as per the results stated in the table above, the Indian newspapers give more coverage to the issue of terrorism in order to represent the Kashmir issue from the perspective of the foreign policy of India and thus, support the stance of Indian government more as compared to the viewpoint of Pakistan.

4.2.2 Polarization Through Position and Mitigation in Key Multiword in *The News International*.

Position and Mitigation are helpful in this study through which polarized opinions are surfaced in Multikeywords in TNI. Table 5 below shows multi keywords express polarization.

Table 5 List of Key Multiword in *The News International*

Multiword	Keyness	Frequency in TNI	Frequency in BNP
intelligence cooperation	287.43	10	0
pakistani involvement	169.97	6	2
indian security	157.57	6	11
blame game	140.56	5	3

military operation	129.19	6	38
army chief	123.37	5	19
militant threat	115.57	4	0
suicide bomber	111.67	4	4
security apparatus	98.86	4	19
militant group	86.93	3	0
home ministry	86.24	3	1
maximum damage	81.86	3	7
afghan army	81.17	3	8
terrorist violence	79.83	3	10
chief minister	79.54	4	51
security situation	72.82	4	66
interior minister	69.1	3	29
unnecessary acrimony	58.29	2	0
box approach	58.29	2	0
past baggage	58.29	2	0
suicide blast	58.29	2	0
nuclear bogey	58.29	2	0
ideal back channel	58.29	2	0
secret channel	58.29	2	0
indo-pak intelligence cooperation	58.29	2	0

overt intelligence cooperation	58.29	2	0
counter terrorism effort	58.29	2	0
endless exchange	58.29	2	0
petty harassment	58.29	2	0
long standing ill-will	58.29	2	0
standing ill-will	58.29	2	0
mumbai-like incident	58.29	2	0
beneficial information	58.29	2	0
indian intelligence	58.29	2	0
indo-pak intelligence	58.29	2	0
overt intelligence	58.29	2	0
possible pakistani involvement	58.29	2	0
causal linkage	58.29	2	0
preventive mechanism	58.29	2	0
militant menace	58.29	2	0
sikh militancy	58.29	2	0
extremist mindset	58.29	2	0
unintended mobilisation	58.29	2	0
intelligence nature	58.29	2	0
christian community	52.15	3	75
foreign secretary	51.87	3	76

exchanging information	49.86	2	19
political dialogue	48.77	2	22

4.2.2.1 Analysis of Key Multiword in *The News International*

Noun phrase, the combination of adjectives and nouns are selected from TNI published in Pakistan for corpus analysis to note down their keyness score, frequency and frequency in reference corpora i.e. BNP. Without context, they seem dead words but when they are grouped together with verbs and other entities, they start representing different purposes. The circulation of such multiwords carry fixed meaning, although incomplete in outlook, but fully serving the purpose, represent and shape certain ideology. The frequency of such words shows the level to which the nouns or actors are associated with different qualities. As it has been observed that in the context of terrorism in South Asian region, the editorials of Pakistani media circulate words like India, Indian, New Delhi, terrorism, dialogue, peace etc. in mode of high frequency however, multiword representation and their cycle of appearance give us more understanding about the roles of social actors and their usage in such context. Pakistani print media also do association just like or may be different from Indian print Media as both are trying to keep the process of ideological conflict alive.

As it is quite evident from the high frequency of phrase, 'intelligence cooperation' as it has the highest mode of appearance that shows, Pakistan circulates cooperation regarding the movement of terrorist along the borders. Pakistani media, here, tries their best to announce the Indian stance as the blame game in the region and thus formed the category Position in form of group relations. It has also used 'army chief' more frequently to internationalize the issue of terrorism and the measures taken by Pakistan army in this context. Multiword 'Sikh Militancy' is frequently distributed to show that terrorism is an internal issue of India. Key multiword like 'Pak-intelligence, Indian Intelligence and overt intelligence' are circulated to convince the national and international readers that they are involving their own intelligence agencies, and try to cooperate with all other intelligence agencies to stop terrorism in the region. Keywords like 'suicide attacks, militant groups, maximum damage, security apparatus, militant menace, counterterrorism efforts, terrorist violence, etc. are frequently used to show that it itself is the victim of terrorism. Social

actors are also used to internationalize the issue of terrorism. These actors are, 'Christian Community, Afghan Army, and foreign secretary, in moderate frequency to ensure that Pakistan is taking all measures to stop and eradicate terrorism from the region. High keyness score shows that how often the label or word is circulated, in case of multiword high keyness in both the Indian publications and in Pakistani publications reveal that both of them want to circulate the phrases so often to convince the readers that they bear an ideological conflict with each other. Suppose in TOI's editorials, the phrase, 'terror attack' has a high keyness score of 963.74 with a frequency in the editorials of 22 with frequency in reference corpora of 1. Thus, the phrase got more appearances in Indian press as in comparison with international press. This technique is driven to only link more aboutness with the phrase locally. And to form an ideological stance that Pakistan is doing terror attacks or involved in it. However, in reference corpora the phrase is having a low frequency. In Pakistani print media, the phrase or multiword, 'intelligence cooperation' has a keyness score of 287.43 with a frequency in TNI of 10 along with 0 appearances in reference corpora of BNP. In BNP, the multiword is completely unknown while Pakistan media is circulating the multiword with 10 frequency. The examples of such two phrases from the selected newspapers' editorials show an ideological conflict, in which India is trying to link terrorism with Pakistan, Pakistan is trying its best to remove the label and to ensure its full cooperation in the eradication of terrorism across the borders by presenting such phrase in print media.

Pakistani establishment 309.78, Pakistani army 215.94, terror strike 177.44, home minister 169.97, Indian security 161.75, civilian government 156.25, Afghan front 133.33, civilian leadership 133.33, and hostile posture 133.33 are some phrases appeared in the TOI's editorials with highest keyness score as mentioned against each one. These words have high statistical appearance as shown by their keyness score being circulated with high rate. Pakistani involvement 169.97, Indian security 157.57, blame game 140.56, military operation 129.19, army chief 123.37, militant threat 115.57, suicide bomber 111.67, security apparatus 98.86 and militant groups 86.93 are multiword having the highest keyness scores in TNI. Pakistani print media do circulate such multiword to a large-scale audience as suggested by their keyness and frequencies. The similarities in these circulations can be seen as, terror, strikes, blasts, security and attacks suggest that the

matter of terrorism is much tried to be highlighted by the print media inside the country. Here, it is quite clear that two words are related with one another in such a manner that both goes and pronounced together to represent a schema structure. The combination of these words are used to make the people habitual to pronounce such words in their daily conversation. Suppose, Pakistani and establishment are put together to represent or to ensure that Pakistan has an establishment and it is involved in certain activities in the region. Furthermore, it is used in the context of terrorism and is tried to be associated with it in stopping or eradicating it. Thus, the Pakistani establishment is associated with a property of being an agent to stop it, and to ensure that it can fix the problem. These multiword are frequently circulated in the text to show an agent being involved in a negative or positive activity. Militant groups are associated with either Pakistani people or Sikh people which are being in conflict with India. So these both groups are included in the negative circle. In the same manner, Christian community is also included but being the victim of terrorism by either Islamic militants or Sikh militants. Hindus and Christian are represented at the same page and are put together to gain the sympathy of international community and to mitigate the situation. And it is also tried to show that Pakistan itself is the victim of terrorism by Islamic radical groups and India itself is suffering from the menace because of its injustice in the region.

4.2.2.2 Polarization of Positive "US" and Negative "Them" Through Categorization and position in Key Multiword in *The Times of India*

Ideological categories like position and categorization prove to be very helpful in finding polarized opinions in Multi keywords in TOI. Table 6 below shows multi keyword express polarization**.**

Table 6 List of Key Multiword in The Times of India

Multiword term	Keyness	Frequency in TOI	Frequency in BNP
terror attack	963.74	22	1
pakistani establishment	309.78	7	0
pakistani army	215.94	5	3
terror strike	177.44	4	0

home minister	169.97	4	5
indian security	161.75	4	11
civilian government	156.25	5	47
afghan front	133.33	3	0
civilian leadership	133.33	3	0
hostile posture	133.33	3	0
pakistani military	132.28	3	1
religious radicalism	132.28	3	1
security cooperation	131.1	3	2
strategic depth	129.95	3	3
foreign secretary level	129.95	3	3
international border	126.62	3	6
secretary level	126.62	3	6
city police	126.62	3	6
chief minister	122.12	4	51
border security	120.55	3	12
ammonium nitrate	119.58	3	13
big challenge	114.06	3	19
police training	106.75	3	28
international community	106.67	7	214
foreign secretary	105.87	4	76
dangerous place	99.65	3	38
joint statement	99.04	5	139

military action	77.18	4	146
civil society	53.13	4	263

Multiwords are words group together to make a combine meaning from two or three different meaning carrying entity. In linguistics, such types of words are called 'phrases' having insufficient meaning while standing alone but when they are combined with other words or phrases in a sentence then they become active and serve a specific purpose. Multiword are formed by adding adjectives and nouns, adverbs and verbs, or preposition with other categories, for example, 'dangerous place' is a noun phrase where, noun and adjective are grouped together. In isolation, the mind only operates this phrase as a place that can be dangerous to live but when it is grouped together with other words then it can change its meaning such as, Pakistan/India is a dangerous place to live. Here it can be seen that now a phrase is used for other purposes as it is pointing towards a specific place. This labelling with the help of adjectives can negatively or positively modify a noun.

Schegloff (1997), Buttny (1993), and Edwards (1997) describe labelling by the speaker or writer for a concerned social group or an individual is technical and intentional process in discourse strategies. In order to make explicit the ways of constructing the 'truth' using the strategy of underestimating the 'inferior' side of such binaries, Baker et al. (2008) suggest that the discursive categorization of the in-groups and out-groups involves the adversarial identities, using the strategies of representing the 'self' positively while the 'other' negatively. In other words, in discourses, the 'right' identities and actions are associated with self and bad or negative construction is done with the others. As India and Pakistan are in a long ideological conflict therefore, they use negative labelling with the opposite groups and try to establish a positive us.

Int the TOI editorials with the use of multikeywords Categorization is done to establish a Pakistani as well as an Indian identity. As the multiword presentation in TOI shows that 'Pakistani' being an adjective is added together with establishment, government, terror attacks, and leadership being a noun is linked together with civilian as well as with military. Such types of multiword are given a moderate frequency to show or

convince the national as well as international readers that in Pakistan things are not as simple as it looks. The leadership is made ambiguous with the military and civilian so as to show that both are different in form as well as in opinion. Moreover, religion is dragged and combined with the radicalism to satisfy the international belief regarding their attitude towards Islam. In such discourse, Islam is included and Hinduism is excluded so as to radicalize Islam in the Pakistani context. All the multiword are constructed and distributed with a large keyness score along with a moderate frequency to maintain the ideological conflict and form Position to blame the opponent and free oneself from the hazardous situation.

In multiword construction, Pakistan, Pakistani, Islam, leadership, terrorism and other labels are used to show the 'them' as negative as possible, while, India is represented with good qualities to represent positive 'us'. Thus, through the editorials, the process is kept alive and Pakistan is represented with negative labelling to keep the ideological conflict alive and to make the readers believe that in the context of terrorism, Pakistan is playing as an agent role.

Moreover, in this category of wording, 'international border' is given a keyness score and frequency indicating towards the Line of Control (internationally recognized) a demographic line drawn between Indian occupied Kashmir and Pakistani occupied Kashmir, to show Kashmir as its internal affair rather than an international issue. International actors like 'Afghan front; 'International community' and 'civil society' are also given preference and are frequently used.

It is concluded from the keywords analysis that both Indian and Pakistani print media do circulate single keywords and multiword in the context of present terrorism wave in the region. The long-standing ideological conflict between India and Pakistan has been transferred into the narrative of terrorism and both are using such words with a moderate frequency to keep the conflict alive.

Just like the results stated above, Yousaf (2015) also argues that both the countries are using such words with a moderate frequency to keep the conflict alive. India, inside its editorials, is following the same technique to blame Pakistan for the spread of terrorism in different countries and inside India. A pseudo environment is developed to drag Pakistan

in that trap and same is done with the help of its editorials. On the other hand, Pakistan is trying to tear that trap and show itself as the victim of terrorism inside its editorials. Though, Riaz, Shah and Ahmad (2018) and Yousaf , Elahi and Adnan (2018), argue that the coverage given to the issue of Kashmir is more frequent in the Pakistani editorials as compared to the Indian editorials, however, Yousaf et al. (2018) confirm that the representation of the issues in the editorials of both the countries is valid and trustworthy.

4.2.3 Polarization through Inclusion and Exclusion, In- grouping and Out-grouping and the Representation of Social Actors in Pronouns in *The News International*.

Table 7 Pronouns and their frequencies in *The News International*

Lemma	Frequency	Per million
it	326	5661.49144
we	209	3629.60647
they	140	2431.31534
its	114	1979.78535
their	113	1962.41881
our	96	1667.18766
us	57	989.89267
them	53	920.42652
his	37	642.56191
he	32	555.72922
I	16	277.86461
my	15	260.49807
one	14	243.13153
you	13	225.765
themselves	13	225.765

itself	11	191.03192
him	8	138.93231
your	7	121.56577
she	7	121.56577
her	6	104.19923
himself	4	69.46615
ourselves	3	52.09961
me	2	34.73308
yours	1	17.36654
myself	1	17.36654
herself	1	17.36654

4.2.3.1 Inclusion and Exclusion in Pronouns in *The News International*

Personal pronouns have got a very close link with the solidarity and power relationships. The editors and writers of newspapers make the use of varied discursive structures with the help of which they deepen their attitudes, values and beliefs in the minds of their target audience. This encourages the practitioners of CDA to explore the link between the structures of a text and the hidden ideologies. Hence, van Dijk (2006a) refers to ideology as a fundamental belief that underlies the shared social representations of particular kinds of social groups. In turn, these representations are the basis of discourse and other practices of society. In addition, ideology is "largely expressed and acquired… by spoken or written communicative interaction" (pp. 120-1). It is shared opinion of the practitioners of CDA that pronouns, as a discursive strategy, are used to separate 'us' from 'them and are also the purpose of comparing and contrasting and many other neutral purposes, hence need not to be taken for granted during discourse analysis Duszak (2002).

Keeping this importance of pronouns in mind, the Pakistani print media do a specific circulation of pronouns in their editorials to keep the ideological conflict in the perspective of terrorism. The process of 'us' and 'them' is still carried out in this

perspective same as analyzed in the editorials of TOI. The editorials in TNI also circulates nearly all types of pronouns to strengthen its own ideological stance. Being confronted for so long and in conflict in all perspective, India and Pakistan try their best to relate goodness with 'us' group and evil with 'them' group. And it is tried in Pakistani print media as well. Here, as like Indian print media, the in-grouping and out-grouping is done technically.

4.2.3.2 In-grouping and Out-grouping

In the editorials of TNI, neutral pronoun, 'it' has the highest circulation frequency of 326 along with 'its' having the frequency of 140. As we know that 'it' is a neutral pronoun and can be used for neutral objects or non-living things including abstract ideas like 'terrorism', 'democracy' and 'war'. This pronoun can also refer to the name of a country or a country's city. This means that TNI also circulate the neutral names like India or Delhi, terrorism or peace under the specific pronoun to keep the issue of terrorism as conflicting between India and Pakistan. For this reason, pronoun 'it' has given the highest space in the editorials. In the perspective of terrorism, further distribution is granted on the usages of other pronouns to differentiate between 'us' and 'them', between our people and their people. It is also tried to declare the 'other' as responsible for the mess that has been created in the region and shift the responsibility from 'us' shoulders. For this purpose, pronouns 'they' 'their' and 'them' are circulated with the frequencies of 140, 113 and 53 respectively to show the Indians or militants as an isolated are separated social group in the region. And self is differentiated from them.

The self-social group or in-grouping is done with the first-person personal pronouns of 'I' 'my' 'we' 'our' and 'us'. These sorts of pronouns are used to recognize oneself as an isolated and differentiated social group and to ideologically relate or combine the whole population under single umbrella. It is tried to show this social group being the victim of cross border terrorism not the doer of it. For this purpose, the pronoun 'I' and 'my' are used with the frequencies of 16 and 15 and to further assimilate these pronouns in more general term into the social group of 'we' 'our' and 'us' a more moderate frequency is applied. The frequencies for 'we' 'us' and 'our' are kept as 209, 57 and 96 respectively.

To keep such a high frequency and to circulate these pronouns at such a high rate is only prove that our people are different from their people and they have a different world

than the world that we have. It also proves that our world is quite often tried to be disturbed by them. It is only to promote the differences and to develop or strengthen the ideological conflict between the people of India and the people of Pakistan. And these differences are being dragged into the terrorism discourse to keep the blame game alive. The ideological differences are being fought under the wider umbrella of terrorism. Here, the editors try to relate the menace with the other social group and announce the self-social group being a victim of the menace of terrorism. India is blaming Pakistan for promoting terrorism and terror strikes in India while Pakistan is declaring itself being the victim of terrorism. No one is taking the responsibility. Thus, it is quite evident that Pakistani editorials do the job of in-grouping and out-grouping through the representation of pronouns to keep their ideological conflict alive and declare themselves as isolated and differentiated entity than the people of India. Positive and good characteristics are associated with 'us' and negative and bad characteristics are associated with 'them' social group.

As stated above, the results confirm to the results of the research studies of Khan and Shakir (2011); Ahmad et al. (2012); Shabir, Khan, Adnan and Safdar (2014); Ali and Parveen (2015); Yousaf (2015); Yousaf, Elahi and Adnan (2018); Riaz, Shah and Ahmad (2018); and Yousaf et al. (2018), in the since that the results of both the present analysis and of these previously conducted research study claim that the Indian and Pakistani newspaper editorials represent the 'others' in a negative way while the 'self' in a positive tone. However, the present study is unique in the sense that none of the previous studies has attempted to explore the representation of the social actors through the use of pronouns. So, it is basically the gap in the available treasure of research regarding the conflicting ideologies in the Indian and Pakistani print media which the present research fills.

4.2.3.3 The Representation of Social Actors
The inclusion and exclusion in the shape of pronouns is done here in these editorials as well. The Pakistani print media also refer to the social actors being individual or organization with the help of pronouns like 'it' in case of organization and 'he' or 'she' in case of individuals. Some social actors are included to prove their support or to give international or national recognition to its own stance. That is why the inclusion is done. The nomination of such social actors is only to prove the specific stance for the concerned

social group is widely accepted and approved. For this purpose, TNI circulate the specific pronouns with a high frequency in its editorials in the perspective of terrorism.

The pronouns, in this regard, to indicate social actors can be 'it' or 'its' in shape of organizations. The frequencies of both the pronouns are mentioned earlier. Furthermore, the individual being social actors can be represented with the help of pronouns 'he' 'his' 'him' and 'she' 'her'. The frequency of 'he' 'his' and 'him' are 32, 37 and 8 while the frequencies of 'she' and 'her' are 7 and 6. Male social actors whether national or international have been given more circulation and stronger frequency as compared to female social actors. The job of the presentation of social actors in this regard to claim national or international support on what one or a group is going to say or do. In Pakistani perspective, it is to internationally or nationally realize that Pakistan itself is victimized and try its best to eradicate the menace of terrorism from the region. In this perspective, the editors include some national or international actors to strengthen the claim. On the other hand, India relates Pakistan with terrorism and calls it as a safe haven for militants, and to make this claim stronger, they include some national or international social actors either an organization or an individual. This sort of behavior is continued in the wake of terrorism in the region.

4.2.3.4 Polarization through Inclusion and Exclusion, In- grouping and Out-grouping and the Representation of social Actors in Pronouns in the Times of India.

Table 8 Pronouns and their frequencies in The Times of India

Lemma	Frequency	Per Million
it	192	3334.37533
its	114	1979.78535
they	59	1024.62575
he	49	850.96037
we	46	798.86076
their	44	764.12768
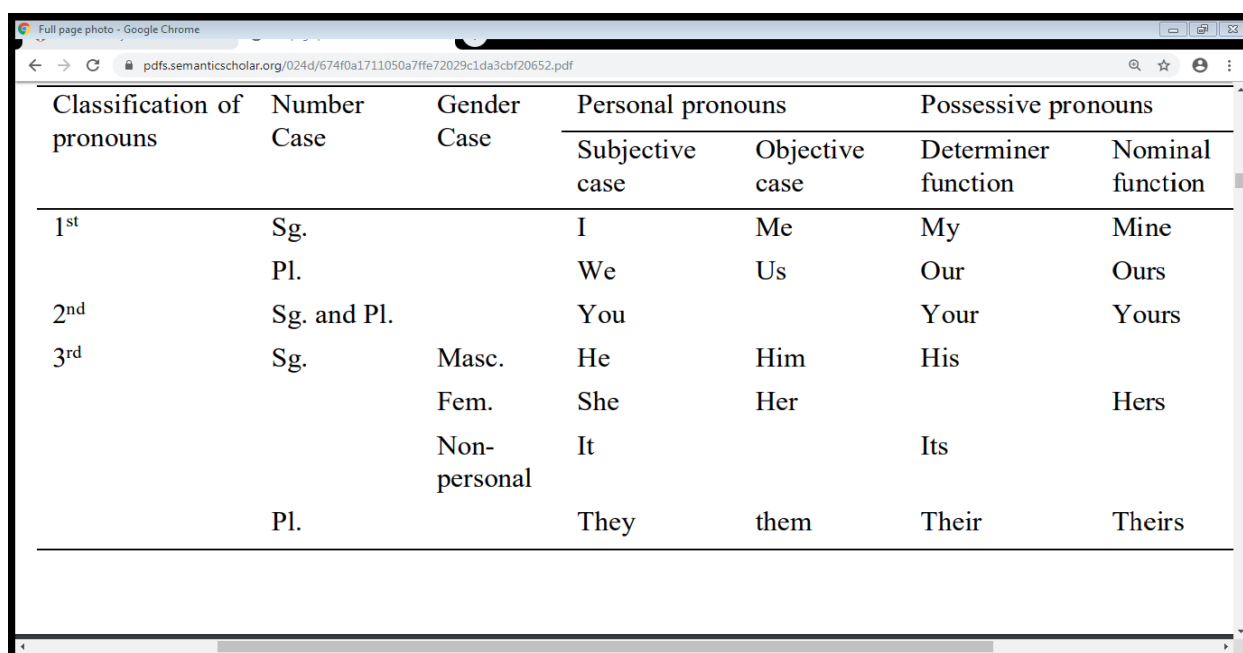
his	34	590.4623
them	31	538.36268
I	22	382.06384
us	19	329.96422
our	16	277.86461
itself	13	225.765
she	12	208.39846
him	10	173.66538
my	8	138.93231
her	8	138.93231
you	7	121.56577
themselves	6	104.19923
himself	4	69.46615
your	3	52.09961
me	2	34.73308
one	1	17.36654
myself	1	17.3665

4.2.3.5 Inclusion and Exclusion through the representation of Pronouns in the Times of India.

Van Dijk (1998, p. 203, 2006a, p. 123) is of the view that among the grammatical categories, pronouns "are perhaps the best familiar category of the manipulation and expression of status and social and power relations and may show the underlying ideologies". Accordingly, pronouns are accommodated in newspapers' editorials for such type of concepts. These pronouns are used technically to isolate, include, relate, repulse or

present a specific community or social group or an individual with a specific type of activity or ideology. The editors do include or exclude themselves or their concerned social group in an ongoing conflict. With the help of pronouns, they try to deepen their concerned attitude, beliefs and values in the minds of their audience i.e. ideology. This behavior of editors and writers compelled the CDA practitioners to examine and understand the relation between text and ideology. Duszak (2002) opines that pronouns, as a discursive strategy, are used to separate 'us' from 'them and are also the purpose of comparing and contrasting and many other neutral purposes, hence need not to be taken for granted during discourse analysis. Pronouns can represent person or persons in communication. They include the person who is doing communication along with the hearer and other persons who are mentioned as third persons or about whom the talk is processed. Pronouns in English language also indicate the neutral objects in conversation. The following table shows the pronouns along with their cases and categories. All the pronouns used in English language are represented along with their nature. As is evident, the TOI used pronouns in the text produced in the context of terrorism in a specific period of time. The usages of such pronouns have multi-lyre importance. These pronouns can associate the readers with a specific group being included by the usages of 'we' 'us' 'our' etc. and can exclude the others by the nomination of pronouns like, 'they' 'them' and 'their'. Therefore, the pronouns in a language are of the greatest importance. They associate or disassociate a certain group or individual in the discourse. In pronouns, names or persons are always replaced and therefore, these pronouns indicate certain individuals or groups. That is why the pronouns relate those groups in certain dimension and the readers think they belong to a certain group or class where they unconsciously associates their interest with the group interests and vice versa. In CDA, pronouns are roots to show 'us' and 'them' being opposing groups. The above table consists pronouns taken from the TOI and their frequencies which can show that how often the editors relate a certain group and bring it in opposition to another group systematically.

The following table shows complete list of English language pronouns along with their classification and cases. In this regard, the personal pronouns have significant value in the CDA as they can represent persons in singular form as well as in plural form.

Classification of pronouns	Number Case	Gender Case	Personal pronouns		Possessive pronouns	
			Subjective case	Objective case	Determiner function	Nominal function
1st	Sg.		I	Me	My	Mine
	Pl.		We	Us	Our	Ours
2nd	Sg. and Pl.		You		Your	Yours
3rd	Sg.	Masc.	He	Him	His	
		Fem.	She	Her		Hers
		Non-personal	It		Its	
	Pl.		They	them	Their	Theirs

Figure 3 Description of Personal and Possessive Pronouns

Persons-in-conversation use pronouns to indicate towards an individual or social group. For this purpose, I, We pronouns are used to relate things with owns social group and third person singular, He, She and plural, They, are used to relate things with the other or opponent social group. Furthermore, the objective, possessive or determiner and nominal function and cases are used to enhance the job. In India and Pakistan conversation through print media, the use of these pronouns for 'Us' and 'Them' is quite evident and is frequently used to support their ideological stance. Table 4.5 shows that how often the editorials of 'Times of India' are using these pronouns to relate some good characteristics with their own social group and to associate some negative characteristics with Pakistan or people living inside this piece of land. The context of this text shapes the ideological structures and the discursive ways which account for the social representations. The established in-group–out-group polarization that shapes and categorizes ideologies may be embedded in the discourse with the help of pronouns such as 'us' and 'them', and possessive phrases such as 'our people' and 'their people'. That's the use of pronouns got much attention in the field of power and dominance analysis. A text, interpreted in the relation of pronouns specifically draws upon the fact that how two groups are separated from one another and how one is seeking power and dominance trough discourses over the other.

The underpinning of various referents is incorporated in discourses to show hostility to the outgroup members or solidarity with an ingroup member (Lee, 2011). Personal pronouns may signal (or make uncertain) individuality and collectivity (Fairclough, 2003), or can distinguish between 'self' and 'other' referencing or can be utilized as a strategy to draw a binary between in-groups and out-groups (van Dijk, 2001). Though Chilton and Schäffner (1997) opine that the interpretation of the personal pronouns used in a text is highly dependent on the political and social 'spaces' inside which individuals and groups are placed. The fact is quite clear that pronouns are used to represent in-group and out-group and polarize these groups. Nearly all the CDA originators and experts agree upon the fact that personal pronouns are used for ideological purposes in political or social context. Thus, India and Pakistan both try their best to support their own ideological positioning through media discourse. As table 4.5 shows that how often 'Times of India' used the pronouns in its editorials to differentiate between 'us' and 'them'.

4.2.3.6 In-grouping and Out-grouping

With the help of pronouns, *Times of India* do the function of in-grouping and out-grouping quite often. The high frequency in the table 4.5 shows the frequency of all types of pronouns used. This frequency is found out through corpus analysis and along with the pronoun its usage frequency and frequency per million is given. The high frequency shows that the pronoun is used more for specific purpose and the less frequency shows that the pronoun is used rare. However, both type of frequencies makes the claim of the present study strong that the conflict in ideology on terrorism is kept alive. Pronouns 'it' and 'its', which are neutral pronouns and can be used for non-living objects or the objects whose gender is not clarified or unknown, have the highest frequencies of 192 and 114 respectively. In the circumstances of terrorism, these pronouns may be used for the names of countries, cities or for the name of terrorism. The representation of these pronouns shows that the editorials most of the times talk about the cities, countries, or for the main concern which is terrorism. This shows that the editors try their best to relate the issue of terrorism and make conversation on it in the perspective of India and Pakistan during the specific selected period for the study. And apart from the fact that both the countries have other issues, terrorism is now and again discussed and is kept burning between the conflictive nature of both the nations.

For the purpose of out-grouping and to suggest Pakistan or the people of Pakistan as opposing or isolated social group, pronouns, 'they', their' and 'them' are used with the frequencies of 59, 44 and 31. Hence, if the frequencies are supposed per million usages then the amount raise to thousand or more than thousand. This fact indicates that India is trying its best to relate negative characteristics with the Pakistani social group in the perspective of terrorism. Therefore, the social group or individuals living in Pakistan have given a space in editorials and they are mentioned with a moderate frequency to keep the ideological conflict alive. These specific pronouns show that the process of out-grouping or 'them' against 'us' is done technically.

Furthermore, the representation of 'us' or in-grouping is done with the help of the pronouns. In this regard, 'I' 'my' 'we' 'our' and 'us' are used as the given frequencies in the table suggest. The usages of these types of pronouns differentiate one social group from another one. As it is stated earlier that Pakistan is represented as an opponent social group and is associated with negative qualities inside the text as 'they' belong to the social group living in Pakistan or related to the militants groups living inside the country. Both Pakistan and the militant groups who are spreading terrorism are linked together and being presented as agent of originating terror attacks inside India. With the help of 'us' and pronouns used in this category are associated with India and being tried to show 'us' as the victim of terrorism. Here, the ideological conflict is carried alive through editorial discourse. This in-grouping and out-grouping is performed so skillfully to keep the ideological conflict in the perspective of terrorism in sub-continent. The analysis of the pronouns used in the text under analysis proves that the power of ideologies in a text can be manifested through pronouns. They can be used and analyzed to explore the power and ideological relation. The above analysis reveals that possessive and personal pronouns play a vital role in recognizing the social groups. In addition, it confirms the opinion of van Dijk (2006a) that discourse producers may code and organize the polarized groups and ideologies by using possessive pronoun phrases such as 'our people' and 'their people' and particularly, by using pronouns such as 'us' and 'them.

The analysis of pronouns as an indication of in-grouping and out-grouping in the Indian newspaper editorials presented above is very unique to the present research study in

two ways. First, it is in sharp contrast with the Riaz, Shah and Ahmad's (2018) claim, according to whom, the coverage given to the issue of terrorism is more frequent in the Pakistani editorials as compared to the Indian editorials because as the results presented above show, the Indian newspaper editorials give more coverage to the concerned issue in order to support the stance of Indian government. Second, none of the research studies conducted previously include the analysis of pronouns as an indication of in-grouping and out-grouping in the Indian or Pakistani newspapers editorials. It is the one of the gaps available in the currently available research which the present research study fills in and thus, makes the present research study unique to the previous ones.

4.2.3.7 The Representation of Social Actors through Pronouns

Pronouns are replacing nouns and names. The category of pronouns is used in CDA to indicate towards a group or an individual. In this power and dominance game, social actors from inside or outside are included to gain the sympathy of in-group and to isolate the out-group. Furthermore, these social group are associated in such a manner to make their stance strengthen internationally to gain the support of international community. It is also used to show that who are with 'us' and who are not. In this Ideological conflict between India and Pakistan certain international or national social actors are being introduced and related with certain ideological stance in the editorial discourses. As it is analyzed earlier that for in-grouping and out-grouping or for 'us' vs 'them' certain pronouns are used and those pronouns are elaborated and indicated in the previous section. Now, there are certain more pronouns in table 4.5 and they are used for certain purpose.

According to Leeuwen (2008) social actors, in other words, are known as individuals through a process of individualization, or may be termed as groups through the process of assimilation. Therefore, the representation of social actors is a permanent part of discourse. Leeuwen further adds that this process is carried out for the purpose of inclusion and exclusion. Pronouns 'he' masculine singular is used by TOI with a frequency of 49 in the selected text while pronoun 'she' feminine singular is used with the frequency of 12 in the text. Both the pronouns are used to relate some individuals who can be the heads of states or the heads of some international organizations. Koller (2009), Van Dijk (2006) and Fairclough (1995) suggest that the inclusion and exclusion of social actors in a text are always associated with the collective identities. It is like being identical with 'us'

or being identical with 'them'. Along with the usages of these singular pronouns, their possessive and objective cases are also used with a moderate frequency. The pronoun 'you' is used in conversation for second person who is addressed directly. In editorials, the addressed are the readers and therefore, this type of pronoun is used with less frequency. In the text of TOI pronoun 'you' is used with the frequency of 7 and its possessive case 'your' is circulated with the frequency of 3. This means that certain groups are directly quoted in the text for ideological purposes.

The analysis of pronouns used in TOI suggest that the text circulate a proper number of pronouns for their ideological purposes, the text is full of pronouns which can indicate that how and why such types of pronouns are distributed and how the process of in-grouping and out-grouping is constructed. It further shows how the social actors are indulged in the process of ideological formation on terror-related incidents in the region. *The Times of India* represent ideologically Pakistan as 'them' and 'their' people associated with terrorism and 'us' and 'our' people being the victim of terrorism initiated across the border. This inclusion and exclusion is done with the help of pronouns and nearly all the personal pronouns along with all its possible cases are used with a moderate frequency which exceeds when converted to per million frequency.

These results confirm to the results of the research studies of Khan and Shakir (2011); Ahmad et al. (2012); Shabir, Khan, Adnan and Safdar (2014); Ali and Parveen (2015); Yousaf (2015); Yousaf, Elahi and Adnan (2018); Riaz, Shah and Ahmad (2018); and Yousaf et al. (2018), in the sense that the results of both the present analysis and of these previously conducted research study claim that the Indian and Pakistani newspaper editorials represent the 'others' in a negative way while the 'self' in a positive tone. However, the present study is unique in the sense that none of the previous studies has attempted to explore the representation of the social actors through the use of pronouns. So, it is basically the gap in the available treasure of research regarding the conflicting ideologies in the Indian and Pakistani print media which the present research fills.

4.2.4 Inclusion and Exclusion and Representation of Social Actors via Binomials in
   The News International

Table 9 List of Binomials in *The News International*

Binomial	Frequency
India and Pakistan	14
Pakistan and India	11
law and order	5
Pakistan and Afghanistan	3
Delhi and Islamabad	3
trust and rapport	2
thinkable but also	2
state and government	2
quality or veracity	2
political or diplomatic	2
investigation and interrogation	2
external or internal	2
discretion and deniability	2
current and former	2
bureaucratic and political	2
US and other	2
Raw and Asad	2
CIA and KGB	2

western and Israeli	1
violence and bloodshed	1
terrorism and ensure	1
strategic and ideological	1
security and sovereignty	1
propaganda and hostility	1
proof or evidence	1
military or civilian	1
militancy and terrorism	1
fight and eliminate	1
extremism and militancy	1
extremism and intolerance	1
blame or responsibility	1
Washington and China	1
US and Pakistan	1
UK and other	1
Taliban and local	1
Raw and Kashmir	1
Mujahideen and Lashkar-e-Taiba	1
London and Paris	1
Lashkar-e-Jhangvi or Sipah-e-Sahaba	1

Jammu and Kashmir	1
India or Afghanistan	1
Ghani and Abdullah	1
Francis and UN	1

The binomials are selected from TNI to compare them with those selected from TOI. Both the binomials are similar in behavior and nearly given equal frequencies in term of usages. As it is clear that both the newspapers produce similar binomials as they both are related with the same task of terrorism in the region. However, the pattern of language deviates in TNI from that of TOI as it deals with the self-ideological support. Like TOI, TNI have also given a high frequency to the words' pair of 'India and Pakistan'. The frequencies given to the phrase of 'India and Pakistan' and 'Pakistan and India' are 14 and 11 respectively. Therefore, it clarifies the fact that the ideological conflict on terrorism is just between India and Pakistan. The editors repeat these binomials for most of the time.

Along with the country's names, the names of capital cities are again mentioned by TNI as like TOI. 'Delhi and Islamabad' is frequently circulated here. In this regard, the governments in both the countries are also included. The ideological conflict starts when Pakistan includes Afghanistan and points towards it as a hub of terrorism where the attacks on its soil are originated and claims itself being the victim of terrorism in the region by circulating the binomials of 'Pakistan and Afghanistan', internal and external'. These binomials are used to support the stance that Pakistan itself has become the victim of terrorism and fighting it internally as well as externally. Pakistan includes Afghanistan and consider terrorism as international issue while India blames Pakistan for terrorist attacks in India.

Pakistani print media tries to associate the belief that it is fighting terrorism and the menace is controlled from somewhere else. For this purpose, 'law and order', 'state and government', 'political or diplomatic', 'investigation and interrogation', 'bureaucratic and political', 'ambassador and military', 'violence and bloodshed', 'unjust and inhuman', 'together and find', 'self-sacrifice and courage', 'proof or evidence' and 'integrity and

security' are used and circulated with the moderate frequencies of 3, 2 and 1. It is to assure that Pakistan is not only fighting terrorism inside the border and across the border but also has become the victim of terrorism. The blame of India is also tried to address on the usages of *proof and evidence* and self-sacrifices in this regard are also addressed. The ideology that is tried to project is that to assure the social group of its beliefs that we are in a conflict with India ideologically on the issue of terrorism.

4.2.4.1 The Representation of Social Actors

Like Indian media, Pakistani media also tries to relate the social actors via binomials so that the ideological stance gets strength and assurance. For this purpose, different social actors are collocated together either in the shape of individual as well as organizations. These social actors are included for the specific purposes. Let's suppose the following**.**

Table 10 List of Binomials in *The News International*

Binomials	frequency
US and other	2
Raw and Asad	2
CIA and KGB	2
western and Israeli	1
UK and other	1
TTP and so	1
London and Paris	1
Ghani and Abdullah	1
France and UN	1
Fazlullah and break	1

The representation of these social actors prove that the matter is always interpreted in the international context of terrorism in Pakistan. Pakistan takes the issue of terrorism internationally and involve the international social actors to prove the validity of its stance. *RAW, KBG and CIA* are involved comparatively as India involves *ISI* in this regard. This shows that India tries to assure its people that only *ISI* is responsible for the terror strikes inside Indian territory while on the other hand Pakistan involves other agencies as well. With the mentioning of *Ghani and Abdullah* Pakistan includes Afghanistan while India excludes it. Moreover, *US, UK, France and UN* are represented as international powers and their assurance is needed to be required. By including these social actors, both India and Pakistan try to uphold their relative ideological stance and convince these global powers that their claims are correct. On the other hand, it is also tried to convince the 'Us' group that the support of global powers is being achieved.

The analysis of binomials show that India and Pakistan are in ideological conflict in relation to the issue of terrorism in the region. Both blame one another for terrorist strikes on their soils.

4.2.4.2 Inclusion and Exclusion and the Representation of Social Actors in Binomials in *The Times of India*

Table 11List of Binomials in The Times of India

Binomials	Frequency
India and Pakistan	5
Delhi and Islamabad	4
military and intelligence	3
India and UAE	3
good and bad	2
Washington and New	2
Pakistan and terrorism	2
Jammu and Kashmir	2

India and Afghanistan	2
ISI and election	2
political and religious	1
miscommunication and Islamabad	1
mastermind and Lashkar-e-Taiba	1
international and bilateral	1
al-Qaida-Taliban and move	1
Ulema-e-Islam and violent	1
Taliban and al-Qaida	1
Taliban and Isis	1
Sunni and Shia	1
Loc or boundary	1
Lashkar-e-Taiba and Hafiz	1
Lashkar and Jaish	1
Indian and Pakistani	1
India versus Pakistan	1
India or jihadi	1
India and US	1
India and France	1
EU and UN	1

In this section the selected binomials are interpreted and analyzed. The frequency of these binomials is drawn with the help of machine through corpus analysis. In the table

each binomial is mentioned along with its frequency. A binomial is a pair of words (for example, loud and clear) typically linked by a conjunction (mostly and) or a preposition. Also known as a binomial pair.

According to Malkiel (1968), in the conventional newspaper headline, cold and snow grasp the people completely to set off the phrase cold and snow as a binomial, if one accepts so to name the sequence of two lexical items related to the same form-class, positioned at a similar level of grammatical hierarchy, and ordinarily linked by a kind of lexical connection. There is nothing fix or formulaic regarding the mentioned binomial: Speakers have freedom to completely change the order of its constituents (snow and cold . . .) and may substitute either snow or cold by some semantically similar lexical item (such as wind or ice). However, in a binomial, for instance, odds and ends, the case is completely different: The sequence of its units has hardened to such a degree that the reversal of the two unites--*ends and odds--would be hardly comprehensible to audience caught by surprise. Odds and ends, then, show the special instance of a non-invertible binomial. In this regard the binomials from TOI and TNI are selected, TNI was the first to be analyzed.

Most of the time in newspapers editorials, the binomials are constructed in such a manner that they represent or appeal to a related mental construct. These binomials are presented now and again with a large frequency to make the people fluent in speaking them together. For this purpose, I selected the binomials for the corpus analysis and then tried them out to show that how they are identical and helpful in the ideological construction in India and Pakistan conflict under the context of terrorism. Frequently, it is tried to relate both the countries with one another along with the context of terrorism only to signify that both countries have opposing views on terrorism in the region and that they both are absolutely right in their own claims. One tries to devalue the other and to shift the responsibility in the opposite direction.

One crucial presupposition of effective CDA is to cognize the very description and ways of the social dominance and power. Once, if we succeed to grasp an adequate such perception, then we can easily initiate to organize ideas and thoughts regarding how discourse participate their generation. In order to minimize a huge philosophical and social scientific arguments and antagonizing them, we consider that we are engaged with the

characteristics and specifications of links between various social groups. That is, during exploring the concentration of social autonomy, we supersede individual dominance until promulgated as a personal acquisition of group dominance that implies that by persons, as members of the group.   Social dominance is prevailed upon boon access to socially accepted and honored means and resources, including exchequer, income, status, power and indulgence with a specific class or group, education, learning or knowledge. In the discussion below, we shall come across that specific access to different forms, type and context of discourse and dealing of communication are also vital tools in order to dominate others (see, e.g. Clegg, 1989 and Lukes, 1986) for the detailed overview of the concept of power).

Power includes dominance by giving superiority to one group over another group. Such kind of dominance might relate to behavior and mentality: that suggest an influential class circumscribe the emancipation of action of others, but also effects their mental models. Apart from the abecedarian expedient to drag to a straight operating action, current and often more influential autonomy is, up to a great extent, cognitive and promulgated by conviction dissimulation or manipulation, among other approaches to modify the thoughts and ideas of others for one's own profit. Grappling the psyche of others is indispensably an affair of texting and oration; at such a pivotal juncture both the discourse and critical discourse analysis approach together. This should be jotted down that such coping with the psyche does not necessarily prove plainly steering. In contrast, hegemony can be laid down and simulated by usual kind of refined and habitual orations and texts, which may seem usual and appropriate to an extent. Therefore, there is a necessity in CDA to put some emphasis on the tactics of discourse that licit grip, or else accept the sequencing of the society, most importantly associations based on discrimination (Fairclough, 1985).

In spite of such intricateness and shiftiness of mastering associations, the main area of fasciation for the scholars of critical discourse analysis is of misusing one's dominance, that is, in violating the commands, regulations, codes and conducts of autonomy, rights, and parity by the dominants. Due to the inability of having any absolutely appropriate term, we utilize the expression 'dominance' in order to differentiate such power from the licit and adequate kinds of power. Ascendance is very outright, as far as power is concerned. It

can be limited to certain areas, and can be championed through different means of confrontations which can be termed as counter-power. It can be accomplished or drilled either with more or less attention. There are various other kinds of hegemony which appear to be so assured that they can be considered habitual unless confronted, as an exemplification, we can take the condition of patriarchy, racism, and class discrimination. The expression 'hegemony' is used when the psyche of the oppressed is impacted by the ascenders in such a way that they embrace their ascendancy and willingly work for the benefits of those ascenders (Gramsci, 1971; Hall et al., 1977). The framing of such an accord, approval and permissibility of this hegemony is exactly one of the main jobs of dominant discourse (Herman and Chomsky, 1988).

The critical analysis of discourse and dominance is nowhere near to uncomplicated on the basis of the notion of hegemony and its correlated ideas of concord, acceptance and organization of the mind. Therefore, it does not usually insinuate a limpid view of villains and victims. As a matter of fact, it has already been indicated that various types of dominance seem to be cooperatively formed via convoluted types of social interaction, communication and discourse. However, we are positive regarding the contributions of critical discourse analysis, hoping that it will provide assistance to our apprehension with regard to such convolutions. Moreover, power and dominance are customarily assembled and standardized. Therefore, the social dominance not only on individual basis is enacted but also by its group members, particularly in case of various types of sexual harassment or everyday racism. On the other hand, some of the group members may also support or stand against it. As well as, it may be approved by courts, implemented by police, legalized by laws. Also, media would play its role in the ideological sustenance to it. Moreover, hierarchy of power is insinuated by this social, political and cultural structuring. Besides, some powerful groups and organizations have exceptional role in decision-making and authority over connections and processes of the ratification of power. These small groups are termed as power elites here. It is engrossing to mark that those elites have particular means of approach to discourse because, due to their supremacy, their say is more heard or spoken. Therefore, these elites are termed as symbolic power in discourse analytic framework on the basis of their discursive and communicative resources and reach. In the presentation of binomials, the group's distribution is kept alive and they are presented in

such a manner that dominance in discourse is related to power and ideology is being shaped in an unconscious manner. Therefore, the binomials are woven in the text quite often for the purpose of marginalizing the opposite group and related them to the terrorism. It is quite clear from the text taken from TOI that Pakistan is at so many places related or pronounced with the word terrorism, radicalization, terror, and extremism and so on to show it as a terrorist state or being the ally of terrorism globally.

Suppose, there are two binomials, 'India and Pakistan' with a frequency of 5 and then another binomial of 'good and bad' with a certain frequency. Now the presentation of these two binomials can relate that which one is good and which one is bad. India is placed at the place of good and Pakistan is placed at or substituted at the place of bad. In the context of terrorism, India represents itself as the hero possessing the virtuous character while Pakistan is represented as the destructor in the region. At another place Pakistan is related with the terrorism with multiple frequency for the purpose of in-grouping and out-grouping. While at the same place, Afghanistan is ideologically, binominaled with India for the purpose to support the claim that in the conflict Pakistan is at the crossroads and Afghanistan is still affecting from terrorism from Pakistan like India.

It is quite evident that the editorials of newspapers use such types of binomials to enhance the idea or stance in the combining of two words through a conjunction. The basic purpose behind their usages is to relate two nouns or ideas in such a manner that they may look similar and must have striking effect on the minds of the readers. Binomials are useful in a language because they have the capability to talk about the good side and bad side of a phenomena at the same time. Therefore, the literature produced inside India is full of such binomials to relate the central noun Pakistan with terror-related aspects to keep the ideological conflict intact.

In the table 11, the binomials of 'India and Pakistan' has the frequency of 5. This binomial phrase is distributed on a larger scale in the text produced to prove that on the issue of terrorism, India and Pakistan are in conflict. Both the names are spoken together in such a manner that if somebody think of a conflict then they can unconsciously say or mutter the phrase, 'India and Pakistan'. The two countries are made much popular that when the Indians think of something bad happen to them, they will certainly name Pakistan.

This is made the belief inside India that Pakistan is an enemy but not a friend. That is why such types of binomials are used in the editorials' text in the perspective of terrorism. These binomials are circulated on the daily basis in different text on Media. Along with binomial of 'India and Pakistan', another binomial based on the capitals of both countries, 'Delhi and Islamabad' are circulated on a large scale. As it is clear that India in the text refer to the isolated social group of Indian people and Pakistan refer to the social group living in Pakistan. These both names represent two different social groups on a larger scale. However, Delhi and Islamabad may be a bit different representation. It can represent the governments in both countries. Therefore, the governments are kept involved in the process with the frequency of 4.

The context of the editorials produced on the relations between India and Pakistan is always are always based on war, uncertainty, terrorism, blaming and other tension like conflicts. That is why most of the time the 'military and intelligence' are collocated together. Terrorism has become a universal issue in the current era of the world. But under a conflicting ideological burden, India is trying to link it with Pakistan and talk on the issue in relation of force and power by mentioning 'military and intelligence' with a frequency of 3. Same case is applied by the using of binomial of 'Pakistan and terrorism'. This binomial proves that the Indian newspapers relate Pakistan with the phenomena of terrorism. That is why the circulation of this binomial is carried out and used so frequently. There, the ideological conflict can be seen where India is trying its best to make the people believe that Pakistan is a key factor in this regard all over the world. Here, the ideological 20000 conflict can be seen. Other binomials like 'political and religious' 'network and Lashkar-e-taiba' 'militant and sectarian' 'mastermind and lashkar-e-taiba' 'ulma-e-islam and violent' 'sunni and shia' 'lashkar-e-taiba and hafiz' 'lashkar and jaish' and 'india or jihadi' are used to relate a specific religion with the menace of terrorism. This is the inclusion of Islam in the ideological construction of terrorism in the region. Being an Islamic country, Pakistan is involved via religion in the terrorist attacks inside India. This shows that India is trying the best to relate the cities inside Pakistan, sects in religion and religion itself being an agent in regard of terrorism. And this type of binomials is frequently used.

4.2.4.3 The Inclusion of Social actors via Binomials

There are certain binomials used to include specific social actors either being powerful in the world or being the initiator of terrorism. The social actors in the Islamic countries are used as the spreader of terrorism and the social actors enjoying power are being used in Indian support. Let's consider the following:

Table 12 List of Binomials

Binomials	Frequency
EU and UN	1
China and leverage	1
Bush and President-elect	1
India and US	1
India and France	1
India versus Pakistan	1
Iraq and Syria	1
Russia and China	1
Syria and Iran	1
US or India	1

The uses of these binomials show that most of the countries are included in this perspective. Most of the world powers like USA, France, UK and Russia are shown in the supportive self-claim while Iraq, Syria and Iran are shown in the terrorism supportive claim. This clarifies that how the ideological construction is confirmed on the globe and how the terrorism is related with a specific community. The basic purpose behind the inclusion of these social actors is to make the Indian people believe that the international community confirm our stance but not theirs.

4.2.5 Collocations

The researcher selected some collocations for corpus analysis and after finding their frequencies of circulation, here those collocations are analyzed. Before the analysis of collocations their importance in text must be needed to be understood. A collocation refers to two or more words that often occur together. Such combinations just sound "right" to the native English speakers, who use them in their day-to-day conversation. In the process of joining these words, they are formed to join different category together. They can be formed by joining noun and noun, verb and noun, adverb and adjective etc. Collocations are (partially or completely) fixed expressions that get established by being used repeatedly in proper context. Some examples are: 'nuclear family', 'middle management', 'crystal clear', and 'cosmetic surgery', etc. Collocation in a language is based on behavior or habit formation. The get together of such word and then the speaking of those words in a manner that one cannot exist without the other, basically, is a matter of habit formation. These collocations become the permanent part of mind and people get so familiar with them that they speak them so often and in such a manner that the meanings are being interpreted and analyzed. Collocation plays a vital role in the formation of ideologies.

Huntson (2002) opines that the patterns of collocation are most of the time unavailable to conscious thinking or. They can get across meaning implicitly and may even be deviant from an overt statement. Sinclair (1991) suggests that the pattern of collocation is the above chance co-occurrence of two (2) lexical forms within a particular span. The exploration of what strong collocates actually mean in a particular context can provide a semantic analysis of a word.

Collocations can have a grammatical relationship (such as verb–object: 'make' and 'decision'), lexical relation (for instance, synonymy or antonymy), or they may not have any linguistically defined relation with each other. The knowledge of and command over collocations is knowledge of collocations are an integral part of linguistic competence and the accurate and appropriate use of language and an error in a collocational expression is considered as a deviation from the linguistic norms. Keeping in view the structures and importance of collocation, the researchers and practitioners of language teaching take great interest in collocations. In the same way, it is a key area of interest for the researchers of

the Corpus linguists as well and the said field has coined a term 'Key Word In Context (KWIC) and during the analysis of a corpus-based investigation, KWIC is used to recognize and highlight the lexical items which immediately surround collocated words. This provides a technique regarding the usage of words.

The processing of collocations using corpus analysis takes into account many parameters, out of which, the measure of association is the most important one. This parameter examines the co-occurrence of words that whether it is an incidental co-occurrence or something statistically significant. Since language has got a non-random nature, that is why, most collocations are generally considered as statistically significant in order to rank the final results, the analyst uses association scores. The most frequently used measures of association are t score, mutual information and log-likelihood.

Instead of proposing a single definition of collocation, collocations should be viewed from the following three perspectives, i.e. the statistical view, construction/structural view and the pragmatic view. The statistical view, which may also be termed as 'co-occurrence', sees collocation as repeated occurring appearance in a text. The view of construction looks at collocation as a combinational relation between a lexeme and a lexico-grammatical structure or such a relation between a base and its second collocative member. The pragmatic view, however, takes into consideration the expressive aspect of collocations. It looks at a collocation as a conventional unit of expression, irrespective of form. These various viewpoints may be said to be in sharp contrast with the traditional method of describing collocations.

4.2.5.1 Polarization through Inclusion and Exclusion, in Collocations in *The Times of India*

Table 13 List of Collocations in The Times of India

Target word	Collocate	Collocation frequency	Collocate frequency	T-score	MI	logDice	Log likelihood
Mumbai	Train	3	12	1.72916	9.22837	11.4150	33.59952
Mumbai	local	3	20	1.72724	8.4914	11.1255	30.19303
Mumbai	terror	9	158	2.97805	7.09451	10.6621	75.01465
Mumbai	attack	7	276	2.60227	5.9272	9.57854	46.13077
Mumbai	terrorist	3	149	1.6962	5.59416	9.15033	17.82445

Mumbai	on	8	472	2.75887	5.34572	9.0458	46.70533
Mumbai	for	3	410	1.63339	4.13385	7.82341	11.90372
Mumbai	the	16	3514	3.63384	3.44947	7.21128	60.0055
Mumbai	a	4	965	1.7989	3.31398	7.05017	11.77345
Mumbai	have	3	977	1.49695	2.88112	6.61774	7.09965
Mumbai	be	4	2217	1.53798	2.11397	5.87007	6.00444
Mumbai	to	3	1703	1.32224	2.07947	5.83091	4.30402
Pakistan	India	23	314	4.5309	4.17809	10.4281	93.41721
Pakistan	to	71	1703	7.60834	3.36503	10.2309	225.70912
Pakistan	for	23	410	4.4499	3.79323	10.1949	81.43965
Pakistan	establishment	9	24	2.96763	6.53411	10.1643	67.89141
Pakistan	its	15	228	3.63477	4.02314	10.0583	57.27062
Pakistan	will	14	207	3.5178	4.06301	10.026	54.15326
Pakistan	have	34	977	5.15296	3.10439	9.84667	91.30884
Pakistan	US	8	60	2.74259	5.04225	9.80524	41.72207
Pakistan	on	19	472	3.92074	3.31443	9.78645	55.05087
Pakistan	be	66	2217	7.0198	2.87915	9.78583	166.85011
Pakistan	policy	7	29	2.6014	5.89852	9.77393	45.4691
Pakistan	civilian	7	30	2.59987	5.84961	9.76844	44.93515
Pakistan	can	10	144	2.97802	4.10115	9.76351	39.0401
Pakistan	of	45	1486	5.81185	2.90378	9.7445	111.35295
Pakistan	from	12	236	3.18843	3.65146	9.71152	39.7177
Pakistan	terror	10	158	2.9601	3.96729	9.7109	37.229
Pakistan	not	14	329	3.38586	3.39456	9.67293	41.74931
Pakistan	this	14	336	3.37829	3.36418	9.65507	41.2007
Pakistan	in	35	1232	5.07343	2.81164	9.6126	81.28509
Pakistan	a	28	965	4.55357	2.84211	9.58094	65.37729
Pakistan	by	12	289	3.12652	3.35918	9.55706	35.14944
Pakistan	as	14	382	3.32854	3.17907	9.54291	37.88868
Pakistan	that	22	765	4.03045	2.82926	9.49654	50.55734
Pakistan	and	32	1287	4.73625	2.61935	9.43014	66.47279
Pakistan	with	12	337	3.07045	3.1375	9.43014	31.76002
Pakistan	encourage	5	5	2.22702	7.94914	9.42711	55.20691
Pakistan	against	7	103	2.48822	4.07	9.41504	26.94976
Pakistan	the	70	3514	6.6671	2.29953	9.25776	128.15067
Pakistan	terrorist	7	149	2.41787	3.53733	9.22993	21.99056
Pakistan	should	6	100	2.2843	3.89025	9.20558	21.62413
Pakistan	must	6	105	2.27604	3.81986	9.18408	21.06037
Pakistan	but	8	223	2.5094	3.14824	9.16711	21.1693
Pakistan	make	6	115	2.25952	3.68862	9.14202	20.01692

Pakistan	while	5	62	2.12387	4.31688	9.11736	20.89702
Pakistan	isolate	4	7	1.98584	7.14179	9.09311	34.6114
Pakistan	do	7	209	2.32611	3.04914	9.01945	17.62949
Pakistan	itself	4	24	1.95144	5.36418	8.99438	22.6807
Pakistan	become	4	27	1.94537	5.19426	8.97763	21.67945
Pakistan	down	4	36	1.92716	4.77922	8.92854	19.28741
Pakistan	would	5	105	2.04606	3.55683	8.92105	15.7979
Pakistan	community	4	39	1.9211	4.66374	8.91254	18.63416
Pakistan	get	4	39	1.9211	4.66374	8.91254	18.63416
Pakistan	world	4	47	1.90491	4.39456	8.87072	17.13074
Pakistan	talk	4	47	1.90491	4.39456	8.87072	17.13074
Pakistan	one	5	118	2.02253	3.38843	8.8666	14.70696
Pakistan	most	4	49	1.90086	4.33443	8.86045	16.7986
Pakistan	need	5	123	2.01349	3.32856	8.84619	14.32286
Pakistan	show	4	53	1.89277	4.22122	8.84013	16.17671
Pakistan	take	5	126	2.00806	3.29379	8.83409	14.10077
Pakistan	government	5	128	2.00444	3.27107	8.82607	13.95601
Pakistan	no	5	130	2.00082	3.2487	8.8181	13.81379
Pakistan	attack	7	276	2.22364	2.64797	8.81583	14.20769
Pakistan	army	4	63	1.87254	3.97186	8.79055	14.82349
Pakistan	it	10	518	2.49945	2.25426	8.76926	15.83932
Pakistan	military	4	72	1.85433	3.77922	8.74733	13.79398
Pakistan	when	4	84	1.83005	3.55683	8.69166	12.62366
Pakistan	rip	3	6	1.71803	6.94914	8.6841	24.80445
Pakistan	terrorism	4	86	1.826	3.52288	8.68259	12.44681
Pakistan	Saarc	3	9	1.71103	6.36418	8.6661	21.68898
Pakistan	crack	3	11	1.70635	6.07468	8.65423	20.27129
Pakistan	longer	3	13	1.70168	5.83367	8.64245	19.13295
Pakistan	Pakistani	4	96	1.80577	3.36418	8.63806	11.62666
Pakistan	strategic	3	14	1.69934	5.72675	8.6366	18.63803
Pakistan	at	6	262	2.01668	2.50068	8.63368	11.12092
Pakistan	now	4	101	1.79566	3.29093	8.6163	11.25191
Pakistan	Pakistan	8	442	2.19609	2.16124	8.60126	11.80308
Pakistan	neighbour	3	21	1.68299	5.14179	8.59628	16.01743
Pakistan	interest	3	22	1.68065	5.07468	8.59061	15.72481
Pakistan	concern	3	23	1.67832	5.01054	8.58496	15.44656
Pakistan	step	3	24	1.67598	4.94914	8.57934	15.18137
Pakistan	after	4	110	1.77745	3.16778	8.57794	10.6276
Pakistan	security	4	116	1.76531	3.09116	8.55292	10.24292

Pakistan	hold	3	29	1.6643	4.67613	8.55154	14.01591
Pakistan	Indian	4	117	1.76329	3.07878	8.54879	10.18103
Pakistan	effort	3	31	1.65963	4.57991	8.54057	13.61031
Pakistan	international	3	32	1.65729	4.53411	8.53511	13.41814
Pakistan	peace	3	32	1.65729	4.53411	8.53511	13.41814
Pakistan	follow	3	36	1.64795	4.36418	8.5135	12.71025
Pakistan	action	3	38	1.64328	4.28618	8.50281	12.38795
Pakistan	also	4	140	1.71675	2.81986	8.45697	8.90605
Pakistan	continue	3	47	1.62225	3.97952	8.45568	11.13704
Pakistan	out	4	141	1.71473	2.80959	8.45311	8.85628
Pakistan	Peshawar	3	50	1.61524	3.89025	8.4403	10.77784
Pakistan	strike	3	57	1.59889	3.70122	8.40505	10.02478
Pakistan	his	3	71	1.56618	3.38436	8.33703	8.78704
Pakistan	about	3	71	1.56618	3.38436	8.33703	8.78704
Pakistan	many	3	73	1.56151	3.34428	8.32757	8.63282
Pakistan	Islamabad	3	74	1.55917	3.32465	8.32287	8.55749
Pakistan	between	3	80	1.54516	3.21218	8.29494	8.12845
Pakistan	only	3	81	1.54282	3.19426	8.29034	8.0605
Pakistan	both	3	82	1.54048	3.17655	8.28575	7.99351
Pakistan	state	3	101	1.4961	2.8759	8.20126	6.87432
Pakistan	up	3	103	1.49142	2.84761	8.19265	6.77094
Pakistan	time	3	105	1.48675	2.81986	8.18408	6.66989
Pakistan	more	3	106	1.48441	2.80619	8.17982	6.62021
Pakistan	even	3	125	1.44003	2.56832	8.10115	5.77022
Pakistan	country	3	158	1.36293	2.23033	7.97394	4.61408
Pakistan	they	3	199	1.26715	1.89748	7.83007	3.54716
terror attack	Pathankot	7	40	2.63787	8.39187	11.6781	70.54182
terror attack	soil	3	10	1.72904	9.16947	11.2630	33.45826
terror attack	training	3	15	1.72754	8.58451	11.0931	30.66817
terror attack	after	6	110	2.42609	6.71004	10.4557	45.52124
terror attack	Mumbai	5	94	2.21417	6.67378	10.3677	37.49077
terror attack	police	3	70	1.71099	6.36212	9.94111	20.96302
terror attack	Indian	4	117	1.96952	6.03607	9.80033	26.2701
terror attack	on	10	472	3.08451	5.34572	9.35038	58.42286
terror attack	with	3	337	1.63068	4.0948	8.06533	11.68117
terror attack	a	7	965	2.45573	3.79941	7.8488	25.4694
terror attack	Pakistan	3	442	1.5991	3.7035	7.70232	10.14659
terror attack	the	20	3514	4.06276	3.44947	7.53077	75.02697
terror attack	of	7	1486	2.35313	3.17658	7.2413	19.83286
terror attack	that	3	765	1.50194	2.91209	6.95015	7.15276

terror attack	to	4	1703	1.55637	2.17258	6.24094	6.17306
terror attack	be	5	2217	1.71951	2.11397	6.18814	7.50694
India	against	11	103	3.24651	5.56389	10.5953	65.40122
India	should	9	100	2.92475	5.31703	10.3244	50.19397
India	Pakistan	22	442	4.47767	4.46249	10.2996	98.74071
India	can	9	144	2.89163	4.79096	10.0719	43.55504
India	with	15	337	3.67654	4.30125	10.0396	63.2087
India	policy	5	29	2.20679	6.25491	10.0091	34.57084
India	must	7	105	2.55615	4.88407	9.93084	34.67528
India	make	7	115	2.54762	4.75283	9.87072	33.40213
India	instead	4	12	1.98645	7.206	9.85025	33.63024
India	whether	4	19	1.97855	6.54303	9.78083	29.38044
India	but	9	223	2.83218	4.15999	9.7064	35.80964
India	and	34	1287	5.33265	3.54863	9.61884	114.16569
India	face	4	37	1.95823	5.58151	9.6163	23.66809
India	between	5	80	2.1553	4.79096	9.60768	24.04825
India	work	4	44	1.95033	5.33153	9.55706	22.23887
India	UAE	3	6	1.72423	7.79096	9.4975	28.32568
India	determine	3	11	1.71771	6.91649	9.44541	23.77457
India	Afghanistan	4	58	1.93453	4.93298	9.44541	19.99748
India	if	5	105	2.13005	4.39865	9.44541	21.36049
India	strategic	3	14	1.7138	6.56857	9.41504	22.13055
India	terror	6	158	2.30386	4.07214	9.41504	23.03888
India	option	3	17	1.70989	6.28846	9.38529	20.84806
India	not	9	329	2.75241	3.59894	9.32757	29.13805
India	as	10	382	2.88956	3.53546	9.32193	31.62143
India	statement	3	25	1.69946	5.73207	9.30884	18.38112
India	those	4	78	1.91195	4.50556	9.29956	17.64138
India	by	8	289	2.59775	3.61604	9.28919	26.02334
India	which	5	132	2.10279	4.0685	9.28851	19.13953
India	What	3	31	1.69164	5.42173	9.25405	17.0418
India	also	5	140	2.09472	3.98361	9.24511	18.57489
India	on	11	472	2.99533	3.36775	9.22581	32.48554
India	move	3	38	1.68252	5.128	9.19265	15.7943
India	will	6	207	2.2587	3.68244	9.18836	19.95416
India	back	3	41	1.67861	5.01837	9.16711	15.33338
India	up	4	103	1.88373	4.10446	9.13581	15.47558
India	in	23	1232	4.21586	3.04774	9.11205	60.47944
India	its	6	228	2.23935	3.54303	9.10115	18.86921
India	into	3	59	1.65515	4.49328	9.02272	13.15927

India	US	3	60	1.65384	4.46903	9.01512	13.06022
India	take	4	126	1.85777	3.81368	9	13.93508
India	border	3	67	1.64472	4.30984	8.96291	12.41289
India	about	3	71	1.63951	4.22618	8.93391	12.07486
India	a	15	965	3.31046	2.78347	8.81018	33.74363
India	from	5	236	1.99779	3.23025	8.80623	13.69756
India	so	3	98	1.60431	3.76122	8.75207	10.22474
India	this	6	336	2.1398	2.98361	8.72078	14.63245
India	time	3	105	1.59519	3.66168	8.70845	9.83551
India	or	3	111	1.58737	3.58151	8.67207	9.52391
India	security	3	116	1.58085	3.51794	8.64245	9.27812
India	do	4	209	1.76408	3.0836	8.59486	10.20006
India	be	27	2217	4.2329	2.43146	8.55829	51.36762
India	that	10	765	2.61612	2.53357	8.51618	19.21362
India	it	7	518	2.20374	2.58151	8.4675	13.72462
India	to	19	1703	3.47685	2.30503	8.40794	32.44098
India	who	3	160	1.5235	3.054	8.40505	7.52173
India	at	4	262	1.70425	2.75754	8.38529	8.60947
India	of	16	1486	3.16128	2.25374	8.34179	26.11722
India	the	34	3514	4.47039	2.09953	8.25616	53.04399
India	for	5	410	1.82211	2.43341	8.24511	8.88938
India	have	9	977	2.26476	2.02867	8.05749	12.13857
India	we	3	255	1.39967	2.38157	7.99625	5.12505
security	force	13	80	3.57858	7.06256	11.4716	106.22672
security	agency	7	56	2.62002	6.68405	10.8301	52.60739
security	beef	4	5	1.99696	9.36212	10.7712	48.93081
security	border	6	67	2.41624	6.20292	10.4869	40.81333
security	personnel	3	9	1.72573	8.09908	10.2812	28.96183
security	cooperation	4	41	1.97508	6.3265	10.2056	27.80281
security	up	6	103	2.39837	5.58251	10.1503	35.53548
security	National	3	18	1.71942	7.09908	10.1255	24.21984
security	must	5	105	2.17898	5.29173	9.87072	27.51308
security	then	3	39	1.70468	5.98361	9.81678	19.3362
security	target	3	57	1.69204	5.43612	9.59628	17.02502
security	Indian	4	117	1.92888	4.81368	9.45311	19.3233
security	intelligence	3	78	1.67731	4.98361	9.37551	15.14818
security	both	3	82	1.6745	4.91146	9.33703	14.85168
security	at	6	262	2.31946	4.23559	9.20992	24.46882
security	country	4	158	1.90396	4.38027	9.16711	16.97799

security	our	3	112	1.65344	4.46165	9.07717	13.02093
security	on	8	472	2.62556	3.8014	8.91785	28.24936
security	their	3	157	1.62186	3.97439	8.75841	11.07609
security	not	5	329	2.0572	3.64403	8.68168	16.43443
security	and	17	1287	3.74365	3.44171	8.68126	54.20772
security	in	15	1232	3.48628	3.32415	8.56038	45.12696
security	will	3	207	1.58677	3.57552	8.47122	9.52004
security	India	4	314	1.80914	3.38943	8.41504	11.79194
security	for	5	410	2.01317	3.3265	8.41504	14.40244
security	of	16	1486	3.54838	3.14683	8.39637	44.73517
security	its	3	228	1.57203	3.43612	8.36579	8.98532
security	a	9	965	2.60896	2.93959	8.15451	22.01309
security	attack	3	276	1.53834	3.16049	8.15033	7.94433
security	have	9	977	2.6041	2.92176	8.13788	21.81548
security	Pakistan	4	442	1.73134	2.89614	8	9.33727
security	to	13	1703	3.03136	2.65062	7.90846	27.84344
security	be	16	2217	3.32622	2.56965	7.84076	33.29319
security	that	4	765	1.53501	2.10473	7.29437	5.68211
security	the	17	3514	3.08704	1.99261	7.28011	24.1941
officials	here	3	21	1.72931	9.30554	11.4975	33.91002
officials	ISI	3	21	1.72931	9.30554	11.4975	33.91002
officials	and	4	1287	1.85472	3.78309	6.6557	14.77671
officials	of	4	1486	1.83226	3.57567	6.45022	13.6886
officials	be	5	2217	2.01223	3.32043	6.1991	15.88502
officials	the	6	3514	2.12561	2.91895	5.80074	16.5024
terrorism	resolve	3	11	1.72698	8.4153	10.75207	30.11483
terrorism	tackle	3	25	1.72052	7.23087	10.43522	24.68047
terrorism	case	3	36	1.71545	6.70481	10.22741	22.39097
terrorism	Islamabad	4	74	1.97044	6.08031	10.09311	26.39696
terrorism	on	11	472	3.20294	4.86656	9.44262	55.89997
terrorism	should	3	100	1.68593	5.23087	9.39514	16.19046
terrorism	no	3	130	1.67209	4.85236	9.12553	14.64004
terrorism	as	5	382	2.09959	4.03427	8.58046	19.1319
terrorism	its	3	228	1.62689	4.04184	8.48693	11.38593
terrorism	from	3	236	1.6232	3.99209	8.44541	11.18966
terrorism	to	15	1703	3.52171	3.4628	8.13458	49.51254
terrorism	Pakistan	4	442	1.82345	3.50187	8.06926	12.45454
terrorism	a	7	965	2.35438	3.18274	7.82579	19.36853

terrorism	of	9	1486	2.6043	2.92247	7.58872	22.3282
terrorism	be	11	2217	2.78263	2.63481	7.31541	23.83667
terrorism	in	6	1232	2.04769	2.60794	7.26529	12.26245
terrorism	and	6	1287	2.02976	2.54493	7.2045	11.81525
terrorism	the	15	3514	3.14817	2.41776	7.10923	29.75648
terrorism	have	4	977	1.60976	2.35755	7.00141	6.8797
terrorism	that	3	765	1.37922	2.29541	6.9214	4.90419
peace	with	3	337	1.6915	5.41673	8.13788	17.48061
peace	Pakistan	3	442	1.67887	5.02543	7.75841	15.87992
peace	to	6	1703	2.3046	4.07947	6.84097	25.99385
peace	the	6	3514	2.15052	3.03443	5.80115	17.68595
peace	be	3	2217	1.4653	2.69894	5.46278	6.75603
investigation	to	3	1703	1.64667	4.3425	5.84687	14.51981
investigation	the	4	3514	1.84743	3.7125	5.21905	17.49769
military	option	3	17	1.72608	8.18155	10.8845	28.86996
military	action	4	38	1.98845	7.43612	10.8102	34.18324
military	Pakistani	5	96	2.20997	6.42101	10.2885	35.61758
military	intelligence	3	78	1.70468	5.98361	9.76478	19.35012
military	can	4	144	1.95624	5.51412	9.51618	23.31527
military	its	4	228	1.93071	4.85116	8.96108	19.68821
military	by	4	289	1.91217	4.50912	8.66015	17.84258
military	but	3	223	1.65379	4.46811	8.57374	13.13262
military	Pakistan	4	442	1.86567	3.89614	8.10215	14.59004
military	not	3	329	1.61659	3.90707	8.07717	10.90462
military	and	8	1287	2.55185	3.35425	7.63149	24.44837
military	of	7	1486	2.30436	2.95418	7.23655	17.66141
military	to	7	1703	2.25451	2.75754	7.04414	15.96605
military	a	4	965	1.70672	2.76966	7.03422	8.89404
military	the	14	3514	3.17081	2.7125	7.01416	33.87729
military	be	7	2217	2.13642	2.37701	6.67036	12.78431
military	in	3	1232	1.2997	2.00222	6.27776	3.98022
civilian	leadership	3	11	1.73018	9.8514	11.7776	36.44292
civilian	government	5	128	2.21917	7.0478	10.1420	40.74104
civilian	Pakistan	7	442	2.59643	5.74532	8.965	45.40266
civilian	have	4	977	1.85578	3.79365	7.0429	14.52091
civilian	and	4	1287	1.81002	3.39607	6.65127	12.45509
civilian	be	6	2217	2.18228	3.19644	6.45955	17.88741
civilian	in	3	1232	1.52205	3.04404	6.2984	7.8348
civilian	the	7	3514	2.25363	2.75432	6.02149	17.38569

civilian	to	3	1703	1.44177	2.57697	5.83677	6.12531
failure	action	3	38	1.72938	9.34301	11.0931	34.6276
failure	of	3	1486	1.62775	4.05372	6.04096	12.59668
failure	to	3	1703	1.61252	3.85708	5.84518	11.80909
failure	the	4	3514	1.78641	3.22708	5.21823	13.1926
accuse	of	3	1486	1.64265	4.27611	6.04193	13.78744
accuse	the	5	3514	2.07232	3.7714	5.54057	22.69026
terrorist	bad	6	16	2.43917	7.8905	10.8435	56.66477
terrorist	CRPF	5	12	2.22759	8.0425	10.6354	48.50081
terrorist	use	6	64	2.4082	5.8905	10.3088	38.15217
terrorist	good	5	47	2.20285	6.07287	10.2134	33.05088
terrorist	fight	4	51	1.9597	5.63311	9.85025	23.87924
terrorist	target	4	57	1.95496	5.47265	9.79055	22.97284
terrorist	kill	4	68	1.94627	5.21807	9.68712	21.54703
terrorist	from	7	236	2.50478	4.23025	9.45421	28.48229
terrorist	by	8	289	2.66695	4.13061	9.43014	31.56997
terrorist	strike	3	57	1.68004	5.05761	9.37551	15.45985
terrorist	into	3	59	1.67822	5.00786	9.35614	15.25352
terrorist	while	3	62	1.67548	4.9363	9.32757	14.95749
terrorist	only	3	81	1.65814	4.55065	9.1587	13.37674
terrorist	out	4	141	1.88858	4.16598	9.14202	15.80869
terrorist	terrorist	4	149	1.88226	4.08637	9.09311	15.38524
terrorist	Mumbai	3	94	1.64628	4.33591	9.05358	12.50776
terrorist	Pakistani	3	96	1.64446	4.30554	9.03807	12.38553
terrorist	on	9	472	2.75136	3.59282	9.03293	29.24379
terrorist	who	4	160	1.87357	3.98361	9.02846	14.84126
terrorist	state	3	101	1.6399	4.23229	9	12.09148
terrorist	against	3	103	1.63807	4.204	8.98505	11.97819
terrorist	there	4	192	1.84829	3.72057	8.85534	13.46283
terrorist	that	12	765	3.1151	3.31118	8.8435	35.00863
terrorist	take	3	126	1.61709	3.91322	8.82341	10.82313
terrorist	attack	5	276	2.041	3.51894	8.80229	15.5741
terrorist	Pakistan	7	442	2.38174	3.32499	8.74936	20.20436
terrorist	all	3	140	1.60431	3.76122	8.73321	10.22664
terrorist	say	3	152	1.59336	3.64257	8.66015	9.76486
terrorist	a	13	965	3.18258	3.09159	8.65605	34.44465
terrorist	in	15	1232	3.37027	2.94564	8.53729	37.30314
terrorist	at	4	262	1.79297	3.27211	8.53648	11.16602
terrorist	be	26	2217	4.4119	2.89158	8.52801	65.82448
terrorist	to	20	1703	3.87033	2.8936	8.51296	49.43135
terrorist	the	40	3514	5.44649	2.84857	8.50614	105.68052

terrorist	as	5	382	1.96609	3.05003	8.43623	12.61719
terrorist	of	15	1486	3.26663	2.67521	8.28392	32.33537
terrorist	its	3	228	1.52402	3.05761	8.26755	7.54536
terrorist	have	9	977	2.48533	2.54325	8.10923	17.51679
terrorist	for	4	410	1.67603	2.62606	8.03133	8.01148
terrorist	and	10	1287	2.5191	2.29767	7.89357	16.70647
terrorist	it	3	518	1.25942	1.87369	7.33466	3.4922
Lashkar-e-taiba	Let	5	13	2.23496	10.97539	12.73697	71.03506
Lashkar-e-taiba	like	3	65	1.72488	7.91649	10.3370	27.98624
Lashkar-e-taiba	of	5	1486	2.10912	4.13861	6.77407	21.74215
Lashkar-e-taiba	and	4	1287	1.87707	4.0241	6.65793	16.31424
Lashkar-e-taiba	the	3	3514	1.34448	2.15996	4.80155	4.8969
Mujahideen	Indian	7	117	2.63807	8.42839	10.8186	75.00383
Mujahideen	have	3	977	1.63409	4.14415	6.63806	12.48951
Mujahideen	to	3	1703	1.5613	3.3425	5.84265	9.33235
Mujahideen	the	6	3514	2.20035	3.29747	5.80196	20.60978
bomb	live	3	23	1.7279	8.70481	11.2274	31.15241
bomb	after	3	110	1.7122	6.44701	9.58496	21.48093
bomb	a	4	965	1.84917	3.72902	7.05895	14.12893
bomb	that	3	765	1.59398	3.64905	6.97209	10.11768
bomb	in	3	1232	1.5097	2.96158	6.29725	7.50173
bomb	the	7	3514	2.23057	2.67186	6.02109	16.48927
bomb	be	4	2217	1.65349	2.52901	5.87394	8.0915
bomb	to	3	1703	1.4247	2.49451	5.83593	5.80904
blast	serial	14	16	3.73839	10.16125	12.9004	193.91222
blast	Jaipur	5	15	2.23094	8.76894	11.4392	53.27647
blast	Ahmedabad	4	14	1.99465	8.54654	11.1420	41.05146
blast	Tuesday	4	15	1.99427	8.44701	11.1173	40.40695
blast	rip	3	6	1.7294	9.3539	10.9411	34.95637
blast	place	3	63	1.70426	5.96158	9.8435	19.23343
blast	after	4	110	1.95797	5.57254	9.73321	23.57034
blast	two	3	90	1.69235	5.44701	9.51887	17.08784
blast	for	5	410	2.09596	3.99635	8.49538	18.90315
blast	in	13	1232	3.34445	3.78755	8.38303	48.00806
blast	the	35	3514	5.46221	3.70428	8.33243	152.61862
blast	of	14	1486	3.43818	3.62404	8.22804	49.03964
blast	with	3	337	1.58338	3.54226	8.01132	9.44503

blast	on	4	472	1.81967	3.47126	7.98877	12.31076
blast	that	5	765	1.97465	3.09651	7.66193	13.1235
blast	and	5	1287	1.79626	2.34603	6.94363	8.62844
blast	be	7	2217	2.00545	2.04686	6.66461	9.9594
border	along	4	20	1.99357	8.28195	11.16711	39.25127
border	area	3	32	1.72018	7.18884	10.47644	24.47223
border	international	3	32	1.72018	7.18884	10.47644	24.47223
border	both	5	82	2.2125	6.56825	10.42711	36.63252
border	security	6	116	2.41906	6.33086	10.32757	42.12271
border	across	3	41	1.71684	6.83129	10.29956	22.93044
border	Afghanistan	3	58	1.71053	6.33086	10.01511	20.80216
border	up	3	103	1.69384	5.50234	9.45568	17.34
border	its	5	228	2.17055	5.09291	9.27208	26.3682
border	with	7	337	2.56391	5.01463	9.26046	36.56956
border	from	5	236	2.16825	5.04316	9.22917	26.0285
border	on	7	472	2.53112	4.52859	8.81583	31.95263
border	India	3	314	1.61556	3.89422	8.12964	10.84269
border	and	9	1287	2.72434	3.44401	7.79924	28.68077
border	the	24	3514	4.43807	3.40994	7.79095	88.03797
border	in	7	1232	2.34654	3.14445	7.49788	19.26037
border	a	5	965	1.95876	3.01142	7.35326	12.68383
border	to	7	1703	2.23215	2.67737	7.04248	15.22054
border	that	3	765	1.44825	2.60952	6.9375	6.02061
border	of	5	1486	1.80905	2.38859	6.74923	8.94941
border	be	6	2217	1.86792	2.07445	6.44669	8.72916
intelligence	agency	4	56	1.98979	7.61366	10.7332	35.35779
intelligence	military	3	72	1.71689	6.83605	10.0458	23.0507
intelligence	security	3	116	1.70763	6.14799	9.48693	20.1682
intelligence	and	8	1287	2.66248	4.09122	7.64685	33.53703
intelligence	that	4	765	1.8605	3.8417	7.38161	14.59149
intelligence	of	5	1486	1.9937	3.20572	6.76446	14.3689
intelligence	a	3	965	1.52886	3.09159	6.63952	7.92396
intelligence	in	3	1232	1.47264	2.73919	6.29379	6.62654
intelligence	the	8	3514	2.37533	2.64211	6.21251	18.48393
cooperation	security	4	116	1.98892	7.49592	10.01132	35.40493
cooperation	on	3	472	1.67999	5.05622	7.66908	16.08278

Islamabad	in	10	1232	2.88488	3.51092	8.00791	32.74759
Islamabad	for	3	410	1.5635	3.36126	7.76798	8.76531
Islamabad	Pakistan	3	442	1.55035	3.25284	7.66908	8.35536
Islamabad	be	14	2217	3.31977	3.14874	7.66653	40.74616
Islamabad	and	8	1287	2.50444	3.12598	7.62496	21.87385
Islamabad	it	3	518	1.51911	3.02393	7.45826	7.50155
Islamabad	that	4	765	1.72765	2.87646	7.34536	9.35965
Islamabad	have	5	977	1.92496	2.84549	7.33041	11.61107
Islamabad	the	11	3514	2.56222	2.13631	6.6638	17.63461
Islamabad	a	3	965	1.33535	2.12636	6.61055	4.35844
Islamabad	of	4	1486	1.47096	1.91856	6.42352	4.9831
US	lawmaker	3	5	1.7301	9.79096	11.1255	37.29358
US	Afghanistan	3	58	1.70937	6.25491	9.98505	20.47696
US	Pakistan	9	442	2.90021	4.90995	9.26003	46.15406
US	its	4	228	1.92279	4.69504	8.9393	18.80312
US	will	3	207	1.65111	4.4194	8.64245	12.91587
US	from	3	236	1.63977	4.23025	8.48167	12.16021
US	India	3	314	1.60927	3.81827	8.12144	10.53533
US	in	10	1232	2.89841	3.58307	8.01018	33.81278
US	to	11	1703	2.96885	3.2535	7.6929	32.79736
US	a	6	965	2.18266	3.19851	7.61342	16.7245
US	the	21	3514	4.06321	3.14135	7.5975	65.98878
US	have	5	977	1.94014	2.91764	7.33324	12.07717
US	of	7	1486	2.26535	2.79806	7.23276	16.18992
US	and	5	1287	1.84624	2.52006	6.94906	9.68871
US	be	7	2217	2.07821	2.22089	6.6678	11.4178
militant	in	4	1232	1.90372	4.37662	6.72271	18.61958
militant	and	3	1287	1.61591	3.89857	6.24511	11.6256
militant	be	4	2217	1.82674	3.52901	5.87976	14.09002
Kashmir	Jammu	4	6	1.99891	10.83605	12.24511	56.50977
Kashmir	an	3	167	1.69689	5.62227	9.03037	17.9897
Kashmir	in	10	1232	3.02019	4.47615	8.03076	48.37857
Kashmir	for	3	410	1.64572	4.3265	7.83342	12.72122
Kashmir	and	6	1287	2.25787	3.67618	7.23182	21.18591
Kashmir	to	5	1703	1.95831	3.00908	6.57038	13.12776
Kashmir	of	4	1486	1.72903	2.88379	6.44254	9.70386
Kashmir	be	3	2217	1.26524	1.89158	5.45697	3.73315
Kashmir	the	3	3514	0.99215	1.22708	4.79747	1.82157
extremist	group	6	121	2.43834	7.77899	10.51887	56.3672

extremist	these	3	73	1.72254	7.50803	10.1587	26.12691
extremist	by	4	289	1.96738	5.93796	8.7616	26.45269
extremist	to	5	1703	2.06412	3.70096	6.57709	18.37819
extremist	be	5	2217	2.01223	3.32043	6.1991	15.88502
extremist	the	5	3514	1.88128	2.65592	5.5377	11.65416
extremism	of	5	1486	2.16682	5.01308	6.7789	31.23301
extremism	the	5	3514	2.07232	3.7714	5.54057	22.69026
group	terror	19	158	4.32302	6.92459	11.49973	154.13532
group	these	9	73	2.97591	6.96054	11.14756	71.61024
group	extremist	6	35	2.43535	7.43612	11.0614	51.65065
group	down	5	36	2.22013	7.13244	10.78277	40.67498
group	like	6	65	2.42322	6.54303	10.65423	43.75414
group	Let	3	13	1.72462	7.86496	10.45568	27.64153
group	include	3	36	1.71148	6.39548	10.0458	21.07782
group	many	3	73	1.69033	5.37558	9.56259	16.77344
group	all	4	140	1.93071	4.85116	9.37795	19.55393
group	Pakistani	3	96	1.67719	4.98044	9.32757	15.14306
group	on	10	472	3.01453	4.41973	9.2748	44.10678
group	against	3	103	1.67318	4.8789	9.26303	14.72743
group	take	3	126	1.66004	4.58812	9.06926	13.54512
group	for	7	410	2.49235	4.10832	8.94008	27.58658
group	that	10	765	2.92281	3.72305	8.63893	34.85046
group	as	5	382	2.06696	3.72494	8.54385	17.02014
group	have	11	977	3.02503	3.50766	8.44541	35.44302
group	a	10	965	2.8602	3.38798	8.32475	30.50972
group	of	13	1486	3.19757	3.14366	8.10892	36.26765
group	the	25	3514	4.3043	2.8454	7.84174	65.8365
group	and	7	1287	2.16423	2.458	7.41504	13.03629
group	be	10	2217	2.46829	2.18798	7.17091	15.91814
group	in	5	1232	1.69067	2.03558	6.98989	6.82276
group	to	5	1703	1.48216	1.56851	6.54057	4.45295
Islam	of	3	1486	1.65755	4.53915	6.0429	15.3229
Afghanistan	border	3	67	1.71324	6.52485	10.0151	21.66149
Afghanistan	if	3	105	1.70257	5.87669	9.52968	18.9491
Afghanistan	but	3	223	1.66944	4.79004	8.61342	14.48661
Afghanistan	in	15	1232	3.7183	4.64608	8.60768	77.39895
Afghanistan	its	3	228	1.66804	4.75805	8.58496	14.35703
Afghanistan	India	3	314	1.6439	4.29632	8.16711	12.5009

Afghanistan	and	10	1287	2.96438	3.99811	7.96108	40.40335
Afghanistan	as	3	382	1.62481	4.01351	7.90548	11.37902
Afghanistan	for	3	410	1.61695	3.91146	7.81018	10.97747
Afghanistan	a	5	965	2.02622	3.41352	7.36628	15.41114
Afghanistan	be	7	2217	2.23829	2.69894	6.67486	15.7735
Afghanistan	the	11	3514	2.80142	2.68651	6.66908	26.1686
Afghanistan	of	4	1486	1.63871	2.46876	6.43585	7.55288
train	local	4	20	1.99844	10.32148	12.14202	52.21846
train	Mumbai	4	94	1.99265	8.08882	10.3135	39.1641
train	have	3	977	1.64389	4.29615	6.63952	13.21542
train	be	3	2217	1.53199	3.11397	5.46472	8.55953
training	Quetta	3	31	1.72832	8.85913	11.1587	31.97459
training	police	3	70	1.72363	7.68405	10.22741	26.93003
training	attack	3	276	1.69884	5.70481	8.41504	18.66547
training	a	4	965	1.89945	4.31398	7.06779	17.72
training	in	4	1232	1.87163	3.96158	6.71923	15.83791
training	and	4	1287	1.8659	3.89857	6.65681	15.50358
training	be	3	2217	1.4653	2.69894	5.46278	6.75603
training	the	4	3514	1.63384	2.44947	5.21618	8.10602
peace	with	3	337	1.6915	5.41673	8.13788	17.48061
peace	Pakistan	3	442	1.67887	5.02543	7.75841	15.87992
Peace	to	6	1703	2.3046	4.07947	6.84097	25.99385
Peace	the	6	3514	2.15052	3.03443	5.80115	17.68595
Peace	be	3	2217	1.4653	2.69894	5.46278	6.75603
ISI	official	3	38	1.72748	8.5654	10.94111	30.69835
ISI	that	3	765	1.64001	4.23401	6.98319	12.68194
ISI	and	5	1287	2.11612	4.2205	6.97874	22.0426
ISI	have	3	977	1.6145	3.88112	6.63514	11.27901
ISI	of	3	1486	1.55326	3.27611	6.03614	8.92231
ISI	be	4	2217	1.76899	3.11397	5.87782	11.41418
ISI	the	5	3514	1.90857	2.7714	5.53811	12.55098
Army	Pakistani	6	96	2.42975	6.95535	10.61918	47.64451
Army	Pakistan	6	442	2.35861	4.75241	8.70538	29.29748
Army	by	3	289	1.64802	4.36539	8.27208	12.76685
Army	the	23	3514	4.42681	3.70001	7.73281	99.96016
Army	on	3	472	1.59481	3.65767	7.6163	9.97779
Army	it	3	518	1.58143	3.5235	7.48957	9.46003
Army	be	11	2217	2.97997	3.30039	7.32629	34.61849

Army	a	4	965	1.757	3.04096	7.0429	10.29976
Army	and	5	1287	1.9462	2.94748	6.95998	12.44685
Army	to	6	1703	2.09934	2.80645	6.82674	14.07752
army	in	4	1232	1.68976	2.68856	6.69965	8.57843
army	of	4	1486	1.6258	2.41813	6.4349	7.30255

Katz & Fodor (1963) explain that the approach of semantic, surpasses observation and makes attempts to highlight the particular shape collocations adopt, the reasons behind the occurrence (collocation) of a word with certain other words, and the way the meaning of a lexical item is delimited to its ultimate contrastive elements consequently atomize the meaning. In such approach, specific word-level areas can be found in which each term aids to reduce its surrounding terms and is reduced semantically by them. Thus, in collocations the meanings of individual elements are restricted and the meaning of the whole are presented forth. As a matter of fact, in the above table different elements are collocated together for specific objectives. The semantic fields of each one is widened to affect the most.

In this section, the root word 'Mumbai' is collocated together with 'attacks' 'terror' 'terrorist' and other articles and preposition. Therefore, the incident of Mumbai attacks is highlighted along with the reference of some foreigners and Pakistan is tried to be included with the attacks, terror and terrorists. At this level, India do include Pakistan as an agent while Pakistan pushed the responsibility on other. Next, the semantic field of root word 'Pakistan' is added with words like 'will' 'must' 'have' 'civilian' and 'establishment' so as to show that India is keen to take steps against the terrorist groups inside and outside of the country. Moreover, the conflict between establishment and civil government of Pakistan is also highlighted in this regard. This is done to convince the readers that the Indian claim regarding terrorist activities inside India by Pakistan is not mere blame. And the civilian government is shown weak and helpless in Pakistan. Just look at the frequency and T-score of these collocations in the following table.

Table 14 List of Collocations with Pakistan in The Times of India

Pakistan	India	23	314	4.5309
Pakistan	to	71	1703	7.60834
Pakistan	for	23	410	4.4499
Pakistan	establishment	9	24	2.96763
Pakistan	its	15	228	3.63477
Pakistan	will	14	207	3.5178
Pakistan	have	34	977	5.15296
Pakistan	US	8	60	2.74259
Pakistan	on	19	472	3.92074
Pakistan	be	66	2217	7.0198
Pakistan	policy	7	29	2.6014
Pakistan	civilian	7	30	2.59987

The collocation of two words 'Pakistan' and 'against' from the table of collocation try to convince the readers that Pakistan has to take strong action against all those terrorists who have carried out terrorist activities in India and further it is shown that the civilian government and the military both are not on the same page. 'Pakistan isolate' are collocated together to show the readers that the main purpose of India is to isolate Pakistan at regional as well as international level. This brings both the countries in ideological conflict where one thinks other as a threat for its existence.

Table 15 List of Collocations with India in The Times of India

India	must	7	105	2.55615
India	make	7	115	2.54762
India	instead	4	12	1.98645
India	whether	4	19	1.97855
India	but	9	223	2.83218
India	and	34	1287	5.33265

The high frequency of the above collocations shows the semantic field of root word India. India is collocated with auxiliary must and other words like instead, but and whether

purposely to show the readers that if Pakistani fails to take action against the terrorists, then India will choose the other option and must take action against Pakistan. The print media shows that India itself is trying to make the situation clear by providing sufficient evidence behind their claims. 'Whether' 'instead' and 'but' are related with India in this regard.

Moreover, India includes certain elements in these consequences to show that along with India, other countries of the world also have become the victim of terrorism. Therefore, Afghanistan is related with terrorism and it is further linked with Taliban and Alqaeda. US is also included as it has troops in Afghanistan. For all the worst situation in the region India holds Pakistan responsible.

Table 16 List of Collocations with India and Afghanistan in The Times of India

Kashmir	Jammu	4	6	1.99891	
Kashmir	an	3	167	1.69689	
Kashmir	in	10	1232	3.02019	
Kashmir	for	3	410	1.64572	
Afghanistan	border	3	67	1.71324	6.52485
Afghanistan	if	3	105	1.70257	5.87669
Afghanistan	but	3	223	1.66944	4.79004
Afghanistan	in	15	1232	3.7183	4.64608

These data show that at what frequencies, Afghanistan and Kashmir are included. Indian print media tries to show that the terrorism in the area is just because of Pakistan and the conflicts in Afghanistan and Kashmir is the result of Pakistani interference.

4.2.5.2 Polarization through Inclusion and Exclusion, in Collocations in *The News International*

Table 17   List of Collocations in *The News International*

Target word	Collocate	Collocation frequency	Collocate frequency	T-score	MI	logDice	log likelihood
Relation	new	4	23	1.9974	9.58933	11.83007	47.30105
Relation	countries	6	60	2.44396	8.79096	11.39514	65.0882
relation	between	7	80	2.63892	8.59832	11.2682	74.80588
relation	two	6	90	2.44119	8.206	10.89846	60.01805
relation	a	3	921	1.612	3.8508	6.71768	11.09881
relation	to	5	1703	2.06412	3.70096	6.57709	18.37819

relation	of	4	1482	1.83271	3.57956	6.45407	13.7089
relation	the	8	3116	2.57971	3.50741	6.38851	29.91773
crisis	could	3	68	1.72114	7.31083	10.19265	25.16982
crisis	that	5	750	2.14287	4.58451	7.74073	23.85368
crisis	of	6	1482	2.28137	3.86496	7.03614	23.29093
crisis	in	4	1144	1.84106	3.65346	6.82009	13.84843
crisis	a	3	921	1.5843	3.55124	6.71306	9.79809
crisis	to	5	1703	2.02444	3.4014	6.57457	16.00631
crisis	the	3	3116	1.23217	1.79281	4.97209	3.50549
crisis	intelligence	4	66	1.99198	7.96158	10.67807	37.68768
crisis	on	5	459	2.18616	5.48555	8.43623	30.2667
crisis	of	5	1482	2.07493	3.79457	6.77503	18.83325
crisis	to	5	1703	2.0509	3.59404	6.57625	17.51213
crisis	the	8	3116	2.56058	3.4005	6.38805	28.23055
terrorist	struck	3	16	1.72259	7.51565	10.35614	26.03843
terrorist	violence	3	29	1.7149	6.65767	10.12553	22.21575
terrorist	Mumbai	5	88	2.19574	5.79318	10.12226	31.03659
terrorist	our	5	103	2.18887	5.56611	9.98208	29.44798
terrorist	attacks	5	105	2.18795	5.53837	9.96438	29.25465
terrorist	who	5	155	2.16504	4.97649	9.58046	25.37512
terrorist	groups	3	84	1.68236	5.12333	9.42509	15.72857
terrorist	by	7	283	2.53615	4.59338	9.3895	32.11364
terrorist	after	3	97	1.67467	4.91574	9.29956	14.87585
terrorist	no	3	120	1.66106	4.60876	9.10115	13.62589
terrorist	Pakistan	7	366	2.50401	4.22234	9.07604	28.62401
terrorist	will	4	202	1.89651	4.27248	8.97209	16.42773
terrorist	that	11	750	3.08492	3.83937	8.79944	40.14001
terrorist	have	6	421	2.27338	3.79797	8.67807	21.07508
terrorist	we	3	185	1.62261	3.98427	8.65423	11.12881
terrorist	of	17	1482	3.75482	3.48482	8.49781	55.93485
terrorist	from	3	229	1.59658	3.67645	8.41504	9.92511
terrorist	the	31	3116	4.99433	3.2794	8.32166	102.57298
terrorist	The	4	398	1.7961	3.29406	8.16395	11.33942
terrorist	has	4	404	1.79303	3.27248	8.14513	11.23066
terrorist	are	3	295	1.55754	3.31108	8.11736	8.52575
terrorist	on	4	459	1.76485	3.08834	7.98319	10.31072
terrorist	in	9	1144	2.60928	2.94074	7.9375	22.20071
terrorist	as	3	353	1.52323	3.05213	7.89846	7.55725
terrorist	for	3	378	1.50844	2.95341	7.81347	7.19396
terrorist	to	11	1703	2.79051	2.65626	7.67643	23.63161
terrorist	a	6	921	2.06423	2.66859	7.64832	12.56612

terrorist	and	7	1262	2.15701	2.43655	7.43994	12.84097
allegation	of	3	1482	1.61318	3.86496	6.04387	11.64005
allegation	the	3	3116	1.48211	2.79281	4.97578	7.47352
militant	threat	4	21	1.98942	7.56303	10.69622	35.06791
militant	groups	7	84	2.61377	6.37039	10.65761	49.43561
militant	struck	3	16	1.72275	7.54031	10.37551	26.14326
militant	set	3	16	1.72275	7.54031	10.37551	26.14326
militant	killed	4	43	1.97834	6.52908	10.34179	28.9445
militant	when	5	79	2.20048	5.9735	10.2239	32.30841
militant	group	3	37	1.71053	6.33086	10.01511	20.80216
militant	were	5	157	2.16535	4.98266	9.57374	25.42198
militant	so	3	81	1.68495	5.20046	9.46602	16.04757
militant	after	3	97	1.67564	4.9404	9.30884	14.97787
militant	will	5	202	2.14508	4.61907	9.29956	22.94874
militant	against	3	101	1.67332	4.8821	9.27208	14.73932
militant	our	3	103	1.67215	4.85381	9.25405	14.62374
militant	attacks	3	105	1.67099	4.82607	9.23623	14.51048
militant	who	3	155	1.64191	4.26419	8.85025	12.24137
militant	from	4	229	1.88467	4.11615	8.83509	15.60025
militant	they	3	159	1.63959	4.22743	8.82341	12.09468
militant	attack	3	162	1.63784	4.20046	8.8036	11.98722
militant	have	6	421	2.27637	3.82264	8.68108	21.27703
militant	not	4	273	1.86251	3.86259	8.62931	14.2658
militant	Pakistan	5	366	2.0712	3.76158	8.59401	17.25244
militant	is	9	730	2.7549	3.61352	8.54787	29.90518
militant	that	9	750	2.74819	3.57453	8.51171	29.45018
militant	the	32	3116	5.10202	3.34987	8.36791	110.05963
militant	in	12	1144	3.13146	3.38044	8.35374	36.86125
militant	by	3	283	1.56747	3.39565	8.17133	8.84828
militant	The	4	398	1.79956	3.31872	8.16711	11.46733
militant	to	15	1703	3.43008	3.12838	8.12471	42.00689
militant	are	3	295	1.5605	3.33574	8.12144	8.62086
militant	with	3	324	1.54363	3.20046	8.00753	8.11123
militant	and	10	1262	2.7603	2.97578	7.95561	25.27517
militant	it	3	371	1.5163	3.00504	7.84013	7.38531
militant	has	3	404	1.49711	2.8821	7.73321	6.93554
militant	of	8	1482	2.30066	2.42202	7.41129	14.65588
militant	a	3	921	1.19645	1.69325	6.6498	2.97834
Hindu	or	3	108	1.72122	7.32148	9.70232	25.56523
Hindu	and	3	1262	1.60552	3.77487	6.27208	11.0223
Hindu	of	3	1482	1.58346	3.54303	6.04193	10.11187

Hindu	the	3	3116	1.41962	2.47089	4.97486	6.06359
extremist	outfits	3	12	1.72928	9.28977	11.45568	33.8724
extremist	groups	4	84	1.98322	6.89745	10.25853	31.23363
extremist	who	3	155	1.69631	5.59861	9.10923	17.85751
extremist	that	7	750	2.53252	4.54638	8.21303	32.98573
extremist	of	8	1482	2.61914	3.75644	7.44445	29.65723
extremist	is	4	730	1.85421	3.77802	7.44349	14.19362
extremist	and	6	1262	2.2437	3.57323	7.25741	20.22175
extremist	in	5	1144	2.03171	3.45183	7.13334	15.84268
extremist	the	12	3116	3.10481	3.26925	6.96887	39.4218
extremist	to	6	1703	2.17179	3.14087	6.83175	16.88533
group	militant	9	23	2.99121	8.4153	11.69419	92.40804
group	based	5	13	2.2294	8.39042	11.01815	50.79513
group	Muslim	5	26	2.22274	7.39042	10.79837	42.68923
group	extremist	4	21	1.98796	7.37662	10.55706	34.00398
group	operating	3	13	1.72345	7.65346	10.28118	26.74277
group	various	3	15	1.72212	7.44701	10.24511	25.78039
group	terrorist	4	46	1.97364	6.24537	10.19265	27.32781
group	claimed	3	27	1.71418	6.59901	10.0458	21.98181
group	involvement	3	27	1.71418	6.59901	10.0458	21.98181
group	TTP	3	32	1.71087	6.3539	9.97025	20.91743
group	against	4	101	1.94212	5.11072	9.6163	20.95681
group	these	3	61	1.69168	5.42316	9.59628	16.96969
group	any	3	81	1.67845	5.01405	9.38529	15.27457
group	by	7	283	2.52315	4.43163	9.36027	30.51605
group	out	4	141	1.91919	4.62938	9.30651	18.32808
group	have	9	421	2.83915	4.22118	9.24215	36.96496
group	were	4	157	1.91002	4.47432	9.1991	17.49098
group	attacks	3	105	1.66257	4.63965	9.16711	13.74417
group	one	3	106	1.6619	4.62598	9.1587	13.68866
group	which	3	132	1.6447	4.3095	8.95561	12.41251
group	are	5	295	2.08485	3.88629	8.82607	18.02762
group	a	12	921	3.15936	3.50684	8.63806	38.53995
group	on	6	459	2.23471	3.51155	8.54879	18.79754
group	is	9	730	2.72109	3.42711	8.5333	27.59342
group	this	3	222	1.58514	3.55948	8.41504	9.46293
group	of	16	1482	3.57534	3.23561	8.40381	46.75456
group	with	4	324	1.81432	3.42909	8.39267	12.00312
group	from	3	229	1.58051	3.51469	8.38039	9.2908
group	in	12	1144	3.08558	3.19403	8.34417	33.7315
group	at	3	239	1.57389	3.45303	8.3323	9.05468

group	that	8	750	2.5245	3.21819	8.32757	22.29229
group	to	13	1703	3.06417	2.73551	7.91172	29.30285
group	the	23	3116	4.05112	2.68702	7.88784	53.74081
group	for	3	378	1.48191	2.79166	7.79055	6.59611
group	The	3	398	1.46867	2.71727	7.72698	6.32965
group	and	8	1262	2.31701	2.46744	7.62496	14.98171
train	be	3	2217	1.66536	4.69894	5.46862	19.54624

Here, it is of great importance to understand what T-score is and what is mutual information or MI score. T-score, when positive can testify the hypothesis. However, T-score is more reliant than MI. The MI score indicates the degree to which lexical items occur together in contrast to the extent they occur separately. MI Score is influenced greatly by the frequency of occurrence of words, words that occur less frequently usually have a high MI score which may be misleading. Therefore, Sketch Engine permits determining a frequency limit which facilitates the analysis by excluding the low-frequency lexical item from the statistical analysis. Most of the times, T-score is more effective as compared to the MI score. However, in the above table, nearly all the scores along with the base frequency and collocation's frequency are being given in detail.

4.2.5.3 Categorization

The categorization is made when specific words either noun are got together with the preposition. In this regard, words like 'relation' 'crisis' 'terrorist' 'allegation' 'militant' 'hindu' 'extremist' and 'group' are differently categorized with preposition, article, adjectives, pronouns and other verbs and nouns are related. This categorization helps to interpret the collocation done in TNI to understand better. It helps in understanding the sense of word and words together. Lakoff (1987) and Taylor (2003) go on to say that categorization lies in 'prototypicality. In the first session a prototypically semantic field is formed with the word 'relations' and then other words are collocated together to interpret the semantic field and sense of the meaning.

4.2.5.3.1 Sense from the Collocation

'Relation new' has a frequency of 4 along with the collocation frequency of 23 and T-score of 1.99. 'relation   countries' here the base word relation has a frequency of 6 along with the collocate frequency of 60 and with a T-score of 2.44. 'relation between' the

base frequency is 7 and collocate is 80 along with 2.63 T-score. This shows that relation between India and Pakistan, in the perspective of terrorism is collocated from different aspect. New relation in the place of old relation is also highlighted. As it is a fact that the relations between India and Pakistan are always bitter and challenging, therefore, TNI tries to convince the readers that the quality of relations depend upon the behavior of the opposite group as the 'us' social group tries its best to keep the relations in good position.

The second word category is made of 'crisis'. Other words are made collocated with this base word to make the sense.

Table 18 List of Collocations with Crisis in *The News International*

crisis	could	3	68	1.72114
crisis	that	5	750	2.14287
crisis	of	6	1482	2.28137
crisis	in	4	1144	1.84106
crisis	a	3	921	1.5843
crisis	to	5	1703	2.02444
crisis	the	3	3116	1.23217
crisis	intelligence	4	66	1.99198
crisis	on	5	459	2.18616

Here, crisis has a frequency of 3, 5, 6, 4 and so on while the collocate frequencies are 68, 750, 1482, 1144 and so on along with T-scores of over 1 and over 2. This shows that there are always crises between both the countries. After the words 'relations' and 'crisis' the word 'terrorist' is being used and related with other collocates to make sense.

Table 19 List of Collocations with Terrorist in The News International

terrorist	struck	3	16	1.72259
terrorist	violence	3	29	1.7149
terrorist	Mumbai	5	88	2.19574
terrorist	our	5	103	2.18887
terrorist	attacks	5	105	2.18795
terrorist	who	5	155	2.16504
terrorist	groups	3	84	1.68236
terrorist	by	7	283	2.53615
terrorist	after	3	97	1.67467
terrorist	no	3	120	1.66106
terrorist	Pakistan	7	366	2.50401
terrorist	will	4	202	1.89651

Collocation, being the part of one another and by moving together, are considered best for the process of ideological formation. Here, in the above table, the semantic field of terrorist is shown. It is being collocated with different choices. It is collocated with Pakistan seven times along with the ratio of 283 with a T-score of 2.5. It means that in the editorials of TNI, these two words move together under a specific frequency and heavily used for mental construction of the people of Pakistan and abroad. Terrorist is associated with a relative pronoun of 'who' and then the pronoun is associated with 'Terrorists' 'violence' 'attacks' 'by' and an auxiliary of 'will'. This systematic formation show that Pakistani media is consequently building and holding the narratives about Pakistan as it is not a terrorist state and has no ties with the terrorists rather the country itself is suffering from the terrorist attacks. Here, the ideological conflict can be seen as it is a fact that terrorism has no country and no religion but India do associate it with Pakistan.

In this chapter, the ideological conflict is discussed under the analysis of Keywords, Pronouns, Binomials and Collocations. The data discussed are supportive in the claim of the present study that India and Pakistan are in ideological conflict on terrorism in the region. Both countries' print media circulate such materials which can push the social groups living in both countries deep into the conflict.

According to Widdowson (2000), CDA makes an attempt to make explicit the opaque ideologies in the discourses. In CDA, the term "Ideology" is very crucial because

most of the linguists share their views about it in their theories and models of CDA. Hodge and Kress (1993) opine that Ideology consisted of well-structured representation of reality. Similarly, van Dijk (1997) is of the view that the main aim of the analysis of a discourse is to highlight the ways in which various ideological structures are represented in the various structures of text. Van Dijk's view of ideology is based on three dimensions; discourse, socio-cognition and social analysis. Some other linguistic theorists also put forward different perspectives of CDA in relation with ideology. Cameron (1992), for instance, mentions some "stereotypes" which result in social inequalities and hegemonies. Similarly, Reichenbach (2001) argues that discourses are loaded with the contents driven by ideologies. Discourses have to be produced in proper socio-political contexts and the contexts embed in themselves the ideological structures of the particular social systems. Because discourses are never free of ideologies, that is why, they play a vital role in (re)producing, distinguishing, challenging and subverting ideologies. Therefore, the text produced in the context of terrorism between India and Pakistan cannot be free from such stereotypical and ideological presentation.

The text of both Newspapers from Pakistan and India is interpreted in certain direction till now. The researcher has pointed out towards the usages of words in their desired aspects such as: keyness, collocation, binomials, pronouns and keywords. Now the researcher tries to quest for ideological presentation within the text to show that how media on both sides try to involve the mass in ideological conflict.

4.3 Qualitative Data Analysis

The quantitative data analysis highlighted the main categories found in corpus analysis that provided a clear indication of the conflicting ideologies represented in the editorials of the two under-study newspapers. In this section on qualitative data analysis, the text is qualitatively interpreted in relation to lexical items, propositions, implications, presuppositions, description, semantic moves, local coherence and global coherence (van Dijk, 1998b) within the selected corpus to decipher the us and them ideology hidden in the editorials. The analysis is provided below.

4.3.1 Ideological Conflict through Lexical Items

Van Dijk (1998b) is of the view that lexical items can be used to express values or norms, a phenomenon which he refers to as value judgement. A qualitative thematic analysis of the data revealed that both the newspaper editorials made use of lexical items that either facilitated a good value judgement on their own country's part or a bad value judgement on the part of their counterpart country. The same is visible from the analysis of the data given below.

4.3.1.1 Lexical Items in TNI

The editorials in TNI consistently used lexical items which were analogous to value judgements on both sides of the border. For instance, the following excepts from some of the editorials published in 2008 after the Mumbai attacks clearly indicate this point.

*"Once more, in a scenario familiar to all of us, people watch developments to Pakistan's east with **fear and trepidation"**.* (TNI December 1, 2008)

*"The fact is that many **communal tensions and undercurrents lurk** amidst its vast and diverse population".* (TNI November 29, 2008)

*"It is time to bring a cool and analytical eye to the blizzard of **ill-thought-through rhetoric** that, perhaps inevitably, has been generated by the Mumbai terrorist outrage".* (TNI December 3, 2008)

*"There is of course **a deep injustice** in what India has been doing during its **senseless blame game** which has brought the two countries to so perilous a point".* (TNI December 9, 2008)

*"In many ways, Pakistan has reacted to the **aggressive tone** adopted by New Delhi even before the siege of the city was over".* (TNI December 28, 2008)

As is clear from the excerpts above, lexical items have been chosen that clearly express values and norms that are associated with 'them' Indians. India has been declared as a country that is beset with communal riots, thereby indicating that the Mumbai terrorist incident could be a home-grown affair. Likewise, the Indian rhetoric has been termed as **'ill-thought-through'**, a clear value judgement indicating conflicting ideology. Lexical

items such as **'deep injustice'**, **'senseless blame game'**, and **'aggressive tone'** all depict India in a negative frame, thereby promoting negativity towards the 'other', that is India.

This use of lexical items for presenting India in an adversarial manner has not been limited to the post-Mumbai-attack editorials. Such branding of India was found to be a regular feature of the TNI editorials across the 2008-2016 period. Excerpts from some other editorials makes this point clear:

> *"The role played by the Indian media, which seems to **resort conveniently to stirring up anti-Pakistan opinion** – without the necessary evidence – has been questionable one again".* (TNI January 7, 2016)

> *"Barely minutes had passed after India suffered a **grave intelligence lapse** that allowed militants to attack an army camp near Uri town in Indian-occupied Kashmir when a chorus of anti-Pakistan voices was heard".* (TNI September 20, 2016)

> *"The Indian government's **aggressive stance presents a danger** to millions of people in the region".* (TNI September 22, 2016)

Interestingly, the TNI editorials present Pakistan in a completely different picture in the post-Mumbai-attack scenario. The choice of lexical items is again value-laden, but this time with a positive self-presentation. Examples from the data are provided below:

> *"The Pakistan navy has **emphatically denied** that any of its vessels is missing and has stated it has no ships that go by the names of those captured in India".* (TNI November 29, 2008)

> *"The Pakistani leadership too has been in contact with counterparts in India**, condemning the violence** unleashed on India's business capital and **denying involvement** of any kind".* (TNI November 29, 2008)

> *"Pakistan's response so far has been **mature and well-planned"**.* (TNI November 29, 2008)

*"The worried Pakistan government is obviously **desperate to prevent the situation from accelerating** and plunging Pakistan into yet another crisis".* (TNI December 1, 2008)

*"Pakistan has repeatedly made what seem like **open offers to help** in the investigation in any way it can".* (TNI December 19, 2008)

The lexical items used in the examples above are value-laden terms for Pakistan's positive self-presentation. TNI believes that the denial of Pakistan's involvement in the Mumbai attacks was **'emphatic'**, meaning thereby that the response had the virtue of being true. The editorial seems satisfied with Pakistan's action of **'condemning'** the incident and **'denying'** its involvement. It also portrays Pakistan's response as **'mature and well-planned'**, clearly highlighting positive self-presentation. Similarly, Pakistan has been portrayed as **'desperate to prevent the situation from accelerating'** and has been making **'open offers to help'**, which according to the tone set for the text represents the country in a positive light. It is thus clearly evident that the editorials in TNI make clear value judgements for positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (van Dijk, 1998) to pursue conflicting ideologies in the case of Pakistan and India.

4.3.1.2 Lexical Items in TOI

Similar to those of TNI, the editorials in TOI, when qualitatively analysed, gave a clear indication of the conflicting ideologies it propagates. The Indian newspaper presented the Indian government and its military in a positive manner through the lexical choices it made. In the case of Pakistan, on the other hand, negative value judgements were made through the choice of lexical items. Consequent to the Mumbai attacks in 2008, this is what TOI wrote:

*"Pakistan's withdrawal of troops from the Afghan front would **obviously undermine** the US/NATO battle in Afghanistan and **allow breathing space** for Taliban and al-Qaida".* (TOI, December 1, 2008)

*"While Pakistan is playing its **one desperate Afghan card**, both India and US can separately **bring Pakistan to its knees** in no time".* (TOI, December 1, 2008).

It is clearly visible that the newspaper is playing down on Mumbai attacks by highlighting the western border of Pakistan. The newspaper reports Pakistan's actions as undermining the western efforts and allowing **'breathing space'** to the militant elements in Afghanistan. The newspaper further presents Pakistan's efforts for peace on its north-western front as a **'desperate Afghan card'**, thereby undermining the efforts of the adversarial country.

The Indian print and electronic media also played with the terror incident in a school in Peshawar where scores of innocent children lost their precious lives. Some excerpts from the data clarify this point:

> *"The Peshawar incident highlights the **growing scourge of extremism** in Pakistan and also **exemplifies the increasing threat** that children face in that country".* (TOI, December 17, 2014)

> *"Given how **deep-rooted terrorism** has become in Pakistan, the remedy lies in a comprehensive rather than selective approach".* (TOI, December 29, 2014)

> *"For example, Pakistan's education system **propagates hatred** of minorities and treats India as an existential enemy".* (TOI, December 29, 2014)

The examples contain highlighted lexical items that portray Pakistan negatively by associating it with negative values. The newspaper highlights how the scourge of extremism is **'growing'** in Pakistan, posing an **'increasing threat'** to children as well. It also presents Pakistan as a country having **'deep-rooted'** terrorism, with its education system **'propagating hatred'**. All these lexical items have been carefully chosen for the text to highlight the 'other' ideology of negative portrayal, thereby accentuating van Dijk's (1991) point that newspapers propagate a particular agenda which may be hidden from the view of normal readership, but could be exposed through critical discourse analysis of such text.

Interestingly, India, its government and its security forces are presented in a positive light in the TOI editorials. For instance, in the aftermath of the Pathankot attack in India, the TOI represented the Indian officials in the following words:

*"Thankfully, the terrorists **were prevented from reaching** the key technical area of the base, destroying stationed aircraft and helicopters".* (TOI, January 5, 2016)

*"At home, while security forces **deserve praise** for limiting the Pathankot air base attack, many questions need to be answered about the state of security along the Punjab-Pakistan border".* (TOI, January 4, 2016)

*"New Delhi has **improved its approach** even as the strategic context has changed dramatically".* (TOI, January 26, 2016)

*"India should **keep international and bilateral pressure** on, particularly to **maintain credibility".*** (TOI, October 1, 2016)

The TOI editorials celebrate the success of the security forces for not doing more damage than they already did; one of the editorials believes that the Indian security forces **'deserve praise'** for such a heroic effort. Despite the loss of life and property in the Pathankot incident, the way Indian security agencies are represented clearly show the agenda of positive-presentation of India. It also heaps praise on the Indian government for improving its approach, and asserts that it should **'keep international and bilateral pressure'** on Pakistan in order to achieve its designs. Such a positive self-presentation despite the tragic Pathankot incident indicate that newspaper discourse always follows a particular agenda (van Dijk, 1996), and in the case of this study the agenda is highlighting the conflicting Indo-Pak ideologies. Furthermore, the TOI attempts to not only establish but also justify the connection between Islam and terrorism, which, according to Khan (2021), remains the dominant focus of critical studies on terrorism.

4.3.2 Ideological Conflict through Propositions

Propositions in discourse can become particularly evident in the discourse structure that are used to express them. Modalities may be used to convey a certain urgency or lack thereof in relation to actions that need to be taken in the context of an event. Moreover, passive construction is generally preferred to de-emphasize the action of an agent. Such polarization strategies for positive ingroup-description and negative outgroup-description (van Dijk, 1996) are discussed below.

4.3.2.1 Propositions in TNI

The post-Mumbai attack discourses produced in editorials of TNI give a clear indication of polarization strategies employed through the use of propositions. Such propositions contained modalities in order to intensify the negative outgroup-description and positive ingroup description. In the case of the former, the following examples make it clear:

*"New Delhi **should be ashamed** of its behaviour"*. (TNI DEC 1, 2008)

*"The name of the Lashkar-e-Tayyaba has cropped up repeatedly. This **may be nothing more than a figment** of Indian imagination"*. (TNI DEC 2, 2008)

*"We **do not need to follow** the lead of the Indian jingoists".* (TNI DEC 4,2008)

*"According to some reports, early inquiries indicate the possible existence of a home-grown terrorist ring that **may have** played a part in the Mumbai attacks".* (TNI DEC 9, 2008)

*"Indian leaders too **must keep in mind** that for all the talk of economic growth, poverty and squalor, and the despair that accompanies them, are visible everywhere in their country."* (TNI JUL 29,2008)

The examples cited above render a clear picture of the way model verbs are employed to express propositions that are portraying the Agent, which in this case is India, in a negative picture. The use of **'may'** rather than 'might' in the second and fourth examples intensifies the statements and establishes a negative role for India. In the case of the fourth example, however, the same emphatic **'may'** has been used for positive ingroup-description in the case of Pakistan. An emphatic **'must'** has been used in the last example for the agent India to take cognizance of their own socioeconomic woes – a clear negative outgroup-description.

The structure of the propositions for positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation was found to be not merely limited to modality. Passive constructions were frequently used, as the examples below show, to de-emphasize the negative role of the agent, which in this case was Pakistan:

*"There is as yet little by way of concrete evidence that those involved in the Mumbai attack originated in, and **were trained and resourced** by, Pakistan; and there is nothing at all to suggest that they were in any sense acting at the behest or with the blessing of the state"*. (TNI DEC 6,2008) +

*"The media – and friends like Ram – had already concluded that **this was a crime by** "Muslim terrorists" from across the border or their ready army of recruits within India"*. (TNI JUL 16,2011)

As is clear, although the agents have been named, they have been delegated to the place of an object, thereby de-emphasizing their roles. In the first instance, the allegation of Pakistan training and resourcing terrorists has been passivized to de-emphasize the country's role. In the second instance, **'Muslim terrorists'** as an agent has been passivized, thereby the editorial taking the stance of positive ingroup description.

Interestingly, in some cases, both model auxiliaries and passive construction was employed in the same sentence to achieve several objectives. See the excerpts below as examples:

*"However **there has been speculation** that Kasab **may have been** held prior to the attacks in India, and then 'produced' immediately after them as evidence of a Pakistan link"*. (TNI DEC 19,2008)

*"It is also **hoped** that India **will act maturely** and understand the need to set its own house in order rather than create unnecessary acrimony by pointing fingers outwards"*. (TNI SEP 9,2011)

In the first example, the agent making the speculations has been left unstated in order to de-emphasize its role; however, the use of **'may'** for the speculation emphasizes the action of speculation. The editorial thus conveniently presents India in a negative role for it being an outgroup member. The second example also follows the same pattern, with the exception that the model verb has been further intensified to **'will'**. The way the Pakistani newspaper portrays Pakistan is quite different from the way India portrays

Pakistan and vice versa, which is a case of clear conflicting ideologies. The propositions used in the Indian newspaper are therefore discussed next.

4.3.2.2 Propositions from the Times of India (TOI)

Just as in the case of the editorials in the Pakistani newspaper, the editorials in the Indian newspaper also frequently make the use of modalities and passive construction to employ propositions for positive self-portrayal and negative other-portrayal. Excerpts follow.

> *"Indeed, the details emerging suggest that the Indian Navy and Coast Guard **may have failed** to carry out their brief by ignoring an intercept from RAW warning of an attempt by Lashkar-e-Taiba to infiltrate a jihadi gang in Mumbai".* (TOI DEC 1,2008)

> *"Consequently, this also means **Pakistan will use** US dependence on its cooperation to wage a low-grade, asymmetric, terrorism-backed war against India".* (TOI DEC 1,2008)

> *"A reality check that New Delhi **needs to** continue to put pressure on Beijing to reconsider its stance on terrorism emanating from Islamabad's domain".* (TOI JUN 25,2015)

In the first example, although the Mumbai attack was a clear failure of the Indian security forces, the use of the model verb **'may'** has been used to soften this hardline stance and give the Indian security agencies a benefit of doubt. Contrarily, in the second example, Pakistan has been portrayed negatively by using the modal **'will'** which gives an indication of surety. In the last example, again, the tone has been softened towards India to convey positive self-portrayal through the use of **'needs to'**. All these examples show how modalities can be employed for the dual purpose of positive self-presentation as well as negative other-presentation. TOI also made use of passives to dilute the actions of the agent, as is visible in the following examples.

> *"India had initiated this move with the UN's Sanctions Committee on the grounds that Lakhvi – a designated terrorist under UN resolution 1267 – **was released** in*

> *April by a Pakistani court on bail, even though all financial assets of UN proscribed individuals are required **to be frozen"**.* (TOI JUN 25,2015)

> *"In a fresh development in the investigations, the Mumbai police called up their Gujarat counterparts to enquire about whether the terrorists used Amar Narayan, the skipper of the fishing trawler **used by them**, as a mole. Narayan **was detained by Pakistan** for three months for illegally entering into the Pak waters"*. (TOI December 1, 2008)

> *"It highlights how fertile that country has become for terror groups as well as the abject failure of the authorities to stop them. While **Pakistani minorities have been increasingly targeted by the extremists**, last year's Peshawar school attack shows that Pakistani civil society in general faces an existential threat from the terrorists".* (TOI May 14, 2015)

In the first example, the emphasis has been retained on the release of UN-designated terrorist. The agent, a Pakistan court, has been de-emphasized although one would presume that a court's action should have been portrayed in active voice. In the second example, in order to retain focus on Narayan who the Indians claimed may have been involved from the Pakistani side, the agent has been de-emphasized. The third example is evident of the way passives can be used to emphasize the experiencer rather than the agent. In order to portray Pakistan negatively, the experiencer **'Pakistani minorities'** have been brought to the place of the agent, thereby highlighting their plight. These and other examples discussed earlier clearly show that propositions may be guised as modality or passivity, and can be effectively used to portray ideologies that may be in conflict with other competing ideologies. This also substantiates Jackson's (2007) argument that information about terrorism is often deployed as a political strategy for achieving vested interests.

4.3.3 Ideological Conflict through Implications

At times it may occur, according to van Dijk (1996), that opinions may be implied rather than directly stated. More specifically, one proposition may lead to several related implications which may not be directly stated. Statements indicating implications were frequently found in the under-study data; the analysis is presented below.

4.3.3.1 Implications in TNI

In the except given below, the editorial in TNI provides several implications for the propositions it provides at the start of the sentence:

> *"Police say they believe the militants may have come aboard rubber dinghies, quickly fanned out across Mumbai and then struck in various places as planned, targeting western and Israeli nationals. To do so with the precision of the attackers, targeting a café that would be known only to someone familiar with Mumbai, is to suggest that they had excellent local intelligence – although Indian security forces claim that one of the attackers is from near Multan".* (TNI November 29, 2008)

The example shows how the Pakistani newspaper discredits the Indian police's claim in relation to the Mumbai attacks. Playing on the Indian proposition of the attackers having come from the Pakistani side of the border, the editorial provides implications that are counter to the Indian claim. The final implication points fingers at the insiders' involvement in the attack. This portrayal displays India in a negative out-group membership. In similar vein, other editorial focused on the Delhi blast in 2011 clearly implicate Indian insiders in the terror incident:

> *"Why are no questions raised about the possible involvement of Abhinav Bharat and the RSS men whose fingerprints have been discovered in the recent terror attacks across India, from Hyderabad's historic Mecca Masjid to the popular Sufi shrine in Ajmer to the cross-border Samjhauta Express".* (TNI July 16, 2011)

> *"And why should a community of 200 million – indeed the whole Islamic world – stand up and hang its head in shame every time a bomb goes off somewhere? What does it mean? This mindset doesn't just reveal a predictable ignorance of our reality but also betrays a condescending attitude towards Muslims that permeates the whole of the Indian media and intellectual establishment".* (TNI July 16, 2011)

In the two examples, it has been proposed that terror and extremist is India's problem as well. The implications drawn from these propositions imply that in most of

the terrorist incidents in India, mainly Hindu extremists were involved; it is therefore unfair to only target the Muslims within India or across the border in Pakistan. A related example further clarifies how implications have been used to portray Indian negatively, highlighting the representation of us and them through conflicting ideologies:

> *"The blasts have baffled many in India, not least because they took place barely a kilometre from parliament, which is in session at present. A minor explosion had taken place at almost the same spot this May, highlighting the need for security cameras. Yet security was not increased and no CCTV cameras were installed outside the nine gates of the building. It is clear that militants are exploiting weaknesses in India's security apparatus."* (TNI September 9, 2011)

The except first proposes that the Delhi blasts are perplexing, and then immediately implicates that the blast happened too near to the in-session parliament, highlighting the weakness of Indian security agencies. Further implications build on this lapse, clearly specifying how security lapses led to the attacks. It is thus clear that the Pakistani newspaper uses implications to negatively portray India because of the clash of ideologies that has been present in the subcontinent since long. Implications expressed in the Indian newspaper are equally interesting.

4.3.3.2 Implications in TOI

The manner in which implications are expressed in the editorials of TOI are pretty similar to the ones expressed in those of TNI. In the following excerpt, for example, the TOI editorial starts with a vague proposition to the involvement of Lashkar-e-Taiba. The implications of this proposition are then spread over two sentences. The terrorists are branded as well-trained as well as highly motivated, implications that are drawn from a mere proposition.

> *"Though no terror outfit claimed responsibility for the attack till late on Tuesday evening, security agencies suspect involvement of Lashkar-e-Taiba. The storming of the camp, and the intense firefight that followed, is typical of Lashkar and Jaish operations in Jammu and Kashmir. It speaks of highly motivated and well trained terrorists prepared to die in a terror operation".* (TOI Jan 2, 2008)

In another example from the same period, the editorial draws negative implications from the proposition of an attack on Pakistan:

> *"Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has been speaking with India's External Affairs Minister regularly to get a sense of India's mood and moves, worried that any overtly aggressive response by New Delhi will undermine US effort in Afghanistan. But punishing Pakistan with this lever would also throw the country into absolute chaos and bring extremists elements to the fore leading to a Somalia kind of situation -- with nuclear weapons in the mix".* (TOI December 1, 2008)

The example clearly indicates negative other-representation through the use of implications. Pakistan has been equated with Somalia, and its nuclear arsenal has, by implication, been described as non-protective and unsafe. The conflicting ideology of portraying Pakistan as a safe haven for terrorists has therefore been achieving through using implications. In the excepts below, similar discourse strategy is at play:

> "*For Pakistan, the Wagah bombing illustrates once again the scale of the challenge facing its army. It also shows how out of control terror outfits on its soil are as they seek to destroy the very edifice of the country*". (TOI Nov 4, 2014)

> "*If Pakistan is to protect itself from descending into complete chaos and protect its children, it must adopt a comprehensive approach to fighting terror.*" (TOI December 17, 2014)

> *"In this changed strategic context, it is dangerous for Islamabad to play with fire by continuing to export terror to its neighbours. Among other things, it also stores up the furies for itself by harbouring terrorists".* (TOI January 26, 2016)

In the first example, the editorial proposes that Pakistan has not been playing equal to the challenge it faces; subsequently, it has been implied that the terror outfits there may have become out of control, thus portraying Pakistan in a negative manner. Similarly, in the second example, the implication of **'a comprehensive approach to fighting terror'** has been linked to the proposition of Pakistan **'descending into**

complete chaos'. The third example also shows how negative outgroup-description has been achieved through the use of implications.

The data indicate how opinions may be expressed through implications that ensue from a proposition that may both a falsity or a fact, depending on the even or action. While the Pakistani newspaper regularly portrays India in a negative manner through the use of implications, the same process is repeated by the Indian newspaper. The use of implications as a discourse strategy therefore clearly brings forth the conflicting ideologies surrounding the two adversaries, substantiating the argument that discourse is used as a dominant tool in to promote a specific worldview that may be contrary to the facts on ground (Jackson, 2007). The findings also give credence to the need for critical terrorism studies to enable scholars gain an educated view of the differences between what is said and what actually takes place.

4.3.4 Ideological Conflict through Presuppositions

Conflicting ideologies in the print media are not only reflected in propositions and implications, but also presuppositions. According to van Dijk (1996), presuppositions are propositions which are implied in way so that they seem to represent truth. The fact, however, may be that the propositions may not be true at all, which equates them to being presuppositions. The newspapers under study make use of presuppositions through presenting propositions as truth, and then following them up with consequent implications. The conflicting ideologies such presuppositions reflect are discussed in the succeeding sections.

4.3.4.1. Presuppositions in TNI

Editorials in the Pakistani newspaper used the discourse strategy of presupposition both to present Pakistan in a positive manner and to present India in a negative manner. The following excerpt, for instance, shows how TNI mitigates the role of Pakistan through presupposition, thereby presenting it in a positive light.

> *"There is as yet little by way of concrete evidence that those involved in the Mumbai attack originated in, and were trained and resourced by, Pakistan; and there is nothing at all to suggest that they were in any sense acting at the behest or with the blessing of the state."* (TNI DEC 6,2008)

As is evident, the excerpt starts with the presupposition, absolving Pakistan of any role in the Mumbai attack. In fact, it not only presupposes that the terrorists were home-grown, it also indicates the presupposition of absolving the state of Pakistan from any involvement in the incident. Pakistan has therefore been portrayed in a positive manner. In an opposite example from the same period, the TNI editorial presupposes a negative role for India.

> "*We do not need jingoism at a time when embers are easily fanned into life and small unconnected brush-fires can turn into an uncontrollable conflagration. The Mumbai attack, awful as it was, is not a reason to go to war with our neighbour. We need the media to tread a cautious line, to support our government in its efforts to take the heat out of the situation and not to inflame our already tinder-dry population. We do not need to follow the lead of the Indian jingoists*". (TNI December 4, 2008)

The editorial conveniently presupposes that India wants to initiate war against Pakistan since it blamed Pakistanis for the Mumbai attacks. It then builds on this presupposition by advising Pakistan against any adventurism. The statement ends with a strong proposition, which mainly emanates from the presupposition provided in the beginning.

These are not the only instances where presuppositions were evident. A close analysis of the data revealed several examples, one of which is provided below:

> "*Some intra- or extra- regional forces could cause crises that might spin out of control, with possible nuclear consequences. While the nuclear bogey should not be exaggerated, for these and other reasons it is advisable to establish a preventive mechanism; intelligence cooperation indeed being its lynchpin. Even in the worst days of the Cold War, the CIA and KGB never ceased contacts, even through open declared officers in each other's capitals*". (TNI July 14, 2011)

In this example, the editorial presupposes that a nuclear war could erupt between the two adversaries. Based on this presupposition, it then gives recommendations for reinitiating intelligence cooperation. Interestingly, five years after this editorial, the stance that the newspaper takes is completely different, as shown in example below:

"There has scarcely been a worse time for the resumption of talks between Pakistan and India. We have finally, after years of allegations, gathered sufficient evidence of Indian interference in Balochistan, thanks to the capture of a senior RAW official in the province. India, meanwhile, continues to blame us for the attack in Pathankot, which may have originated from Pakistan but has no link to the state. Against this backdrop, the meeting of the two countries' foreign secretaries in New Delhi – on the sidelines of the Heart of Asia conference on Afghanistan – promised little and delivered even less". (TNI April 28, 2016)

The article presupposes that the time for Pak-India dialogue is not right. It then brings seemingly unrelated incidents as examples to show that the presupposition is right. It is thus clear that print media may use presuppositions for varying purposes, chief of them being the representation of conflicting ideologies. The same is also visible in the Indian newspaper.

4.3.4.2. Presupposition in TOI

The Indian newspaper consistently employed presuppositions concerning the role of Pakistan in different terror-related incidents. In a post-Mumbai attack editorial, it writes:

"The terror strike on Mumbai evidently has several objectives - one of them being to cause a rift between Washington and New Delhi and damage US-India ties. While Pakistan's fledgling civilian government has made all the right moves and noises about cooperation with India, officials here reckon it is being continuously undermined by the hard-line military whose importance, and lavish funding, depends on keeping up a hostile posture against India. Even in the political sphere, Pakistan's continued existence as a single entity is premised on enmity with India, the glue which keeps the country together". (TOI December 1, 2008)

The paragraph starts and ends with a presupposition. At the start, it presupposes that the Mumbai attack was aimed at sabotaging US-India ties. It then links this presupposition with the role of Pakistan, implicating the presence of conflicting ideology. Towards the end, the article again presupposes that Pakistan's existence is premised on Indian enmity. It is clear how the discourse strategy of presupposition has been used for negative outgroup-description (van Dijk, 1996). This anti-Pakistan mantra and mostly

untrue presuppositions are present across different editorials. Another example is given below:

> "*Given how deep-rooted terrorism has become in Pakistan, the remedy lies in a comprehensive rather than selective approach. Military courts were instituted because civilian courts in Pakistan rarely make headway in terrorism cases where judges themselves are terrorised. But these can at best be a temporary arrangement. In the long run, Pakistan must strengthen its judiciary to deliver justice in terror cases in a transparent manner*". (TOI December 29, 2014)

The excerpt presupposes that terrorism is deep-rooted in Pakistan and that civilian Pakistani courts are ineffective. This presupposition leads the editorial to recommending a comprehensive approach. Two other examples are provided below:

> "*There's no denying that much of the blame for the current scenario has to be borne by Pakistan's military-intelligence establishment. The latter has consistently pursued a policy of using terror groups as instruments of gaining strategic leverage in neighbouring countries*" (TOI May 14, 2015)

> "*Whether the Pakistani army or the civilian government can actually do something about the snakes they have nurtured, remains to be seen, but India cannot talk to Pakistan without the terror card on the table*". (TOI October 25, 2016)

Once again, in these two examples, Pakistan has been presented negatively through presuppositions. It has been presumed that Pakistan is a terrorist state and its military is the transporter of terrorism. In the second example, Pakistan's inaction against terrorists has been presupposed, which leads it to taking a hardline stance of dialogue between the two countries. The most salient example of presupposition comes from the following excerpt:

> "*There is growing realisation in the US of its failed Pakistan policy, which India must leverage. Islamabad has sold the lemon that it is in danger of imminent collapse without billions of dollars in US aid. ... New Delhi should forcefully make the argument that this absurd policy of utilising American taxpayer's money*

to extract a cost from America that's already higher than 9/11, and could mean
another 9/11 if the Taliban conquers Afghanistan, must end. Instead, aid should
be replaced by sanctions targeting Pakistan's terror sponsoring elite." (TOI
September 26, 2016)

The article starts with a presupposition about the failure of American policy on
Pakistan. It further presupposes that Pakistan will collapse without US aid. It then makes
an analogous presupposition that Pakistan supports terrorism in Afghanistan in order to
keep getting aid from the US. All these presuppositions indicate the conflicting
ideologies that are brought forward through discourse strategies. These examples solidify
van Dijk's (1996, 1998) view that media discourse uses particular discourse strategies in
order to further their and their countries' agenda. It also supports Jackson's (2007) view
that discourse is inherently contested and political, and its analysis helps reveal the
politics behind ostensibly neutral information.

4.3.5 Ideological Conflict through Descriptions

Descriptions are used as a discourse strategy to sequence propositions in a way
where either specificity or generality is achieved (van Dijk, 1996). From the point of
view of ideological square, the good actions of Us and the bad actions of Them are
described at a much more specific level, whereas the bad actions of Us and the good
actions of Them are generalized and made abstract, without the necessary details (van
Dijk, 1998).

4.3.5.1 Descriptions in TNI

The Pakistani newspaper applied general descriptors whenever presenting India's good
actions and applied specific descriptors when presenting India's bad actions, and vice
versa. For instance, look at the example below:

"This kind of uncontrolled rage released by India against Pakistan is deeply
troubling and simply builds more hatred when what is needed is greater trust and
a willingness to work together. There is obviously no readiness to do so in New
Delhi. The ugly face of the BJP government and its anti-Pakistan policies is now

out in the open. It is now the task of our diplomats to challenge the perception of
Pakistan being projected to the world by India with increasing venom". (TNI
September 22, 2016)

The paragraph starts with a proposition, and increasingly becomes more specific
and to the point when it points fingers exclusively at New Delhi and BJP government. In
order to keep describing India in a bad shape, the paragraph continues to use specific
terms such as diplomats to present India in a negative colour. In another example from
the same time-period, similar phenomenon is at play.

> *"India is clearly not prepared to soften its harshening stance towards Pakistan.*
> *Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's strategy was rather clear at a speech he*
> *gave last week to a gathering of BJP workers. Modi decided to skip the step of*
> *showing any semblance of proof that Pakistan was involved in the Uri attack and*
> *move straight ahead to making both veiled and direct threats. During the speech,*
> *the Indian prime minister insisted that India would work to completely isolate*
> *Pakistan and cut it off from the rest of the world as a pariah state which 'exported*
> *terror'. Needless to say, these increasingly wild accusations have not been backed*
> *with any credible evidence by New Delhi".* (TNI September 26, 2016)

Once again, in order to emphasise the bad qualities of India, the Pakistani newspaper
editorial uses descriptions that bring specificity and concreteness to the discourse. For
instance, the editorial mentions BJP, Modi, Uri attack, and Indian PM, which are specific,
concrete pieces of information as descriptors for India. Each and every proposition made
in the excerpt is specific, thereby projecting India in a negative manner.

4.3.5.2 Descriptions in TOI

In similar but contrary vein, the Indian newspaper editorials portray Pakistan with
specificity whenever they mention their bad actions. Take the following excerpt as an
example:

> *"There's no denying that much of the blame for the current scenario has to be*
> *borne by Pakistan's military-intelligence establishment. The latter has*
> *consistently pursued a policy of using terror groups as instruments of gaining*

strategic leverage in neighbouring countries. This approach has compelled it to
make a false distinction between good and bad jihadis. The murky role of
Pakistan's security agencies has also been brought out in American veteran
journalist Seymour Hersh's recent account on Osama bin Laden's 2011 killing.
According to Hersh, Osama was secretly hosted by the ISI at Abbottabad before
being sold out to the Americans". (TOI May 14, 2015)

The editorial makes use of specific descriptions in order to present Pakistan's actions in an objectionable tone. For instance, it uses specific descriptors such as Pakistan's military-intelligence, security agencies, ISI, and Abbottabad to solidify the bad deeds of Pakistan. It also specifically names a journalist as well as the former Al-Qaeda chief in order to link the terrorism nexus with the Pakistani security agencies. It is clear how specific descriptions are used to project the opposite side in a bad manner, thereby giving rise to conflicting ideologies (van Dijk, 1998). Pakistan has been time and again described as a terrorist state. Jackson (2007) ponders over such instances when he accentuates the need for "historical, political and cultural context in understanding the use of terrorism as a strategy" (p. 5).

4.3.6 Ideological Conflict through Semantic Moves

Sentences and sentence sequences can also be used as discourse strategy to present self in a positive and other in a negative manner. One clause or sentence may be used to convey one meaning, and the other clause or sentence may express a proposition that may convey another meaning, thereby achieving two strategies with one stroke (van Dijk, 1996). These semantic moves were found in both the newspapers.

4.3.6.1 Semantic Moves in TNI
The Pakistani newspaper made consistent use of semantic moves in order to realise several strategies. The following excerpts make this point clear:

"There is some reason to suspect they have struck again. But regardless of
whether or not this is accurate, the problem is that in the Indian mind, the links
between Muslim groups and bombings of course implicates Pakistan". (TNI July
29, 2008)

"God knows we Muslims are no saints. We have our share of warts and all. But is it fair to put us in the dock every time something like this happens in Mumbai – or elsewhere in India? We are not the only sinners around." (TNI July 16, 2011)

"As usual India presented no evidence to support either of its claims. But who needs evidence in a game of diversion? India is trying hard to make Pakistan into the real issue. The measure of its atrocities in Kashmir is met only by the intensity of its efforts to isolate Pakistan internationally". (TNI September 22, 2016)

"So far the Pakistani media has reflected the conciliatory mood of the government while the Indian media has reflected the nasty anti-Pakistan sentiment that has permeated the election campaign". (TNI October 8, 2013)

As is evident, each of the excepts start with a proposition that intends to realise a specific discourse strategy. However, immediately after the first sentence, a mostly conflicting information is presented or proposed, with the aim to realise another related strategy. While doing so, the newspaper succeeds in building a narrative that presentations Pakistan in positive and India in negative connotations.

4.3.6.2 Semantic Moves in TOI
The Indian newspaper uses similar sematic moves to discredit Pakistan and its actions, and to present it in a negative other-presentation manner. The following excepts are examples of the same:

"Just as Taliban continues its insurgency because of safe havens in Pakistan, ISIS strength has much to do with its sanctuaries in Syria". (TOI May 25, 2015)

"UAE offers a completely different vision of Islam than Pakistan does — one that is urbane, modern, tolerant, sophisticated and commercially dynamic rather than one that relies on Wahhabi-style fundamentalism". (TOI August 19, 2015)

"Nonetheless, despite any hesitations that the Pakistani establishment has, it must wage this battle. Pakistan has ridden this monster for too long. It's time to put it to sleep." (TOI October 27, 2016)

"For many decades now Pakistan has claimed it is a victim of terror and is trying hard to curb terrorism on its soil. But the fact remains that after Osama Bin Landen was found in Abbottabad living a secure life no one really believes that the Pakistani army and its ISI were not involved in giving him and his family a safe haven— in a place no one would think of looking, a military cantonment."
(TOI October 25, 2016)

In each of the examples above, the semantic moves by the editorials are paced in a way where several propositions are given, thereby achieving several strategies including linking Pakistan to external influences as well. Positive self-description and negative other-description can therefore be achieved through semantic moves where one clause or sentence may achieve one and the other clause or sentence achieve another strategy (van Dijk, 1996).

4.3.7 Discursive Strategies in Individual Editorials

In addition to the collective qualitative analysis of all the editorials presented above, it was considered necessary to focus on exclusive editorials because longer stretches of text can render a better idea of the discursive strategies employed to represent conflicting ideologies of Us and Them (van Dijk, 2012). In the following section, therefore, some of the salient editorials from both the newspapers are critically analyzed to explore the discursive strategies for positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

4.3.7.1 The News Editorial 'Putting Heads Together'
- Amidst signs that *India* is ready to maximize the pressure on *Pakistan* following the *Mumbai terrorist drama*

The News editorial is written in the perspective of terrorism in the wake of Mumbai attacks. Here it is evidently shown that the key words like India and Pakistan are circulated to enhance the context of terrorism and fix it in the India and Pakistan ideological conflict. More keywords like terrorist and Mumbai are also used to draw the attentions of the common readers to make them ready to accept the truth that both the countries are being in a conflict over the issues. The press inside Pakistan added another label of 'drama' to show that whole killing inside the Mumbai on that specific date was a drama rather than fact. The dominant rhetoric of subject and object are made clear that India is being used as

an agent and Pakistan is shown as object. India is being presented as the doer of the action and Pakistan being the receiver of the action. In the ideological construction, the syntax order is strictly followed in the context of Mumbai attacks. The generalization is made that India is maximizing the pressure and that the whole Mumbai carnage was nothing more than a drama.

- .....an almost unthinkable calamity given that both *India and Pakistan* possess nuclear arsenals….

Again, in the above sentence formation from the editorials, India and Pakistan are linked together to show that both the countries are in conflicting ideologies and the non-agreement in both the countries could lead to the possibility of the atomic war between them. As readers, when people tend to disagree with a text, and what they value, think and believe is in sharp contrast with what a text actually represents, then it is no longer difficult for them to look at the text from a critical perspective. In simple words, when readers approach a text from the position of alienation or estrangement from the text, then they have the potential to read against the text rather than with the text. In such a situation, the purpose and hidden agenda of the text may get revealed to the readers and therefore, they may easily challenge the text convened. Resultantly, the readers may realize that what the text represents are just versions of reality. Therefore, in the above noted statement from TN, the naturalization is done so technically that both India and Pakistan are equated as in a contrast in the first statement taken from the editorial where India is shown dominant and the doer of the action on Pakistan being the maximizer of the pressure.

- The name of the *Lashkar-e-Tayyaba* has cropped up repeatedly. This *may* be nothing more than a *figment* of Indian *imagination.*

In the above statement, the keyword 'Lashkar-e-Tayyaba' is used with the moderate frequency. This keyword is used in editorials of both TN and TOI. The agency of Lashkar-e-Tayyaba is syntactically drawn with the contrasting or competing labels throughout both the countries. In the present editorial, it is evident that the keyword is used repeatedly in the context of Mumbai attacks however, it is contrasted with the very next statement of being a figment of Indian imaginations. It is clearly contrasted with the Indian ideology of

being the major agency in the spread of terrorism inside the Indian territory. But here, it is only called an Indian misperception and wrong imagination.

Modality is manifested by mood and it complements mood in the construction of interpersonal meanings. It plays a vital role in conveying the involvement of a discourse producer in the propositional content of an utterance. Apart from this, it is frequently defined as the grammaticalization of the opinion and attitude of a speaker. This view is also confirmed and rather advanced by Palmer (1986). According to him, modality refers to the linguistic features through which a speaker expresses his/her opinion or attitude about the contents of a sentence. Similarly, Lyons (1977) argues that it is the manifestation of the speaker's opinion or attitude about the proposition which is expressed by a sentence.

The modality in a piece of discourse is manifested by modal auxiliary verbs. A modal auxiliary verb is a kind of auxiliary verb which show modality, i.e. obligation, ability, permission or likelihood, etc. In addition, modal auxiliary verbs provide additional information regarding the function of the main verbs which the modal auxiliaries precede. The modal auxiliaries perform a number of communicative functions, ranging from necessity ('must') to possibility ('may'). Based on these two ranges, modalities are divided into two major categories, known as epistemic and deontic modalities. The former refers to the speaker or writer's knowledge regarding what he is saying or writing. To put it simply, it has to do with what the producer of the text knows about the world. In addition, it also expresses the truth value of the proposition in terms of the modal possibility or certainty (Downing & Locke, 1992). Epistemic modality can be conveyed by seven modal auxiliary verbs, including *can, could, may, might, need, will,* and *would*. Technically, this kind of modality expresses probability (e.g. may, might, etc.); possibility (e.g. may), ability or likelihood, (can, could, might); prediction (e.g. will, would); necessity (e.g. must, should-compulsion, have to); and certainty (e.g. will, would-weaker certainty).

Here, in this case from the editorials, we are concerned with the epistemic modality. Because, the writer, whose identification is almost hidden to the readers has used the modal verb 'may' in the above statement from the editorials. This type of modality shows the speaker's knowledge about the world or the situation. As we are talking about the context of terrorism in the conflict between india and Pakistan therefore, the modal verb 'may, here

give us an outlook of the writer's knowledge in this regard or his/her interest in the context. The writer uses it like, ***'this may be nothing more than a figment of Indian imagination'***. Now to examine the order and usage of such modal verb within the context of terrorism between India and Pakistan, the writer either tries to permit the Indian claim as a figment of wrong imagination or he/she is having a knowledge that India is being a propaganda state. Here, the conflicting ideologies of both the nations can be seen thoroughly, where one state tries to label the other state being responsible for the mess in the country and they both try through individuals or groups to negate the others, claim about the fact of terrorism in the region. Therefore, the writer's interest is quite evident here.

- But *we* must also keep in mind more such problems *will* arise until *we* persuade the world that *we* are determined to drive terrorists out and *will* do all *we can* to ensure there is no ambiguity in this.

Two genres, one is the use of 'pronouns' and the other is the use of modal verbs can be seen here in the above extract from TN editorials. Pronouns, as shown in the corpus analysis, have given the high frequency in the editorials of both the countries. Specially, the pronouns of 'we' and 'I' have great significance in Van Dijk ideological square because these two pronouns are always in contrast with the pronouns of 'they' and 'them'. The pronouns for the readers, as the readers become second person singular, therefore, 'you' is kept negated or hidden. In this syntactic formation, 'you' is always made inclusive in 'we' 'us' and 'our'. However, the basic appeal is to the readers in this regard but they are kept exempted and most of the time included in 'we' or excluded in 'they'. One of the effective functions of language concerning with power and social status is that to determine who has got the permission to say what to whom. The selection of use of various language systems by language users depend upon their power and status on the perception and identity they intend to project while using language. The selection and use of language depends upon the target audience and the type and context of situation also, that is to say, the situation in which language is produced can be formal or informal, public or private, formal or informal. The central aim of politics is to gain power; the power to control resources, to make decisions, to control the behaviors and mindsets of people, and to control their norms and values. It is evident from history that politicians have gained control over all the

aforementioned resources by the 'skillful use of language'. They make the use of persuasive language and discursive strategies (also known is rhetorical strategies) to influence or persuade their audience. As according to Jones and Peccei (2004), rhetoric refers to the art of making the use of language in such a way that it influences or persuades others and in doing so, a speaker or writer observes a set of discursive or rhetorical rules to be able to express himself/herself eloquently.

Therefore, language is always tried to be shaped in such a manner that it can illuminate the interests of the dominant and powerful groups so as to achieve their own goals and interest in the perspective of any agenda. These dominant groups and forces construct the version of reality that favors their own interests.

In case of the usages of pronouns, it is realized by personal pronouns in various situations of use. The first-person pronoun engages and includes the discourse producer (speaker or writer), the second person includes and engages the discourse consumer (listener or reader), while the third person excludes both the discourse producer and the discourse consumer. As it is shown in the extract from the TN that only first-person plural is used quite often and even for many times in a single sentence. Here, the writer tries to negate all other external forces and include the addressee with the addresser and form a complete social group whose aim and goal is being unified in the given context. For example, 'we must', 'we persuade', 'we are', and 'we will' show that the group is being isolated from other groups and being made determined to achieve some goals collectively. (We must) is an obligation, (we persuade) is determination, (we are) is unification and (we will) is assurance and (we will) being the ability. Thus, the uses of pronouns can be seen in the syntactical formation of the editorials that how the groups are unified, differentiated and energized in any specific context. Therefore, the in-grouping formation is done here with technicality and it is also shown that this in-group is also suffering from terrorism and that it is determined to throw out the current challenge of terrorism out of the region being taken it as a collective responsibility and at the same time tried to negate the out-group claim in this regard. By the uses of (we can) at the end is just to show that the writer's group is able and capable to interact and combat any type of challenge. This modal verb of 'can' is combined with the first-person pronoun of 'we' to show that this group is able and

capable of accepting the challenge. The reader's engaged-estranged regarding a text is structured by several (textual and non-textual) factors. Each on its own is a form of entrapment. Engagement without estrangement is considered as a kind of acceptance of the power of the discourse irrespective of the own position of a reader. In contrary, estrangement without engagement is considered to be a rejection of leaving the confines of the reader's own subjectivity, or in simple words, a rejection to the entrance of otherness. A discourse producer (writer), while writing, makes sure to constrain possible interpretations and thus, secretively shaping the subjectivity of the target reader. And these all tactics are followed in the construction of an editorial for any particular purpose.

Another fact which is evident from the above statements is the usages of auxiliaries and modal verbs. As a modal auxiliary verb, *will* is particularly versatile, having several different functions and meanings. It is used to form future tenses, to make offers or requests, to show ability or willingness, to talk about likelihood at a present time, to give commands or to complete conditional sentences. Beside the uses of modal auxiliary 'will', 'can' is also used. However, the most technical use, here, is the use of auxiliary of 'are'. As it is used as **'we are'** to show the unification of the whole group. It is used to unify the whole population in union against another population to whom this **'we are'** is appealing. And as it is written in the context of terrorism between India and Pakistan, therefore, that opposing group for whom all these modal verbs and auxiliaries are combined with the in-group of we, is definitely the Indian social group. With the help of **'will'** willingness and ability are shown.

4.3.7.2 The Times of India Editorial   US, India face Pak blackmail on terror

Now the researcher tries elaborate and analyze an editorial from the perspective of Indian writers in the context of terrorism in the wake of Mumbai attacks. As one editorial is being interpreted in this regard from The News International. Therefore, it can be now compared with the editorial written in the same perspective.

- The *United States* and *India* face tactics bordering on blackmail from a militarized *Pakistan.*

The keywords like India, Pakistan and with the inclusion of The United States are frequently used in the editorials of Indian newspapers. Those newspapers and specially *The*

Times of India also circulated these keywords with high frequency to enhance the ideology of being involved or victimized in terrorism by Pakistan. Here the fact is that India is involving other social actors with high frequency. As in Indian newspapers, US, UK and other social actors are given high frequencies in the text. As the context is terrorism, therefore, India tries its best to gain the favor of these social actors. As being the part of their ideology and the under the political manifestation of India, it is their utmost concern to isolate the other group Therefore, all these social actors are given a high frequency in the text. It also assures the readers that these global powers are in-group rather than out-group.

It is the general assumption of CDA that all texts are driven by a set of beliefs or ideologies that authors hope to advance, and an important part in developing literacy skills acquire the ability to detect such ideologies. Here, in this editorial the writer tries to assure the readers being ideologically that India is on the strongest side opposing Pakistan being at the weak side. That is why the inclusion of USA is made here and even it is made at the topic sentence that draws the huge impact on the readers. Texts perform multiple functions and there are many things taking place simultaneously at a particular moment in a text. Texts are 'multi-functional': there are various things going on simultaneously in texts. For instance, texts are said to be the forms of action enact identities and the representation of events, objects and people. To put it simply, text contribute to the construction of identities, discourses, styles and genres, and all these things take place simultaneously. Therefore, while doing a textual analysis, one needs to recognize, highlight and connect all the said functions. Furthermore, texts perform many other functions also and while analyzing a text, attention should be paid to all those functions simultaneously. For instance, while analyzing an argumentative text, the focus should be on multiple perspectives simultaneously, containing the rhetorical, dialectical as well as logical perspective. The arguments embedded and represented in a text 'dialectical' as they tend to put forward certain standpoints regarding measuring and critically putting to questions others (as happens in deliberation), however, the same text is at the same time 'rhetorical' as it seeks an acceptance or a rejection on part of the people regarding the standpoint by persuading the people. And it is also a fact that nearly all the editorial text produced on politics or current affairs are being argumentative text as arguments are added to convince the readers

on their own stance. Here, in the text of 'the Times of India', and specifically in the editorial taken for current analysis, arguments and logic is used to convince the readers that the Indian perspective is well worth and acceptable. And that is why Pakistan is being involved with the current problem of terrorism because of the US presence in the region and specially its presence in Afghanistan.

- *Pakistan will* use *US* dependence on its cooperation to wage a low-grade, asymmetric, terrorism-backed war against *India*.

The keywords of 'Pakistan', 'US' and 'India' are again used. These keywords as discussed earlier in this chapter have the highest frequency along with other keywords like '**terrorism', 'terrorist'** and '**extremists'**. This shows that how both countries are portrayed in conflicting ideologies in editorials' text. Even the context of terrorism is subjugated to that ideological conflict which is everlasting and perhaps the longest conflict in the present world. Indian editorials are trying their best to portray Pakistan as negative as possible and to turn the canons of international communities towards Pakistan. As the above sentence is clearly showing Pakistan as the doer of terrorism being nominated as subject while India is placed at the object place receiving all that action performed by Pakistan. And at the middle of sentence US is involved being the victim or an object of playing by Pakistan. Modal auxiliary '**will'** is used to show that Pakistan is able to perform such actions in future. That is why and how the editorial text is calculated so carefully for upholding any ideological stance. It cannot be free from any ideology as it is greatly politicized and institutionalized. And the circulated text between India and Pakistan in the context of terrorism is the best example in this regard.

From the perspective of CDA, there is a dialectical relationship between language (discourses) and society. In simple words, society and language function together in a two-way process: on the one hand, society influences language; on the other hand, language in turn shapes society. When discourse is referred to as social practice, it infers that discourse and society hold a dialectical relationship. Discourses construct and shape the mental models of individuals, the social situations, the shared objects of knowledge and the ideologies and identities of the society. At the same time, discourse construct the social status que. However, as has been mentioned earlier, the social situation, ideologies and

identities, etc. in turn shape the discourses produced in the society. And therefore, the above discourse not only is shaped by the situation but is also used as a tool to shape the minds of a specific social group. At the same time the text and intertextuality are used as dialectical.

- In fact, some *experts* surmise that the terror strike on Mumbai *may* have been aimed at precisely this - taking the pressure off *Pakistan* on its *Afghan* front, where it is getting a battering from *US* predators and causing a civilian uprising on its border, and allowing *Islamabad* to return to its *traditional hostile posture against India* on its eastern front.

The experts and the writer opinion or knowledge is unified through modal 'may' and according to that opinion, it is tried to elaborate that Pakistan is the main culprit behind all this havoc. The practitioners of critical discourse analysis consider modality as a multifunctional discursive device rather than the simple and overt occurrence of the modal auxiliary verbs such as can, could, may, might, will, would, shall, should, ought and must, etc. From CDA's perspective, modality represents the confidence and attitude of a discourse producer towards the proposition he/she present. In his system, Halliday (2002a) considers modality to be independent of other grammatical components such as the ideational component and he locates modality primarily in the interpersonal component of his transitivity system. Therefore, with the help of modality '**may'** the speakers' attitude is being mixed with the attitude of experts and confidence is put together to blame Pakistan through the experts' choices. That is why the modality performance is made so evident in the text produced in the context of terrorism in the region to convince the readers that all this and that is done by the doer (Pakistan) in the region. This is how the ideologies and proposition are presented to the readers. Again, Pakistan is presented as the doer of the action, Afghanistan and US are being taken as reference and India is tried to be victimized in all this formative process. Islamabad, being the representative of government or Pakistani social group is added with active verb of return to nominate it as an active agent. All the keywords are circulated here in a specific direction. And all these keywords with modal verbs show the specific purpose of politicization and institutionalization.

- *Pakistan'*s continued existence as a single entity is premised on enmity with *India*

- *Pakistanis* are starting to question the relevance of a country where more people are killed in intra-religious warfare between Shias and Sunnis than in Hindu-Muslim communal riots in *India*.

The syntactic order is systematically followed in both of the above statement as both statements are appealing strongly to the ideological manifestations in editorials. In both statements, Pakistan is placed at the subject position and India is placed at the end being an object or being the victim of subject actions. This sort of formation tends to give an outlook over the matter and to convince the readers that who is performing action and where or on whom the action is performed. The importance in both structures is given to Pakistan while India is made less important being nominated at the last position. This sort of techniques is applied in the construction of written discourses to turn the attentions of the readers in a specific direction. As at the start of a sentence, the readers' interest is higher and it gets lower and lower as he/she advances in reading the materials. Therefore, the readers give more important to the subjects and less important to the objects in an active sentence. Therefore, the ideology of that the terrorism is centered in Pakistan or it has a big role in its spread is more highlighted than India's actions and India is pushed into the background while Pakistan is foregrounded in these two statements regarding the issue of terrorism and as far as it is related to the spread of this menace.

van Dijk (2006) is of the view that from a discourse analytical approach perspective, ideology is the cornerstone of discourse and is manifested in both spoken as well as written discourses. He argues that the most relevant approach towards the study of ideology (which he calls a controversial matter) is a discourse analytical approach. This approach is multidisciplinary in nature and is 'critical' as compared to the traditional approaches towards the study of the controversial matter, i.e. ideology. To define ideology as mere a belief system is not sufficient as such a definition ignores several important constituents of the notion 'ideology'. So, ideologies are not the name of mere structures of society of the belief system of the people. Resultantly, it is a failure on part of the traditional approaches towards the study of ideology to adequately theorize the socio-cognitive aspects and construction of the structures and nature of ideology and the way the socio-cognitive structures of ideology are (re)produced with the help of discourse (van Dijk, 1996). His

(modern) framework of ideology is concerned with those aspects of ideology which the traditional approaches often ignore, that is, the socio-cognitive aspects of ideological structures and construction through discourse. Furthermore, to Van Dijk, ideologies are never private or personal, rather the set of beliefs are commonly shared by all the participants of a social group. However, individuals possess some roadmaps or opinions which manifest their ideology. He further adds that every group must not necessarily (need to) have an ideology. For instance, some special group of people like the national and cultural communities, may not possess a particular ideology. Therefore, the text of editorials of the Times India is clearly attempting to manifest ideologies for the social groups as they are appealing or made appealing to the whole social groups inside India and the readers are made convince that they are the part of that specific social group and that they are being victimized along with the whole social groups by another social group living in Pakistan. This is how the conflict is ideologically carried out and how the groups are separated through ideology. As in the selected statements the conflict is kept alive so as the conflict within the people at both sides too is kept alive and separate formation is made to make or feel the people to associate themselves with the relevant social group and to oppose the opposite.

- The *US and its allies* are dependent on Pakistan for supplies to its troops in Afghanistan, but *they can* also plug the economic plug on the country and cause it to collapse in no time.

- *India* controls *Pakistan's* lifeline and jugular with river waters that originate in India.

- But punishing **Pakistan** with this lever *would* also throw the country into absolute chaos and bring extremists elements to the fore leading to a **Somalia** kind of situation

The above three extracts from *The Times of India* editorials show very clearly that who is trying to get dominance over whom. More and more threats are given to Pakistan not only from international community but also from the local neighbors. This is the best example of how a group is tried to be marginalized through discourse. The literature of

Critical Discourse Analysis revolves around the notion of marginalization, but it is rarely defined (Messiou, 2012). Most of the theorists and practitioners of the field discuss this notion in terms of the idea of (social) exclusion along with inclusion and usually, they use social exclusion and marginalization interchangeably. Hansen (2012) and Armstrong et al. (2011) consider inclusion and exclusion as two interdependent and interlinked processes, yet, Armstrong et al. (2011) argue that inclusion does not equate the opposite of exclusion (or vice versa). However, Messiou (2012) is of the view that marginalization has got multiple conceptualizations instead of being a unitary entity. The significant point regarding Messiou's work is the line drawn between the experience of the construction of marginalization and the experience of its recognition by either of the parties (the constructor and the marginalized), thus leading to the identification of the subjective nature of the construct. Yet, this distinction paves the way for a valid question, that is, 'if an individual or a group never identifies their life as marginalized, in what ways can they be termed as marginalized by others?' –a question that carries great significance for public policy.

In the first extract, Pakistan is shown at a weaker position against US and its allies and it is tried to depict that Pakistan cannot face the aggression of those countries or it is weak to face that aggression. Pronoun 'they' is used for both US and its powerful allies and then a modal verb '**can**' is added to the pronoun which clearly shows the writer interest that the US is capable and must do what is the writer choice. The writer wants and according to his or her knowledge, it can be done against Pakistan. Thus, Pakistan is shown as weak against those powerful groups and it is exaggerated that the process could be done easily. Most of the sentences in the selected editorials are syntactically designed in such a manner that Pakistan is placed at the subject position and India is placed at the object position when it is concerned with the spread or attacks of terrorism. As it is discussed in the earlier portion of these analysis. But in the second extract when power and ideologies are added here, then the automatic or planned shift in the sentence formation can be seen. In all three-extracts taken from the selected editorial, US and its allies, India etc. are placed at the subject position and Pakistan and Somalia are placed at the object position. This shows a comparison of dominant with dominant and weaker with weaker. This is how discourse are shaped for power and ideology. Look at the second extract taken from the

editorial, and it can be seen that power resides in US or in India and there is a clear possibility is shown that that power can be used against Pakistan in no time if desired. US has the authority and so as India has the authority in same manner and if US can make Pakistan weak and can destroy it so as India can. If US has the command over economy of the world and can use that dominance to destruct Pakistan in the same manner India has the authority over the water in the region and as like US, it can also make Pakistan weak and can destroy it.

With the use of modal verb '**would'** it is also the writer choice not to take such action although India is shown capable to do this. And more importantly, if India is compared with US being in the category of power and dominance, Pakistan is being compared with Somalia in weakness and subjugation. This how strong are put in one category and weak are put in another. Thus, a systematic marginalization of a specific social group is done with the help of editorial discourse. This called transitivity through the choice of lexicon and syntactic structure in a discourse. In transitivity, grammar is related to reality. It looks for a paradigmatic perspective of language where linguistic choices perform important function. The producer and consumer of discourses do not just produce and decode a stretch of grammatical elements, rather they 'do' discourses and select the choose very carefully the formal terms of language to effectively render communication. The purpose of such a process of the 'decoding' and 'encoding' of features like experience and reality of the world is to provide answers to certain essential questions, such as: who exits in the text? What actions and processes are happening, and when, how, where, … are they happening? To provide answers to such questions, the above three extracts many realities are formed. These are the best examples that show who and who are discussed in the discourse and who are compared with whom. How the sentences are linked grammatically and presented in such technique that the readers are made to believe that who are at the place of America and who are at the place of Somalia in the current world.

4.3.7.3 The News International Editorial 'By Jingo'

Another editorial from the News International is taken here for analysis. It is tried here to show that how the process of meaning making is carried out here and how the grammar is made a reality through transitivity. As it is discussed earlier that the Indian

media has used such type of categorization to make or show dominance in the region with the help of discourse in editorials so as the same reply is given by the Pakistan media in that regard. Both the media, either in Pakistan or in India try their best to uphold their own ideological positioning in the formative discourse on an event in the context of terrorism. That is why both the editorials are analyzed and interpreted here in the same direction.

- There is currently a severe ***outbreak of jingoism*** within the ***media on the Indian*** side of the border coupled with a slightly ***less severe outbreak here***.

In this extract, both sides' media is compared to each other. Being a Pakistani writer, the writer tried to present the Indian media at first in the sentence to make the people aware that jingoism is severely done by India. The shift towards the Pakistani media comes at the end of the sentence. However, it is realized in the deep structure of the sentence that both the countries are doing jingoism. In the surface structure, the motto is kept highlighted that India is doing jingoism severely and Pakistani media is doing it less in number. However, the readers are turned away from the fact through words that both the countries are doing jingoism through media. The construction of the sentence is done so technically that the Indian media is presented at the front of the sentence with sever jingoism and Pakistani media is presented at the background with the narrative of less jingoism. That is how the presentation is carried out to the people. Media historians have meanwhile suggested that the press had reasons of its own for supporting and catalysing imperial expansion. It is perhaps conventional wisdom that the media are inevitably drawn to 'conflict, violence, deviance and drama… spectacular scenes… strong human-interest stories where journalists can seek and find pathos and tragedy, heroism and camaraderie, acts of selflessness and personalized experiences of suffering… national feelings of communal identity, pride and patriotism. This was partly the result of the acknowledged structural inadequacies of the press as a medium of transnational communication, but it was also believed to be the work of individuals or groups within the political elite, so-called 'jingoes', who wished to foment conflict for reasons of their own. More encouragingly, however, responsible statesmen often seemed able to use the press to their own legitimate ends, issuing and receiving messages that played a key role in the diplomatic process, and harnessing newspaper comment to support claims about the state of 'public opinion' that

strengthened their position on the international stage. Therefore, the structure of the above extract shows that jingoes are there in both sides of the borders and they both try to present the other as more jingo as compared to themselves through the grammar of the sentence. This is done with the help of transitivity.

- *We* do not need jingoism at a time when…………

- …………. is not a reason to go to war with *our* neighbour.

- *We* need the media to tread a cautious line……………

- *We* do not need to follow the lead of the ***Indian jingoists***.

These example from the selected editorials can clearly shows that the community in the sub-continent is divided into two major social groups and these two social groups are presented in conflict with one another, '**we don't need to follow the lead of the Indian jingoism'** mean that two groups are in conflict with each other in ideology and that ideological conflict is carried to this place. One social group is presented in the pronoun 'we' and the conflicting ideological group is presented with the label 'Indian'. So 'Us' and 'them' are made here and both the groups are drawn in an ideological conflict with each other. The 'we' pronoun includes all those living inside the border along with the writer and all other concerned institutions. While the opposite social group 'Indian' represent all those living across the border along with their media and all other institutions. The deep structure of the meaning of the sentence present that while having own jingoism, why a group should follow the jingoism of the confronting group. In the selected editorials from the News International many times, the in-grouping and out-grouping is tried to be made and constructed. In the first example, the writer says that **'we don't need jingoism'** and in the last example he goes to announce that, **'we don't need to follow the Indian jingoism'** thus contrasting his own words to reflect an influence on the larger group.

4.3.7.4 The News International Editorial 'Mutual Intelligence'
Van Dijk (2008) is of the view that one of the methods of doing CDA is 'analyzing the action-process of a discourse'. In thy system of transitivity, clause is considered to be the syntactic unit that can predict what actually takes place in a text. And through the injecting of specific meaning, the text is tried to be diverted towards a specific dimension.

The transitivity helps to transform meaning with the help of grammar. Small phrases and clauses are constructed in such a manner that they can be used for the ideological manifestation through editorials. For this purpose, editorials are interpreted from both newspapers, selected for the present study.

In an analysis based on the transitivity system, six processes may be identified: material, relational, mental, verbal, existential and behavioral. For identifying each process, the focus should be given to the verb of a clause as a verb is the clue to decide the nature of each process. Material verbs show the material process, linking verbs represent the relational process, mental verbs signal the mental process, verbal verbs represent the verbal process, behavioral verbs suggest the behavioral process, and non-referent 'it' and 'there' show the existential process. Each process consists of its terms/titles for participants. The material process has an Actor, a Goal, and Affected participants. The relational process consists of Identifier-Identified, Carrier-Attribute, and/or Possessor-Possessed participants. The mental process contains Senser and Phenomenon participants. The verbal process has got a Sayer, a Receiver, and Verbiage participants. The behavioral process consists of Behaver participant. And the last one, the existential process, has got Existent participant.

- *Indian intelligence agencies* are *involved* in violence in *Balochistan…………..*

- *India* to *try* and take advantage of separatists sentiments in the *province* and cause trouble for *Pakistan……*

In both the examples from the editorial, the material process has been done. In both structures, India is presented as actor to push the goal in a specific region or recipient which is Balochistan. The verbs '**involved'** and '**try'** are used as the material processed through the agent. The affected participant is represented in the shape of Balochistan and Pakistan. This is how the meanings are transferred through grammar and structure composition. Most of the times in the concerned editorials, the material process is done with the help of transitivity. And the kind of verbs that can push the object materials are used in this regard.

- *India* may be *causing trouble…….*

Here in this example, again India is shown as an agent of causing trouble for the country of the writer. It is joined with the modal verb '**may'** which shows the writer concern about the topic and the writer point of knowledge and interest is identified here. Among the three matafunctions of language proposed by Halliday, the ideational function deals with language for the purpose of communicating information and expressing content. As far is the focus on content is concerned, the emphasis is on the clear and effective transformation of information to make the information easily and quickly comprehendible. The second function, that is, the textual function, deals with language for the purpose of highlighting the linguistic construction and organization of discourse. As far as the focus on the organization of language is concerned, language in such case becomes text and the focus is given to the text itself and to the linguistic context (the preceding and following utterances) as well as on the context of the situation in which the text takes place. This function of language can be divided into two ways of analysis; the information structure (GIVEN and NEW) and the thematic structure (i.e. theme and rheme). The last faction of language, that is, the interpersonal function, deals with language for the purpose establishing and maintaining social relations. Its focus on modalities and thus, is related to modus system. The system is characterized by two major elements, which are: residue and mood. In the text of editorials, it is always tried to carry the ideology of a specific group. It is used to show power and dominance and to construct the text in such a manner to gain its own political or socio-economic advantages. Therefore, the text of the editorials of *The News International* carries all these paradigms and help to uplift the ideological interest of the related institutions and social groups. As it is quite evident that in both the newspapers from its perspective countries try its best to manifest the assigned ideological stance.

- ……..*we should* actively be trying to prevent.

- *we have* levelled these accusations……………..

- *we have* decided………….

- **Both countries** have been guilty of interference within each other's borders, but for the sake of better bilateral ties *we should* minimise rather than overplay these transgressions.

- ***we should*** never mistake the Baloch insurgency,………………………

In the above extract, mental process can be evident and is carefully designed. The mental process in the transitivity has the sensor and phenomenon categories, in which, the sensor has the power of sensing the surrounding. In the editorial, whenever, the writer includes himself with the large social group or with any institution for whom he/she writes, then the writer uses this technique to make the group aware about the phenomenon being the part of that specific group. Look at the above example, and one can easily suggest that the 'we' is put together with the modals for most of the time. Mental process consists of the three principal subprocesses, they are:

1. Perception (hearing, seeing, etc.)

2. Affection (fearing, liking, etc.)

3. Cognition (understanding, knowing, thinking, etc.)

The mental process bears the following two participants: Senser and Phenomenon. The former refers to the conscious being that is involved in the process of seeing, thinking, or feeling, and the later refers to the participant which is seen, thought or felt. Whenever, it comes to the writer concern, then he/she moves to this specific category of transitivity. As it is being observed from the above extractions that the writer is meddling 'we' with the modal verbs so it clearly signifies that he/she is preferring his/her own sense or feelings. Most of the time, the writer tries to elaborate what he sees or hears. He/she furthermore tries to add his/her own likings and disliking. The matter becomes greatly concern about his/her own understanding of the matter, and it is exaggerated that he/she knows more about the problem rather than anyone else in the region. As it is observed in the above examples that the writer suggests 'we should', then in the second example, the writer combines both the conflicting social groups for one basic purpose and that is not to go into the war. The unification of non-unifiable is made here in the extract. Therefore, it is evident that the writer is more aware about the future consequences if the things are not taken for granted according to the writer suggestions and that he/she sense or see the phenomenon more clearly than any other person. Therefore, to express his or her personal views, the writer uses such terminology in the text of editorials.

4.3.7.5 Editorial from The Times of India
Message from Wagah: Suicide bombing demonstrates Pakistan's real challenge is from within, not from India

The topic sentence of the selected editorial is of great importance as long as it is concerned with the structure of the clause. It is greatly concerned with the shift of responsibility and that freedom from the blame in the wake of terrorism. The editorial is produced in the 2015 suicide attack near Wagah border. The attack was planned on the security personal inside Pakistan that killed security personal and tourists in the area. India in this editorial is trying to blame Pakistan both in internal as well as in external terrorism and to show it as an agent in this regard. That is why the topic is syntactically designed in such a manner.

- The central security problem of *our time* is not *India versus Pakistan* but *Pakistan versus Pakistan.*

This extract from the selected editorial relates two different opinions in one. It is mentally processed by the writer in such a manner that he or she tries to make the readers aware about a new idea rather than the older persistent one. As long as it is concerned with the terrorism, India and Pakistan are in conflict and do confront one another on the issue of terrorism and perhaps that is an accepted narrative made by the dominant group at both sides of the border. But here it is tried to confine the issue of terrorism only to Pakistan and this new phenomenon is better understood by the author of the editorial. As the writer mentions the pronoun 'our' therefore, he or she includes himself or herself in this conversation. The information transferred here is carrying two opposing opinions in which one is that 'India versus Pakistan' and the other is 'Pakistan versus Pakistan'. In this phenomenon realization, the writer tries to include himself with the larger group for larger acceptance. The large-scale confrontation between India and Pakistan is turned into Pakistan vs Pakistan, where the first Pakistan refers to the people of Pakistan and the second one refers to the militant groups in the region. Thus, the unification of terrorists and the people of Pakistan are done technically and Pakistan is represented both the agent of the action and the receiver of the action while India is completely excluded from the list. This

is how the ideology of Pakistan being the agent of spreading terrorism is uphold here in this syntactic structure.

4.3.7.6 The News International Editorial 'Rapid Action'

The editorial taken from the Pakistan print media is written in the perspective of 2016 attacks on Pathan Kot Airbase, situated in the disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir. The event is interpreted differently by both countries through print media. As it is stated earlier that transitivity helps in making the grammar real and the writers try their best to transit meaning with the help of syntactic structures, therefore, this editorial, like others, is designed in such a manner that the meaning making and the acceptance of those meanings is made real. In these editorials, most of the time, mental process along with the material process (two most important component of transitivity) are frequently used with the help of pronouns, nouns, keywords and binomial representations.

- *Pakistan* has *taken* a step forward towards demonstrating to the *world*, and in the current *context* most notably to *India*, that *it is* determined to wage a battle against terrorism and ensure that militancy does not wreck the region.

The representation of Pakistan being an agent or subject in this structure shows that the writer is using material process as through the agent (Pakistan) some positivity is shown. In Pakistani print media, as long as it is concerned with the positive approach, the writer represents the country being a subject or being a carrier of the material in positive direction. But as it is concerned with negative attributions, then the writer passivizes the subject to make it less visible. That is why in transitivity, most of the time, active and passive roles are assigned. The above structure for this purpose is used as active sentence because Pakistan is represented as the carrier of some positive materials. The active attribution of Pakistan shows that the writer tries to present a positive image and to background all the negative associations here. That is why the sentence is structured in active form and Pakistan is placed at the subject being an agent. Contrary to this, in most or nearly in all the editorials of the Times of India, Pakistan is subjectivized only when it is attributed some negative association or the negative representation is done. Both the newspapers use opposite strategies when it comes to the representation of one another in the editorial text. Pakistani Media, while assigning positive image to Pakistan, places it at the subject position

and when there are the association of some negative meanings then drags the country to the object position or try to make it passive. Same technique is applied by *The Times of India* but in different direction because, that newspaper uses Pakistan at the subject position whenever there is the association of some negative labels and in positive label, the newspaper tries to passivize Pakistan. This same technique is used by both the newspapers only for the purpose of ideological manifestation.

As in the above extract, Pakistan is being represented as the processor of some good materials. The word 'context' is largely applied to the context of terrorism, which strengthen the claim of the researcher, that both the countries try their best to utilize the context of terrorism in their own interests. And that is why, in the selected structure, the whole international community is addressed and then the subject is changed towards India specifically. Transitivity, basically tells us that what happens, who the recipients are and what are the circumstances. In the light of the Statement of Beard (2000), it is observed in the above structure that some positive things are going to happen or processed by Pakistan, and the circumstances are the terrorist perspective in the region while the recipients are the whole international community and particularly India. Halliday's (1994) transitivity process consists of the following three components:

1. The process: the type of state or event being described

2. Participants in the process; the entities, such as actor, sensor, sayer, etc. involved in the process

3. Circumstances associated with the process; the how, why, where and when of the process.

Therefore, looking both at Halliday and Beard, the above structure is proved to be the most accurate in this direction. The first portion of the structure deals with the material process while the last portion of the structure deals with the referential process. The writer, with the uses of pronoun 'it' makes the people of Pakistan and himself being a writer, exclude from the text and specifically the reference is drawn towards Pakistan. With the uses of pronoun 'it' the focus is drawn on the Pakistan rather than the social group living inside it.

- Following a ***high-level meeting*** chaired by the ***prime minister***, and attended by almost every top official in the country including ***Chief of Army Staff*** General Raheel Sharif, a crackdown was conducted on the ***Jaish-e-Muhammad***, with its leader Maulana Masood Azhar and his brother Rauf Azhar arrested along with 13 JeM followers.

In this extract, the importance of the meeting is more than anything else as it is being nominated earlier than all the important persons attending the meeting. Therefore, technically, the meeting is brought into the focus and then the VIPs who are going to attend the meeting and then at the end of the structure the accused are drawn to be mentioned in the text. This is called gradual construction, where the accused are drawn to the end and a non-living entity, **'meeting'** is foregrounded. The structure is the carrier of meaning as whole because it is linked with the previous and the coming structure in the text. The previous structure is interpreted earlier than this. In that structure, Pakistan is shown as the agent of taking some good step in the right direction. For the surety of that statement to the international community and specifically to India, the text is kept continued. As in that structure, the agent is represented in the positive terminology and it is stated that the country is doing good what is assigned to it therefore, in this extract the details are presented to show that the positivity is being achieved. This gives a high assurance to India as well as to the world that Pakistan is fighting the menace of terrorism and tries its best to eradicate it from the region. For this purpose, all the VIPs name are included in the list. The inclusion of these names further strengthens the claim of the writer. That is why the actors are included in the text of the editorials.

- ***Pakistan*** has indicated it ***was acting*** on evidence provided by India on the Pathankot attack.

- But there had been initial speculation that the ***material sent*** across from ***New*** Delhi had showed very little in terms of possible ***Pakistani involvement***.

In the first extract, Pakistan is placed at the subject position being the processor of the materials. Here, it is nominated as the agent which is carrying forward the materials towards the assigned goal. It is shown with the active verb as performing the action. Two

main purposes are taken from such grammatical construction, the first one is that it is active in the performance and the second one is that it is going in the direction of what is demanded by the international community.

In the second extract, Pakistan is placed at the object position and pushed at the end of the structure. As it is stated earlier that whenever it comes to positive attributions, the social group or the representation of the social group is dragged to the subject position and it is represented as the agent or doer of the action but whenever it comes to the negative attribution, then the representation of the social group is dragged to the end of the structure or to the object position. This sort of representations is used to foreground or background the specific agent in the required direction. That is why in the second extract, the material sent by the Delhi government are foregrounded and Pakistani involvement is back grounded. The New Delhi stance is further made weaker by adding the word 'possible' to the clause. That is why the agency is sometimes shifted to the subject position and sometimes to the object position. So, in both the extract, at the same time, the active agent and the passive agent are being represented. That is what the diversion towards the ideological conflict can be seen as the writer is moving towards the accepted narratives between India and Pakistan and try to shift the blame and show the activeness of self and the incompetency of the other. This is what in the most of the text produced in the wake of terrorism between India and Pakistan is claimed or circulated to convince the readers. Both the newspapers try their best to uphold their own stance and negate the claim of the other. And this is clearly evident from the composed structure of the selected editorial. It is constructed in such a manner that at the start the writer seems to accept the Indian claim and assures the international community along with the Indian community that Pakistan is moving in the right direction as desired by them but as the editorial moves ahead, the claim is turned in the favor of Pakistan and ended with the incompetency of India. This sort of construction is quite evident in this discourse.
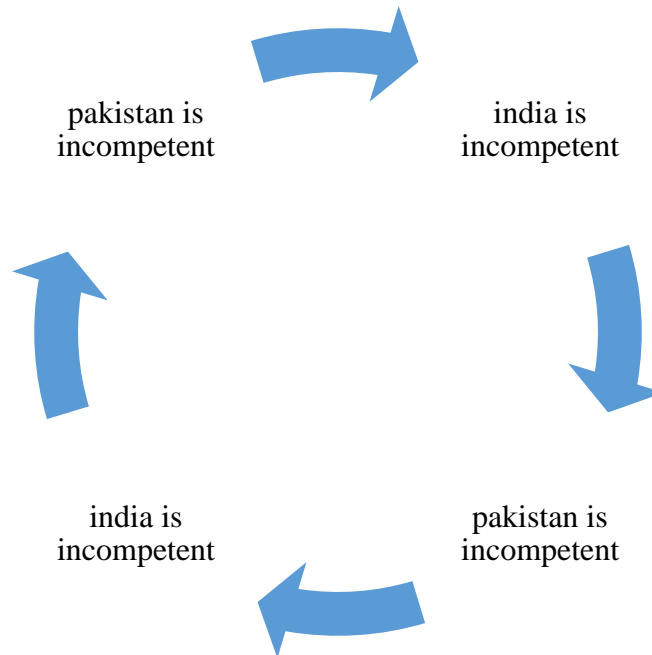
Figure 4 Us vs Them, Them-Negative

Therefore, the construction is made circular and there seems no ending point to what is developed and circulated between India and Pakistan.

4.3.7.7 Editorial from The Times of India
Dangerously porous: Pathankot attack exposes big gaps in border security, fix them

In the consequences after the Pathankot attack in 2016, both the newspaper presented the incident under their own perspectives. As in the earlier session of this chapter, an editorial from The News International is being interpreted so now the researcher tries to interpret another editorial from TOI to highlight their perspective in this regard. Both the editorials are written on the same issue.

- *Pakistani terrorists crossed over* and targeted an *Indian air force base…..*

The extract is taken from the editorial written in TOI in the wake of Pathankot attack. As it is stated that India and Pakistan try their best to assign different positions to one another in the clause structure to better portray others and self-position. In Pakistani print media, whenever it comes to positive attribution, then Pakistan is kept at the subject position, being the doer of the action, while in Indian media, whenever, it comes to the negative attribution, Pakistan is dragged to the subject position to show it being the doer

of the action. As it is an accepted fact that terrorists have no religion or no nationality but in the above extract a specific nationality is assigned to the terrorist and they are claimed as **'Pakistan terrorists'**. This shows that how much Indian media is trying to portray a negative image of Pakistani people inside the world. In the clause, Pakistani terrorist are represented as subject where they perform the action. Now that the label of Pakistan is linked or attributed with a negative label of '**terrorists'**, therefore, it is dragged to the nominative phrase. The material process of transitivity is done over here where there is an agent, a goal and some material to be processed. The phrase, 'Pakistani terrorist' is related or linked with active verb of '**cross'** which means they are shown in action. While India is dragged to the object position being the receiver of the action.

Accordingly, the focus of critical discourse analysts should be specifically on the exploration of the language which they themselves use. The way one writes CDA is not just a matter of style, rather it is much more than that. Such a simple and apparently minor issue needs to be an issue of great concern for the analysts of language whose focus is on the role of language in the reproduction of power, inequality and ideology. So, the way critical analysts actually make the use of language is worth exploring instead of going for the ways they write things in theoretical terms. Therefore, the examination of those linguistic forms is needed which the critical analysts use in their own written language while they criticize those forms when used by others. Such instances take place when, while doing a critical discourse analysis, the analysts use a linguistic form in their language, not as an instance of analysis, but as part of the language they themselves are using during the analysis. In such cases, they leave behind them examples of the object analysis within the language used by them for analyzing the discourses of others. Being critical discourse analysts, we may not be concerned if the analyst uses those forms as examples, rather concerned if those analysts are found to be unconscious towards the use of the very forms which they themselves are critically analyzing at that moment. To put it simply, if critical analyst, while making transparent the ideological biases certain linguistic forms, themselves make the use of those form in the language which they actually produce during the process of the analysis, then they themselves may be unselfconsciously and unintentionally proving the instances of those very biases. Therefore, in the text, the subject and object places are utilized to assign meaning for the ideological purposes.

- *Pakistan allowed* these religiously motivated *extremist groups* to flourish to fill in the gaps in those areas where it felt it didn't have adequate state capacities.

Again, an active sentence is being used by the writer to show the subject as active agent. Here Pakistan is again used at the nominative place and linked with the verb allowed. This clarifies that the agent is involved in an activity and doing a certain type of action. Here again the word 'Pakistan' is nominated at the subject position in an active sentence. This type of construction helps in the ideological formation as the semantic understanding of the people are driven towards the point that Pakistan is being the agent of spreading terrorism. Moreover, the phrase **'motivated extremist groups'** works again in isolation and gives a different a vital meaning of nominalization. This sort of meaning making and ideological formation keeps the people ideologically and socially apart. That is why through this type of presentation, two different identities are brought forward, one with the identity of being Indian and other under the identity of being Pakistanis. This sort of identification further enhances the stance of differences where it shows that one group is different from the other and that one is a threat for the existence of the other. People who belong to a multilingual speech community and may speak multiple languages encounter serious issues regarding the assimilation and adaptation of their language to the cultural identity which they intend to associate themselves with. They adopt and use the linguistic structures of their desired group in order have a linguistic resemblance to the members of the group People create their linguistic structure so as to bear a resemblance to those of the group they want to be identically tied up. Cultural identity refers to the result of historical and social background which individuals construct for themselves when they classify themselves as a group, along with certain ethnically and socially shared structures of communication in a society. It signifies that language functions as a means of identity construction and of uniting a social community that has got a shared identity. Language can be said to be a carrier of culture and plays a pivotal role in the process of identity formation. In the text of editorials produced in the context of terrorism between India and Pakistan, language is used in multi-direction and that it is not only used for the purpose of ideology formation but as a tool to show one social group as different from the other social group. It is used for differentiation in identities, which is the most important function of ideological formation.

4.3.7.8 Editorial from The News International   Indian tricks

According to Billig (2008), 'Nominalization' has been among the most central features of the early analytical works in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis. Fowler et al (1979, as cited in Billig (2008)) argues that in the analytical attempts of the early theoretical orientations, the passive voice structures were considered more important and ideologically loaded as compared to the active voice structures, and in the same way, the nominal groups were preferred over the verbal groups. Those early research studies influenced the perspective of people regarding common language use like newspaper headlines. Consequently, the readers of the then era would no longer view headlines like 'Attack on Protestors' as innocent summaries of reported stories. As pointed out by the East Anglian Group, such kind of headlines, with the help of certain discursive strategy, omitted the doers of the action. In this very example, according to them, the doers of the action would be those were acting against the protestors. Such feature of nominalization enabled the newspaper discourse producers to easily omit the information about the doers of the action just by using a noun (in this case, '**attack'**), or by making the of a passive verb (such as **'Protestors Attacked'**). To put it in simple words, an utterance which would consist of the active verb '**attack'** would directly highlight the doer of the action, for example, 'Police Attack Protestors'. Fowler and his contemporary researchers opine that the preference given to passive over active or to noun over verb in such context was not random, rather ideologically charged. This sort of construction is being analyzed by Fowler in the headlines of the news but here the researcher tries to analyze the nominalization through the noun phrase and passive actions in the editorials produced in the context of terrorism between India and Pakistan. Nominalization is a typical grammatical alteration of a clause which results in certain structural modification and provides sufficient ideological opportunities. Such ideological opportunities can be observed if the focus is drawn to the quantity of information which are backgrounded in a derived clause in comparison to a complete clause. Nominalization offers opportunities for omitting or backgrounding information, for instance, information about time, modality and participants. In contrary, if writers/speakers make the use of a clause which contains an active verb, they normally and deliberately 'include' such pieces of information. This sort of representation is

different from the active representation or the transformation of information through a verb phrase as it deals with the process of information with the noun phrase and passivization.

- …….an *impending* attack…….

In this extract the verb 'impending' is joined together with the noun attack and with an article 'an' to form a noun phrase. Therefore, it has become an adjective. In this process the whole classification is changed and a verb is modified into an adjective. The attack on the Uri station is therefore made an impending attack. Here the adjective is made as a verb and attack is made as its object. Speakers/writers can then use the abstract, reified concepts as agents of processes. So here in the above example, the writer uses 'impending' as agent of process. Here, the writer tries to develop the ideological stance of being Pakistani and to obscure the facts. So, the things are made uncertain here

- *Indian government* somehow immediately knew the perpetrator was *Pakistan*.

In this process of nominalization, Pakistan is drawn to the object place and Indian government is put into the subject place. As the image of Pakistan in this clause is added with the perpetrator, therefore, it is backgrounded and drawn into the object place of the clause. The previous extract is followed with this extract or clause in such a manner that the Indian authority is tried to be shown as fool. That is why the **'Indian government'** is placed at the subject position. That is how through the process of nominalization, ideologies are formed or ideological manifestation is circulated. One entity is used at the subject through active formation and the other is used at the object position through passive formation. It is tried to be convinced that Indian allegations against Pakistan are always false and misleading.

- ……….the heavily *fenced* and *guarded* Line of Control……….

Nominalization is basically the process in which a word which is not a noun but is used as a noun. The word can be taken from the class of a verb, adjective or any other class but represented as a noun in the noun phrase, In the above extract, it can be seen that fence is a noun but here with the addition of 'ed' it is made as a verb and in the phrase its actual representation is shown as an adjective. Same is done with the word 'guard' in the phrase. According to Halliday (2000), nominalization refers to the process by which the role of a

nominal group in a clause is assigned to an (or a group of) element(s) He argues that this process is one of the most powerful discursive strategies for formulating grammatical metaphor. With the help of this discursive feature, processes (manifested by verbs) and properties (expressed by adjectives) are rearranged metaphorically as nouns by changing their grammatical categories, and resultantly, their function is changed from Process or Attribute in clause to a Thing in the nominal group. In addition, in the process of nominalization, the words must adopt certain grammatical, lexical and semantic changes. It is worth mentioning that nominalization is the major discursive strategy which results in high lexical density, as it contains the characteristics of strong logic, concise expression, compact structure and condensed information.

- ……..tall *claims* of *finding* "Pakistan *markings*" not *counting* as evidence.

- *India* will try to wipe away any sympathy created by its mass *killings* by pointing to the Uri attack as proof.

These two extracts are strongly evident of the uses of nominalization as verbs are being used as nouns in both of the extracts. In the first one, 'claim' acts as a verb but here it is transformed into noun and thus by adding 's' it is made plural as well. Secondly, 'marking' is used as the progressive case of verb 'mark', therefore, its root category is verb but, in the structure, it is used as noun and the plural form of the noun. Therefore, both are the examples of nominalization. The third one 'counting' is progressive form of 'count' but again it is denoted as noun. If we look at the whole structure, then it can be seen that most of the time, progressive form is used but grammatically, and according to the tense, progressive is always added with auxiliaries like 'is, are, am, was and were'. Now looking at the first extract, most of the progressive case are used without auxiliary where they perform less to be verb and behave more to be nouns. Giving stress to the object 'evidence'.

The second extract shows the same construction but with an absolute subject and that is 'India'. As it is negative attribution to the Indian side by Pakistani print media that is why India is assigned at the agent position. Moreover, word 'kill' is an active verb and 'killing' is its progressive case but here in this syntactic structure, it is represented and used as plural noun by adding 's' to it. And then word 'pointing' is again used as a noun and added with word 'by' to make it passive. There are two basic strategies of representing ideology in

news reports. The first is the use of linguistic devices such as stance markers, lexicalization, discourse connectors and intertextuality, etc. while the second is making the use of historical commentaries, direct quotes and pictures, etc. Among the linguistic discursive strategies mentioned above, nominalized structures and active and passive voices are the most effective ones. Nominalization, being among the key notions of the present study, is worth defining. So, it refers to a transformational process which shortens an entire clause only to its nucleus (i.e., the verb), and transforms the verb into a noun. In both of the above extract's verbs are turned into nouns and the meanings are transformed in less words. Therefore, nominalization is used as a cohesive device in the text.

4.3.7.9 Editorial from The Times of India
India's drive to diplomatically isolate Pakistan receives an early windfall

Now an editorial in the direction of the analysis of nominalization can be interpreted here from the Times of India.

- New Delhi is also considering *dragging Pakistan* to WTO for not *granting India* MFN status.

In this example two progressive, '**dragging**' and '**granting**' are used. It should be noted that the first one acts as a verb with auxiliary '**is**' in the clause while the second one behaves like a noun as it is used without auxiliary. Therefore, it is turned into a noun. The noun is forced to act on the object 'India'. There the subject is tried to be made obscure as it is Pakistan not granting the status or the WTO. Therefore, the nominalization is applied in the extract and **'not granting India'** though is a noun phrase is converted into a clause.

- …..that those guilty of *killing* 18 Indian soldiers in Uri………

Again, with the use of nominalization the transfer of information is made ambiguous and the doer of the action is less emphasized while the killing of Indian soldiers is highlighted in this regard. The verb '**kill**' is again turned into a noun and has given a verb like characteristics to throw importance on the object '18 Indian soldiers'. This sort of representation gives more attention to the process of killing and to turn the mind of critical readers in a specific direction. That is why the verb 'killing' is turned into the whole concept and is related it with the opposite group. With the help of the usages of nominalized

syntactic metaphor, the actual clauses are presented as "packages" in the form of part-of-speech phrases, and similarly, multiple clauses are "packaged" and expressed as one single clause. Though the total number of sentences in the entire text is comparatively decreased, yet the amount and value of information and the discursive impact carried out by each sentence is comparatively increased.

- Pakistan to *continue training* and *arming* more militants………

This extract is a noun phrase turned into a meaningful clause without occupying more space in the editorial. That is why, it can be appropriately claimed that by incorporation of a nominal grammatical metaphor, keeping intact amount of information, the structures of the text can be made more compact and concise and a higher amount of information can be conveyed in a more refined language. The amount of information given to the readers for their ideological manifestation can be best done through the help of nominalization. That is why nominalization is turned as a useful tool in the transfer of relative information. Moreover, this sort of grammatical structure appeal in the best manner to the readers as he or she links such types of construction with the maturity of writer that is why the readers start believing more in the writers' writings instead of believing it as a false entity. And under these characteristics of nominalization, it is used as the best tool for the critical readers as they become the acceptance of what is said.

- It can be *surprise raids* on militant camps in Pakistan *occupied* Kashmir (PoK) and *occupation* of important territory which is most vulnerable to infiltration.

- While *carrying* out such *strikes*, we must ensure that they are well-coordinated and should not forget that *risk* is high if the surprise element is *lost*.

The bundle of information is transferred in the above construction with the help of nominalization. '**Raid'** is changed into noun, then '**occupy'** is changed into noun in both ways. Furthermore, the verbs '**carry'** and '**strikes'** along with '**risk'** and '**lost'** are given noun like characteristics. In all this construction, the amount of information related to the ideological conflict between India and Pakistan is transferred in huge number through nominalization. This sort of construction, according to Van Dijk social cognition theory, is

effective in the ideological formation as it appeals the cognitive structure in the best way. Let's take the following example taken from the above extracts.

1. India raids on militant camps in Pakistan.

2. Surprise raids can be done on militant camps in Pakistan.

3. It can be surprise raids on militant camps in Pakistan

In the first construction, a simple structure with subject, verb and object is followed. 'Raid' is used as a verb and the agent 'India' is clearly mentioned. But in the second metaphoric structure, the agent is missed out and emphasis is given to the noun 'raids' as it is a verb turned into noun. The third structure, in which a modal verb 'can' is linked with the noun phrase, 'surprise raids' not only shows the possible consequences of the Uri attack but also show the writer interest and his/her level of information and knowledge. Therefore, the third one is the pure editorial construction and the first and second examples can be the variants of the real usage in the editorials. Therefore, the writer prefers this sort of construction to mold the mental construct in his/her own desired direction. The binomials like 'India and Pakistan', 'Islamabad and Delhi' and other like this are made disappeared.

4.3.8 Passivization through Nominalization

4.3.8.1 Editorial from The News International   India's game of diversions

In the grammar of English, the process of passivization contains the conversion of a sentence from active voice to passive form. With the help of this process, the direct object used in an active declarative structure can be transformed into subject of a passive structure. The following examples can clarify the point:

1. America killed Osama Bin Laden.

2. Osama Bin Laden was killed by America.

3. Osama Bin Laden was killed.

The first example is an active sentence with an active subject and verb. The doer of the action is clear which 'America' is and the action is applied on the object 'Osama Bin Laden'. In the second example, the object is moved to the subject position, means that the object is made more important than the subject while subject or the doer of the action is

passivized rather than to be activized as done in the first one. It is only done to give more importance to the object rather than the subject. Now coming to the third example, it is structuralized in such a manner that the doer of the action is made missing. Rather than to passivize it like in the second example, the whole subject is omitted and 'Osama' is dragged to the subject position. Now the sentence behaves like empty doer of the action and the people or the readers just take the killing of the object as the whole without being noticing the doer of the action. This sort of structurization is very necessary in the writings done for the purpose of ideological manifestation or construction. As the killer is omitted and the killed is highlighted. Therefore, passivization is used in the construction of ideological materials. That is why it is kept as a unique characteristic of editorial writings. For this purpose, I here tried to see which binomials or keywords are tried to be omitted through passivization and for what purpose the process is carried out in the editorials produced in the context of terrorism between India and Pakistan print media. For this purpose, the editorial from TNI is interpreted here. However, this sort of construction is done so often and regularly but the researcher here only tries to point out towards the structures done for the ideological purposes and will take only those examples for granted which have a visible ideological conflict in the structure.

- *The years* since then have seen some highs but many lows………

- ..these *increasingly wild accusations* have not been backed with any credible evidence….

- The *entire region* is being badly shaken.

- *these have been wrecked* by recent developments including the latest act of terror which resulted in the death of ten people……..

- *This attack in Indian Punjab*, a state which has remained free of *terrorist violence* for the last decade, appears to *have taken Indian security forces by surprise.*

One of the basic purposes of passivization is to make the agent or the doer invisible. The first extract clearly shows that the agent is made missing and it is not clarified that who brought those highly bad times and low bad times. Animated properties are given to the unanimated object '**years'**. The doer of the action is disappeared by the writer. In the

second example the phrase, 'increasingly wild accusations' are put into the subject slot and it is not clarified that who did not back these accusations. Thus, by passivization the agent is made invisible. This technique is used to develop the cognition of the reader in such a manner that they start believing more in the phenomenon rather than the force behind creating that phenomenon. The action gets more important than the doer of the action. For this purpose, most of the times, the keywords used for proper persons and groups are made invisible along with the invisibility of the binomials like 'India and Pakistan' **'terrorists and extremist'**, **'suicide bombers'** etc. to make them invisible and to convince the readers that their visibility is not important rather than their actions are important. In Pakistani media, as the allegations fall on the terrorist and as it now an accepted narrative throughout the world that such forces live in or backed by Pakistan, so therefore, in Pakistani construction and representation of the event, the event is more highlighted while the doer is made silent. And this sort of representation is clearly evident in the third example as it is shown that the event or incident has shaken the entire region but who performed that action which shacked the whole region is kept omitted. And same is the fourth example. In the last extract, the victim of the attack and those who faced the attack are shown but who performed that action is not mentioned. This is the most important and crucial characteristic of passivization that it made the agent invisible and the readers are given half information and half are either kept hidden or left on the guessing ability of the readers. This sort of syntactic construction is highly significant in the construction of ideological construction. As has been mentioned above, passive voice structures as a strategic discursive feature are preferred over the active ones by discourse producers, particularly in journalistic written discourses. In this regard, it was highlighted that the passive structures can be incorporated in discourses to deliberately and strategically omit the doer of the action from a discourse and to leave them unspecified. This is the strategy which the news reporters may use to prevent holding directly a particular individual responsible for an action he/she has performed. And the same is done in the above examples. The process of impersonalization is done here.

These results in aligned with the those of the studies of Billig (2008) and Söğüt (2018) who argue that if the discourse producers use nominalization or passivization, they can transform statements that identified agents of actions into agentless statements that convey

less information. However, their research studies are based on the representation of terrorism in the US and UK newspapers. Since none of the research studies conducted on the representation of war and terror in the Indian and/or Pakistani newspapers contains the analysis of passivization through nominalization, so, it is proven that the present research study is unique and thus, fills the gap available in the existing treasure of research regarding the issue concerned.

4.3.8.2 Editorial from Times of India   Terrorism no longer a low-cost option for Pakistan, Indian counter-strikes have broken a psychological barrier

The researcher now interprets and analyze an editorial from the Indian newspaper, *The Times of India* to denote towards the process of impersonalization with the help of passive structures as well as agentless structures. For this purpose, the editorial is selected from the newspaper written in the context of terrorism.

- Terrorism will continue, there *will be attacks, infiltration, deaths.*

- The political and diplomatic scripting *had to be tightly managed.*

- During the Kargil war, around the middle of June, *the US was virtually given* an ultimatum that you are leaving us no choice except to cross the international border with Pakistan. We cannot hold our military back. *The message was conveyed* by Brajesh Mishra.

- Not crossing the LoC *was the order we got*.

- it's clear that lessons from Pathankot *haven't been learnt.*

The above process of passivization is used for impersonalization. As it is evident that nearly in all structures the agent is passivized and instead of the doer of the action, the phenomenon is given more importance. As in the first structure, the phenomenon of terrorism is given more importance than the agent of doing this phenomenon. **'There will be attacks'**, '**infiltration'** and there will be '**deaths'** are clearly mentioned but who is behind doing terrorism, attacks and deaths is kept impersonal. This sort of technique in the production of writing is used to give more importance to terrorism, deaths and attacks. In the second structure, the agent is again kept silent. The third structure is personalized at the end of the sentence being by adding 'by Brajesh Mishra' and the binomials of Pakistan and

India are dragged to the end of the structures in the process of passivization. This shows that instead of the messenger, the message is important. The contents are more highlighted instead of the sayer of the contents. Same is done with the rest of the statements. So, through the passivization process, most of the time the readers are given an impression that behind all these actions, there is a known agent. The readers are connected with the old information with the help of such statements. In relation to good, India is personalized and Pakistan is impersonalized. Pakistan is tried to be actively personal in terrorist activities and India along with west are personalized in abolishing terrorism. Van Leeuwen (1996) is of the opinion that impersonalization may perform various purposes in discourse. For instance, impersonalization may give impersonal force or control to the quality or act of a social individual; it may background hide the role or the actual identity of a social individual; and it may attach positive or negative cultural meanings and connotations to an utterance or an act of an individual. And such kind of the passivization or activation of role is incorporated in the text.

4.3.9 Us vs Them

The last portion of this chapter includes the representation of 'Us' vs 'Them' through the usages of keywords, pronouns, binomials and collocation. As it is stated earlier that the editorials production in the context of terrorism are modified in the ideological manifestation, therefore, the representation of in-group and out-group gets high importance to show that how positive the 'us' is constructed and how negative the 'them' is displayed. The discourses based on political or ideological dominance, there is always an opposite 'them' group and there is always allay 'us' group. And both the groups are assigned certain features with the help of language. As it is an accepted truth that the production of language in any context is not free from certain objectives. These objectives are always aimed to glorify one group and to marginalize the other group. For this purpose, the representation of 'us' and 'them' are technically produced. van Dijk (1998) contributes a useful theoretical concept he calls the „ideological square‟, which encapsulates the twin strategies of positive „ingroup‟ description and negative 'outgroup‟ description. He asserts that such a two-way strategy of this conflicting binary opposition is generally used in discourse with the help of the selection of lexical items and other features of language (van Dijk, 1998). He further argues that the ideologies a group represent the Self (US) and Them (Them) in different

ways as a result, the two binaries seem to be polarized. This polarization is enacted in the form of "We are Good" and "They are Bad", and thus the ingroup members are portrayed in a favorable light while the outgroup members are portrayed unfavorably. This sort of representation is done for ideological purposes and to assure the 'us' group that is better than the opposite 'them' group. Such type of ideological categorization of the two binaries might be achieved by the use of several linguistic features, for instance, the selection of words which assure negative and positive representation, and other structures such as passivization and nominalization, etc. This discursive technique of polarization encompasses the foregrounding of Our good action/characteristics and Their bad actions/characteristics; and the backgrounding Our bad actions/characteristics and Their good actions/characteristics.

In the editorials produced in the context of terrorism between India and Pakistan, this type of presentation is quite evident. It is one of the crucial features of these editorials to maintain their own ideological stances. In Pakistani media, most of the time, the Indian moves and actions are negatively interpreted while in Indian media, Pakistan is associated with negative attributions. Therefore, the researcher now analyzes some editorials in the direction of 'us' and 'them' representations in the editorials of 'The Times of India' and 'The News International'.

4.3.9.1 Editorial from The Times of India
Winds of change: The international context is transformed, Pakistan needs to get tough on terror now

An editorial from TOI is taken here for the analysis under 'Us' and 'Them' social grouping. These interpretations will help to understand that how the Indian print media shapes Indian moves against the Pakistani moves in the context of terrorism.

Positive 'Us'

- *Prime Minister Narendra Modi* ran into considerable domestic flak because his trip to Lahore was followed soon after by Pathankot. Internationally, however, *he* has *received a lot of credit* for reaching out to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif despite difficult circumstances, as demonstrated by Pathankot.

In the above extract, the Indian representation is termed as wise and reasonable. The presentation of 'Narendra Modi' is added with metonymy of 'Prime Minister' denoting the status of the individual in relation with the social group. In the second sentence of the extract, pronoun '**he'** is used for the person in office mentioned earlier with positive attribution of 'received a lot of credit'. The positive image of the person and institution is hereby presented in the text so that both are assigned '**good'** representatives for peace in the region. The office of the prime minister along with the person in the office are made 'good' and the circumstances are made 'bad'. This is how the positive 'us' is represented to the readers.

- *Its* record on *holding free elections in Indian Kashmir*, upholding autonomy there and allowing access to foreign observers *is better than in Pakistan-held parts* of the erstwhile princely state of Jammu & Kashmir.

The pronoun '**its'** is used here for New Delhi, and so as New Delhi can be replaced by the government of India. In the extract, Indian government is put on the positive pole along with improved image and good attitude while Pakistani government is put on the negative pole along with bad improvement. The comparison between both governments on positive attributions and negative attribution is made here on the distribution of the territory of Kashmir into two parts. And it is tried to show to the world that India is good in the race to provide facilities to the people of Kashmir than Pakistan. Thus, the positive image of 'Us' vs the negative image of 'Them' is quite evident in the above extract from the editorial. This sort of representation is made or carried out in all the editorials produced in the context of terrorism in the region. The Indian media do constructions like this to uphold the ideological conflict between India and Pakistan in any context.

- Meanwhile, *jihadi terror* has *exploded across the world* and can no longer be seen as related to Kashmir or an exclusively "Indian" problem – *Western countries, China and West Asia* are all *menaced* by *it* and see it as one of their principal security threats today.

In this portion of the selected editorials, the author is trying to relate the problem of terrorism to the whole world and '**include'** the rest of the world, especially, the economic powers and to mix the issue with the international scenario of terrorism and to spoil the struggle of Kashmiri people for their right to self-determination. This sort of representation is done to show the world that your problem is ours and our problem is yours. Along with this type of representation, the clauses are also used to develop the socio-cognitive model of the people in certain direction.

In his model of CDA, van Dijk (2001) mentions three components to show how social ideologies may be reflected with the help of discourse, those three components are: discourse, cognition, and society. Here, the term discourse means the structures of discourse which may adopt any form such as speech, written text, facial expressions, gestures, etc. Cognition encompasses the evaluation involved in discourse, the social or personal knowledge beliefs. Society, however, refers to the relationships of social interlocutors or the larger global structures of society, that are, political system and the relationships of groups/subgroups. Taking into consideration all the three components at the same time, he argues that social ideology may be explored by exploring the deep-rooted link between the microlevel analysis of the individual discourse and interaction and the macrolevel studies of groups/subgroups, social structures and social formation.

Therefore, India tries to include the world community on 'us' side so that to make the people understand and believe that they are on the '**good'** pole along the rest of the world on one hand, and on the other hand, India tries to make the problem as universal one and to show that they are standing along the world. Thus, the cognitive structure of the readers is developed in such a manner that they are convinced in standing with world and being the representatives of the 'good' group, which is fighting the 'bad' group of terrorists and Jihadis.

4.3.9.2 Negative 'Them'
Now the researcher tries to interpret extracts from the same editorial where Pakistan is tried to be depicted as 'bad' agent along with negative attributes.

- …….it is dangerous for *Islamabad* to play with fire by ***continuing to export terror to its neighbours………..***

Islamabad is used for the government of Pakistan in metonymical expressions and added with the phrase, **'to play with fire'** which is carrying a negative lexicon, '**fire'** semantically means destruction. This sort of depiction and representation of Pakistan in Indian print media is carried out with high frequency. Pakistan, Islamabad, and the government of Pakistan are some keywords which are always represented in the negative context. Pakistan is, here, represented as an agent of exporting terrorism to the 'neighbours'. And the plural noun of neighbour includes all the neighbours of Pakistan including India, Afghanistan and other countries. Therefore, Pakistan is systematically nominated as agent of spreading terrorism in all the countries in neighbourhood. This is the 'bad' representation of Pakistan in the text of editorial.

- *US President Barack Obama* has *sent* a *tough and direct message to Pakistan*, denouncing the Pathankot terror strike and *demanding* that *Pakistan* get serious about "*delegitimating, disrupting and dismantling" terror networks operating from its territory.*

In the extract from the selected editorial, Pakistan is again shown at the negative pole by the certain attributions in the text. And here, United States is nominated as an agent of sending tough and direct messages to Pakistan to stop terrorism. The inclusion of the US president is made to make the belief strong that most of the terrorist activities are operated from Pakistan and that the country is responsible for global terrorism. Therefore, Pakistan is attributed with the negative signs of habitant place of terrorist activities.

- Among other things, *it* also stores up the furies for *itself* by *harbouring terrorists*.

The pronouns, 'it' and 'its' both are used for Pakistan in the context of terrorism. In the Indian print media, Pakistan is always depicted as a rogue nation violating the international norms and rules. Indian media tries to present Pakistan as bad as possible. And when it comes to the context of terrorism, Indian media shows it as a hub of the menace. Therefore, it tries to fold its regional issues in the context of international issues. Most of the time, Pakistan is being nominated as a terrorist state or it is shown as place harbouring terrorism in the region. Therefore, it is always kept at the 'bad' pole with negative features.

It analyzed that in the Indian print media, Pakistan, along with its government, people and other offices, is represented with negative features and bad 'them' group is projected through the text of editorials while in the same text positive 'us' is presented to the local as well as to the international community. Therefore, to achieve the goal of positive 'us' and negative 'them' the international community and specially the world economic powers are included to strengthen its stance. This projection is done systematically to divert the international community towards its own ambitions in the region and to isolate Pakistan at regional level as well as at international level. This strategy of discourse is carried out with great care in the text of editorials written in the context of terrorism.

4.3.9.3 Editorial from The News International   India's game of diversions
To know that how the positive image of 'Us' group and the negative image of 'Them' group is projected in the print media of Pakistan, the researcher selects this editorial from the News International. The analysis of this editorial will help us to know that how and into what perspective the Pakistani print media is interpreting the ideological conflict between India and Pakistan.

4.3.9.4 The presentation of 'Them'
- There had always been anticipations of *trouble* between India and Pakistan since *the ultra-Hindu nationalist government* of Prime Minister Narendra Modi took charge in New Delhi in 2014.

Here in the extract, the usages of binomials of 'India and Pakistan' is used but in the very next move, Pakistan is isolated or terminated while India is drawn to the front and certain negative adjectives are added with the government of India. **'The ultra-Hindu nationalist'** phrase is added with the pronoun 'government' and then it is replaced with the personal noun of Narendra Modi. So, the negative image is first developed about the government and then it is projected towards a person. Thus, the negative projection is done here and it is shown that the Indian government is not pure democratic and that this government is established for certain objectives.

- *The Indian government* has decided that it must *blame* the Kashmir crisis on Pakistan to avoid dealing with the *seriousness of the situation*.

The Indian social group is projected as careless and involved in the blame game in the region. It is tried to present as making the issue of terrorism less important and that the government of India is not keen to take proper measures to solve the issue of Kashmir. The Indian government is projected in the 'them' group and is shown as not worthy of understanding the issue of Kashmir being the core issue between India and Pakistan. The responsibility is put upon the Indian government and Pakistan is presented as a serious country in this regard. Thus, in the 'them' group, India is associated with the negative labels in Pakistani print media.

- *It* has also begun to *sabotage* the Saarc summit set to be held in Islamabad in November. Of interest too is the expected arrival of *Baloch separatist leader Brahamdagh Bugti in India to seek asylum.*

Moreover, with the pronoun 'it' India is represented being an agent of making involvement in Pakistan internal affairs. India is shown as an agent of sabotaging Saarc conference which is going to be held in Pakistan. India is also presented as the protector of Baloch separatist movement and thus doing all the negative activities in the region. The grammatical construction shows that India is nominated as the doer of certain actions i.e., bad actions inside Pakistan. Thus, the 'them' presentation in Pakistani media is skillfully done where India is nominated as bad actor in the south Asian region.

4.3.9.5 The presentation of 'Us' in The News International's Editorials.
As it is interpreted that in Pakistani print media, India is shown as a bad agent with negative attributions. Now the researcher will analyze the presentation of Pakistan being in 'Us group and will interpret that how it is attributed in the text of editorials.

- *Despite not having any information* about an impending attack, *everyone in the Indian government* somehow immediately knew *the perpetrator was Pakistan.*

The above extract is a clear example of how both the countries are projected and presented in the text. The Indian media is presented as baseless and the government is shown as incompetent of doing or taking actions without having sufficient proofs. On the other hand, Pakistan is shown as innocent and being the victim of Indian cunningness. The negative 'them' and the positive 'us' is being projected in the text. The blame is put on

India and Pakistan is completely declared as unconcerned in the matter. This sort of presentation is done to make the people of both countries believe that their governments along with their respective political stances are right and that the opposite group is always a threat for in-group survival.

- *Amidst this outpouring of hate,* there was little time for ***introspection***.

The social group living inside Pakistan is tried to be convinced that the social group living across the border is just having hate in their hearts towards them. It is quite evident from the sentence that the Indian hates Pakistanis. So, in the grammatical construction, India is presented as an agent distributing hate in the region and Pakistan is presented as the receiver of that specific goal. The 'them' group is presented as haters and the 'Us' group is presented as the receiver of that huge amount of hate.

- *If* the militants were ***sent from Pakistan***, how were they able to cross the heavily fenced and guarded ***Line of Control and shouldn't India be blamed*** for allowing them ***to move so freely?***

Conditional Sentences are also referred to as Conditional Clauses or sometimes, If Clauses. These sentences represent the possibility of the occurrence one action being dependent on another. To put it technically, they express that the action/state in the main clause can only occur if a given condition (expressed in the conditional clause) is achieved. As in the conditional structures, the movement of militants from Pakistan is conditioned with the heavily fenced and guarded LoC from Indian side. Moreover, the structure is not ended but continued with a conjunction of 'and' and India again is dragged towards the blame game. Pakistan is tried to be shown as innocent and to be engulfed by false allegation from India. These conditional clauses show that Pakistan is just dragged into the situation and that India is wholly responsible for all the mishappening in the region. That is how India and Pakistan are portrayed in the conditional structure in the editorial.

- **The DGMO never explained** what he meant by "*Pakistan markings*" and it is absurd to think militants supposedly ***sent by our side*** would be carrying Pakistan-specific paraphernalia.

The DGMO is assimilated in the pronoun of 'he' and the writer assimilate himself with the opposite social group by using the pronoun 'our'. Thus, the writer shows himself with 'us' group making the evidence absurd. The 'them' group is shown as false allegations makers and the 'us' group is shown being the victim of those allegations.

This sort of presentation with the positive labels for 'us' and negative labels for 'them' is used in the text of editorials of both side print media.

The qualitative findings given in this section make it abundantly clear that both the Pakistani and the Indian newspaper make the use of Us and Them ideology to propagate and promote their own ideological standpoints. They use multiple discursive strategies in order to present their counterparts in negative colors. In doing so, they intend to ideologically influence their readers into believing that the opposite side is to be blamed for all the negative aspects associated with terror-related incidents. In similar vein, they present their own side as the good side. The qualitative analysis thus clarifies and strengthens van Dijk's (1996, 1998) viewpoint that the Us and Them ideology gets visible in the linguistic and discursive choices that print media regularly makes.

4.4 Summary

This chapter includes all the corpus selected materials to find out the ideological conflict between India and Pakistan presented in the text of editorials produced on terrorism in the region. The analysis of keywords, multi keywords, binomials, pronouns and collocations is done in this section of the research. The researcher also interpreted the ideological square of Van Dijk analysis of the text in this section. In the coming section, I will present a brief conclusion of findings of the research study in the light of the results discussed in the present chapter above.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This research sets out to explore how conflicting ideologies get represented in editorial discourses of two leading English newspapers from Pakistan and India. Interest in the topic was manifold. Firstly, the two countries – Pakistan and India – have been arch enemies since the very inception of both the countries. It was therefore worthwhile to explore how they position themselves through media discourse. Secondly, the scourge of terrorism has devastated the region in the first two decades of this century. It was believed that a corpus-based critical discourse analysis would give an in-depth idea about the ways in which the onus of terrorism was placed on each other, thereby leading to positive self-description and negative other-description (van Dijk, 1996). Thirdly, because of having a past history of rivalry, the ideologies that are generated, propagated and promoted generally relate to all aspects of human life such as religion, culture, economy, warfare, as well as politics. It was deemed worthy of exploration how the two countries positioned themselves against each other at the world stage of print media. It was also considered necessary to explore how the institution of print media and the genre of editorials was exploited to achieve immediate and long-term strategic goals in the subcontinent region. For achieving these aims, the period between 2008 and 2016 was purposively selected since several significant terror attacks occurred on both sides of the border during this time period. Within this period, two leading newspapers from both the countries – The News International from Pakistan and Times of India from India – were again purposively selected because of their extensive readership and international outreach. Within these newspapers, editorials were purposively selected on the basis of their relationship to terrorism and their mentioning of the traditional Pakistan-India rivalry. A total of fifteen major terrorist attacks in India and fifteen suicide attacks in Pakistan during the selected period were focused on. A corpus of the selected data was then created and the text was analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively through a corpus-based discourse analytic approach. First, the keywords, multikey words, pronouns, binomials and collocations were gleaned out of the data to see how and in what ways they projected conflicting ideologies. For the analysis of the quantitative data, van Dijk's (1996) theoretical orientation was used

to explore how group membership, activities, goals, values, and position as ideological categories were determined in the data to portray conflicting ideologies. The data were then analyzed qualitatively by exploring how these linguistic categories get used in the text as discourse episodes. Applying a critical discourse orientation, the study explored how lexical items, propositions, implications, presuppositions, descriptions, local and global coherence as discourse strategies (van Dijk, 1996) brought out the conflicting ideologies of us and them in the data. The major findings gleaned from the data are discussed below.

5.1 Major Findings

An extensive analysis of the data comprising selected 2008-2016 editorials from two leading newspapers revealed several major findings. The salient findings in relation to each research question are provided below.

The first research question attempted to quantitatively explore the conflicting themes in the corpus of selected editorials on terrorism from 2008 to 2016. The following conflicting themes were found.

- The very first theme that emerged from quantitative analysis was that of group membership. The two newspapers consistently used keywords, binomials and pronouns to clearly pronounce their group membership. These linguistic aspects highlighted the positive ingroup-description and negative outgroup-description. For instance, Pakistan was consistently labelled as a terrorist, militarized, and failed state by the Indian newspapers, whereas India was labelled as a country with weak security apparatus, a state that promotes jingoism, and a state that frequently resorts to blame game.

- Secondly, the two countries blamed each other for hostile activities in their countries. For instance, the Pakistani newspaper projected India to be involved in activities such as atrocities against Muslims, subversive intelligence against Pakistan, and isolation of Pakistan, whereas the Indian newspaper dubbed Pakistan to be involved in activities like bomb-blasts, illegal infiltrations, and militancy.

- Thirdly, the goals that India and Pakistan wanted to realize were also salient in the quantitative analysis of the editorials. For instance, Pakistan wants parleys and

dialogue, whereas India wants the international community to take action against Pakistan.

- Fourthly, both the newspapers project conflicting values. The Pakistani newspaper projects peace and collaboration as values in relation to terrorism, whereas the Indian newspaper projects stringent action against jihadi outfits.

- Lastly, the editorials in the Pakistani newspaper position Pakistan as a victim of terrorism and India as a country that fans terrorism in Pakistan. The Indian newspaper editorials, on the other hand, position India as a peaceful and democratic country with support from international allies, whereas it positions Pakistan as an isolated, terror-infested, and autocratic state.

Conflicting ideologies thus come to the fore through the conflicting themes of group membership, activities, goals, values, and position. The Us and Them dichotomy (van Dijk, 1996) thus becomes clearly visible in the quantitative analysis of the corpus data.

The second research question aimed to qualitatively explore how conflicting themes are represented by the selected newspapers in order to portray conflicting ideologies. The major findings included several conflicting themes that were represented through various discourse strategies.

- The very first discourse strategy that the two newspapers employed to represent conflicting ideologies was the use of lexical items. Different values and norms were employed to make value judgements against each other. For instance, TNI used lexical items such as 'fear and trepidation', ill-thought-through rhetoric', and 'aggressive tone' to represent the actions of India and lexical items such as 'maturity', 'open offers', and 'sift response' were used to represent Pakistan. Similarly, TOI used lexical items such as 'snuffed out', 'default crisis impulse', and 'rachet up temperature' to portray Pakistan in negative colors, and lexical items such as 'bilateral pressure', 'capable enough', and 'prevented from reaching key area' to present its own government in a positive connotation.

- The second discourse strategy employed was that of propositions, that is, value statements that are aimed to present own side in a positive and other side in a

negative manner. The TNI used statements such as 'New Delhi should be ashamed of its behavior', 'There is much justification for the anger many ordinary citizens feel towards India' to make propositions against India, and statements such as 'There is as yet little by way of concrete evidence that those involved in Mumbai attacks originated in, and were trained and resourced by, Pakistan', and 'This would of course prove accurate Pakistan's warnings that New Delhi had too swiftly jumped to judgement by blaming Pakistan' to represent their own side in a positive manner. The TOI, on the other hand, made use of statements such as 'Pakistan will use US dependence on its cooperation to wage a low-grade asymmetric, terrorism-backed war against India' 'using the dramatic illustration of a hand-grenade in the colors of Pakistan's national flag', among many, were used to negatively portray Pakistan.

- The third discourse strategy employed to represent conflicting ideologies was that of implications, that is, they expressed opinions that were implied, but not specific (van Dijk, 1996). For instance, TNI used the discursive strategy of implication to insinuate that the Mumbai attacks in India were an inside job. Likewise, TOI used discourse strategy that implied that the attack was carried out by a Pakistani terrorist outfit that was well-trained.

- The fourth discourse strategy related to presuppositions, which refer to the embodiment of opinions that may not be necessarily true but which are presented as propositions (van Dijk, 1996). Again, the two newspapers made use of the strategy to presuppose events and actions in the context of the two countries, in an attempt to present others in a negative and self in a positive picture. For instance, TNI attempts to mitigate the role of Pakistan in Mumbai attacks through presupposition, by stating: 'There is as yet little by way of concrete evidence that those involved in the Mumbai attack originated in, and were trained and resourced by, Pakistan'. In similar vein, TOI conveniently presupposes in one of its editorials that the Mumbai attack aimed to sabotage US-India ties. It then links this presupposition with the role of Pakistan, implicating the presence of conflicting ideology. Towards the end, the article again presupposes that Pakistan's existence is premised on Indian enmity. It is clear how the discourse strategy of

presupposition has been used for negative outgroup-description (van Dijk, 1996). This anti-Pakistan mantra and mostly untrue presuppositions are present across different editorials.

- The fifth discourse strategy that the two newspapers used to represent conflicting ideologies was descriptions, that is, some of the events were described at a very specific level, whereas others were described at the general level in order to heighten or mitigate positive or negative presentation of each other. For instance, one of the editorials in TNI, in an attempt to specify the peace negotiations between the two countries and portray India's role negatively, states: 'This kind of uncontrolled rage released by India against Pakistan is deeply troubling'. It goes on to describe the peace efforts that need to be initiated in a general manner, in an attempt to portray the Pakistani side in a positive manner. In an almost similar response, drawing on specificity in descriptions (van Dijk, 1996), one of the editorials from TOI during the similar timeframe states: 'There is no denying that much of the blame for the current scenario has to be borne by Pakistan'. The discourse strategy of description is thus effectively employed by the Pakistani and Indian newspaper to project each other in a positive or negative manner and present themselves in a positive one.

- The sixth discourse strategy employed by the two newspapers to represent their conflicting ideologies is that of semantic moves, i.e., disclaimers in which one clause or sentence attempts to portray a positive picture, but the next one relates it to a negative phenomenon (van Dijk, 1996). TNI, for instance, states in one of the editorials: 'There is some reason to suspect they have struck again. But regardless of whether or not this is accurate, the problem is that in the Indian mind, the links between Muslim groups and bombing of course implicates Pakistan'. It is visible how the newspaper positions the two statements in order to make semantic moves. Similarly, one of the TOI editorials states: 'This attack has been contained, but it follows a fixed pattern'. The editorial first portrays a positive outlook of the actions taken by security agencies in relation to the Pathankot incident, but makes a shifting semantic move to critique the pattern of the attack. The two newspapers thus make

consistent semantic moves to project conflicting ideologies in the backdrop of Indo-Pak rivalry.

- The seventh discourse strategy for representation of conflicting ideologies in the editorials of the two newspapers pertained to local coherence, i.e. a discursive strategy where several propositions are connected to each other at the local or specific level to either positively represent self or negatively represent other. For instance, TNI, in one of the editorials related to Mumbai incident, states: A warning here must, however, be delivered. In principle, at least, a building of consensus is almost always a positive process. This is especially true within a nation as fractured as is the Pakistan of today'. The editorial connects several propositions together to carve out a strategy for Pakistan that presents it in a positive manner. The TOI, on the other hand, states in one of its editorials related to the Pathankot incident: 'Exactly a week after Prime Minister Narendra Modi touched down in Lahore to meet Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, the terror attack on the Pathankot Indian Air Force base has come as the first big challenge to his new peace initiative with Pakistan'.

- The last discourse strategy that the two newspapers employed to represent each other and themselves was global coherence. That is, events were linked at the general and larger level to the extent of paragraphs and macrostructures (van Dijk, 1996). For instance, TNI stated in one of its editorials: 'We must find a way and a will to fight back to defend our sovereignty and to reestablish the image of our religion'. It is clear that the editorial is attempting to link the terrorism problem at the larger level to Muslim identity. In similar fashion, the TOI states in one of its editorials: 'Pakistan maintains that its core dispute with India is over Jammu and Kashmir. But it is not one that Islamabad is willing to adjudicate peacefully, which alarms the international community'. The editorial is attempting to present Pakistan in a negative light by connecting its internal problems with the international community. The two newspapers thus make use of global coherence within and across different editorials to promote and propagate conflicting ideologies in the context of the subcontinent.

5.1.1 Salience of the Findings

As is visible from the summary of major findings, the editorials in the two newspapers use discursive strategies that reflect the problem of terrorism in a conflicting manner rather than a collaborative one. More specifically, each of the newspapers portray and represent ideologies that are in direct contrast with lasting peace in the region. The Us and Them dichotomy is brought forward and played upon by the editorials of both the newspapers in order to sway the public opinion (van Dijk, 1996). Linguistic resources are purposively employed to present events and actions that either lead to positive self-presentation or negative other-presentation (van Dijk, 1998). Activization is intentionally used to either project the bad actions of the opposing side or good actions of one's own side; alternatively, passivization is used to either dilute the good actions of the opposing side or the bad actions of one's own side (van Dijk, 2012).

In order to project Pakistan and India as ideologically different groups, propositions, implications, and presuppositions are made to solidify in-grouping and out-grouping. Model verbs are effectively employed to show the ability of dominance and to assure the ability to take action and subjugate each other. More importantly, all the *positive attributions of us* are brought to the surface and *negative attributions of us,* as evidently discussed in the chapter IV, are pushed to the background; similarly, *the negative qualities of them* are foregrounded and *the positive qualities of them* are backgrounded (van Dijk, 1996). Inclusions and exclusions are also systematically introduced by presenting others in a negative light and self in a positive one. To divert the attentions of the international community from Kashmir, India fully tries to exclude Kashmir issue within the text. To support this theme, the text of *The Times of India* is projected in such a way that *India and US*, *India and Afghanistan*, *Pakistan and terror*, *Pakistan and blasts* etc. are collocated and presented frequently. As the results of the study show, in the editorials of the Indian newspaper, the words such as 'Pakistan', 'Pakistani', 'terror' 'attacks', 'Islamabad', 'terrorism' etc. have high frequency in the editorials. It shows that these words are now and again distributed among the masses to shape their minds in certain direction. Similarly, the results of the keywords analysis show that in the Indian newspaper editorials, words like 'Pakistan', 'Pakistani, 'Jihadi', 'attacks' are represented with high frequency and they show their association with the country, the people living in a specific country and the

purpose behind doing jihad in the area. Therefore, it tries to link Pakistan and word jihad with the word like terrorism and terrorists. Pakistan is represented with the frequency of 233, Pakistani with 71 and terror with 133. Further, binominals are also used in the Indian newspaper to relate terrorism with Pakistan. This showed that the most frequently used binominals include 'political and religious' 'network and Lashkar-e-taiba' 'militant and sectarian' 'mastermind and lashkar-e-taiba' 'ulma-e-islam and violent' 'sunni and shia' 'lashkar-e-taiba and hafiz' 'lashkar and jaish' and 'india or jihadi' are used to relate a specific religion with the menace of terrorism. This is the inclusion of Islam in the ideological construction of terrorism in the region. It is thus clear that political interests are being served through ideological reformulation of the newspaper readership.

The enormity of editorials focusing on terror-related incidents in the two countries is significant. The newspapers of both the countries regularly draw on the traditional rivalry between the two countries to support their own ideological stances vis-à-vis terrorism. Since both the countries suffered from terrorism-related incidents during the under-study period, it was expected that they would collaborate and cooperate with each other as neighbouring countries to get rid of this menace. However, the issue of terrorism is played around, with each newspaper building a contrasting narrative about events and actions related to terrorism, with the result that the ideological stances promoted by the two newspapers are conflicting. The analysis show how sociopolitical forces at the macro level have a dominant influence of the ideologies that are presented and promoted through print media (van Dijk, 2012).

A critical discourse analysis of the data, which drew on the earlier corpus analysis to better understand the linguistic strategies, shows revealing information about the depth of Us and Them ideology present in the editorials of the two under-study newspapers. Whether be it lexical items or propositions, or whether it is descriptions or implications, the discourse strategies are consistently used to show the opposing side in a negative light. Pakistan is therefore presented as a country infected with terrorism by the Indian newspaper. India, on the other hand, is presented as a country facing home-grown militancy by the Pakistani newspaper. There are these conflicting themes that emerge from the analysis of the data.

The discursive strategies used in the newspaper editorials of both the countries are in sharp contradiction with those of one another, signifying the ideological conflict between the two countries. The Indian newspaper makes constant attempts to project the theme of war and terrorism in way where it projects India's good image and Pakistan's bad image. For instance, it uses labels such as *surgical strikes* and *aerial attacks* as an indication of superiority over Pakistan and its security forces. The India text is thus instrumental and authoritative in the context of terrorism (House, 1997). Collocations such as *Pakistan must, Pakistan has, Pakistan can, Pakistan should* etc. have been used to portray a theme of dominance and to command Pakistan to take action against terrorist. Contrarily, the Pakistani newspaper editorials carry a conciliatory tone, and themes such as *dialogue* and *table talks* are developed in the text. Additionally, the Pakistani newspaper produces words like *false allegations, insufficient proofs, blame game* etc. to portray India as a country which just blames others and is unwilling to discuss the core issues. It is thus evident that conflicting themes are at play throughout the editorials during the under-study period.

5.2 Recommendations for Future Research

Based on a thorough quantitative and qualitative analysis, this study found conflicting ideologies represented in the editorials of the two Indian and Pakistani English newspapers through the use of varying discursive strategies. Several avenues of the problem, however, opened during the research process of this study. The following recommendations are therefore made to guide the future researchers interested in the area:

While the study was purposively delimited to only two leading English newspapers, it was felt that a larger corpus of all English newspapers from the two countries may have given a deeper insight into the conflicting ideologies at play in the print media. The future researchers may, therefore, consider exploring conflicting ideologies in the editorials across all the English newspapers from both the countries.

This study specifically focused on the editorials in the two newspapers. However, the headlines, columns, and letters to the editor may also have insightful discourse strategies that could elucidate the nature of conflicting ideologies further. The future researchers may therefore focus on how conflicting ideologies get represented in these sections of the print media.

Whereas this study focused on print media only, future research may look into how electronic and social media play a role in promoting and propagating particular ideologies.

This study focused on terror-related incidents in the two countries. However, several other disputes exist between the two rivals. Line of control and water distribution issues are the dominant ones. Future research may explore whether and how conflicting ideologies are reflected in editorials or columns focused on these contentious issues.

While van Dijk proved to be the most suitable scholar for drawing theoretical and analytical orientation from, future researchers may employ other theorists to explore conflicting ideologies in the case of subcontinent.

Similarly, while Jackson's view of Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS) has been used as a theoretical orientation for this study, several other models exist in the field of CTS that can be jointly used with CDA to explore terrorism-related discourses.

Lastly, the findings of this study may be helpful for policymakers and organizations who wish to bring peaceful co-existence to this region. The stakeholders can benefit from this research by understanding how linguistic structures and discursive strategies are used to influence readers.

5.3 Conclusion

This research contributes significantly to the field of corpus-based critical discourse analysis by delving into the conflicting ideologies that the print media of Pakistan and India promote and propagate. It further contributes to the wider readership by letting them know how and in what ways their opinions are shaped through discursive strategies used in the editorials of print media. It is clear that without diluting the severity of the ideological conflict, the Indo-Pak rivalry may linger on. The study therefore contributes towards promotion of peaceful coexistence between the two countries by identifying the discursive dimensions of ideologies. Overall, the study is expected to help the future researchers better understand how ideologies get enacted in text and talk.

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APPENDIX A

Corpus Analysis: The News International

1. Sample Binominals in *The News International*

Binomial	Frequency
India and Pakistan	14
Pakistan and India	11
law and order	5
Pakistan and Afghanistan	3
Delhi and Islamabad	3
trust and rapport	2
thinkable but also	2
state and government	2
quality or veracity	2
political or diplomatic	2
investigation and interrogation	2
glare and therefore	2
external or internal	2
discretion and deniability	2
current and former	2
bureaucratic and political	2
blood and water	2
baggage and divergence	2
ambassador and military	2
again and again	2
US and other	2
Science and World	2
Raw and Asad	2
CIA and KGB	2
will and political	1
will and Nawaz	1
western and Israeli	1
well-meant but inept	1
weekend and ahead	1
weaponry and body	1
weak and feeble	1
war and have	1

vision and wisdom	1
vision and character	1
visible and vocal	1
violence and bloodshed	1
veiled and direct	1
vast and diverse	1
vapid and repetitive	1
vapid and inarticulate	1
unjust and inhuman	1
understanding and empathy	1
unarmed and unsuspecting	1
try and take	1
try and sentence	1
troubling and simply	1
travel and communication	1
transparent and willing	1
town and city	1
tolerance and justice	1
together and put	1
together and find	1
time and time	1
time and regrettably	1
time and again	1
thick and fast	1
there and take	1
terrorism and ensure	1
tenuous or non-existent	1
sympathy or support	1
sustained and deadly	1
support both inside	1
suffering and great	1
strong and emotional	1
strategy and even	1
strategic and ideological	1
stock and consider	1
statement and also	1
state but generally	1
state and society	1
sorrow and observed	1

society and discover	1
smart and humane	1
small and select	1
slow and measured	1
slow and incremental	1
situation and save	1
situation and build	1
silence and many	1
shore and then	1
self-sacrifice and courage	1
security and sovereignty	1
security and law-enforcement	1
security and intelligence	1
security and integrity	1
school or even	1
robustly and conclusively	1
ridicule and suspicion	1
resentment and disunity	1
reputation and move	1
reporting and commentary	1
reflection and serious	1
reality but also	1
reality and act	1
rage and frustration	1
quickly and irrevocably	1
provincial and federal	1
province and cause	1
protection and protocol	1
protection and aid	1
protect and preserve	1
propaganda and hostility	1
proof or evidence	1
pride and acquire	1
prevail and keep	1
preen and parade	1
poverty and squalor	1

2   Sample Multi Keywords in *The News International*

Multiword Term	Keyness Score	Frequency in News Intl	Frequency in BNC
intelligence cooperation	287.43	10	0
pakistani involvement	169.97	6	2
indian security	157.57	6	11
blame game	140.56	5	3
military operation	129.19	6	38
army chief	123.37	5	19
militant threat	115.57	4	0
suicide bomber	111.67	4	4
security apparatus	98.86	4	19
militant group	86.93	3	0
home ministry	86.24	3	1
maximum damage	81.86	3	7
afghan army	81.17	3	8
terrorist violence	79.83	3	10
chief minister	79.54	4	51
security situation	72.82	4	66
interior minister	69.1	3	29
unnecessary acrimony	58.29	2	0
box approach	58.29	2	0
past baggage	58.29	2	0
suicide blast	58.29	2	0
nuclear bogey	58.29	2	0
ideal back channel	58.29	2	0
secret channel	58.29	2	0
indo-pak intelligence cooperation	58.29	2	0
overt intelligence cooperation	58.29	2	0
counterterrorism effort	58.29	2	0
endless exchange	58.29	2	0
petty harassment	58.29	2	0
long standing ill-will	58.29	2	0
standing ill-will	58.29	2	0
mumbai-like incident	58.29	2	0
beneficial information	58.29	2	0
indian intelligence	58.29	2	0
indo-pak intelligence	58.29	2	0
overt intelligence	58.29	2	0

possible pakistani involvement	58.29	2	0
causal linkage	58.29	2	0
preventive mechanism	58.29	2	0
militant menace	58.29	2	0
sikh militancy	58.29	2	0
extremist mindset	58.29	2	0
unintended mobilisation	58.29	2	0
intelligence nature	58.29	2	0
intelligence reform	58.29	2	0
civilian setup	58.29	2	0
functional system of exchanging information	58.29	2	0
system of exchanging information	58.29	2	0
muslim terrorism	58.29	2	0
missile testing	58.29	2	0
deadly attack	57.82	2	1
terror attack	57.82	2	1
meaningful cooperation	57.82	2	1
exchange of intelligence information	57.82	2	1
outside involvement	57.82	2	1
indian occupation	57.82	2	1
foremost priority	57.82	2	1
present scenario	57.82	2	1
ongoing war	57.82	2	1
suicide bombing	57.31	2	2
internal front	57.31	2	2
public glare	57.31	2	2
apparent impunity	57.31	2	2
military installation	56.81	2	3
foreign secretary level	56.81	2	3
muslim majority	56.81	2	3
revolutionary step	56.81	2	3
functional system	56.81	2	3
back channel	56.31	2	4
such cooperation	56.31	2	4
necessary ground	56.31	2	4
secretary level	55.35	2	6
grim reminder	55.35	2	6
unknown group	54.88	2	7
serious option	54.88	2	7

critical interest	54.42	2	8
former policy	54.42	2	8
national mourning	53.97	2	9
intelligence information	53.52	2	10
joint paper	53.52	2	10
positive development	52.27	2	13
information sharing	52.27	2	13
christian community	52.15	3	75
foreign secretary	51.87	3	76
exchanging information	49.86	2	19
political dialogue	48.77	2	22
entire community	48.05	2	24
sharing information	47	2	27
time something	46.67	2	28
national security	46.66	5	235
prime minister	45.85	15	943
provincial government	45.71	2	31
islamic world	45.71	2	31
entire country	45.39	2	32
common approach	44.77	2	34
own security	44.46	2	35
new chapter	43.86	2	37
same page	43.86	2	37
regional security	43.56	2	38
terrorist attack	43.27	2	39
serious thought	43.27	2	39
foreign minister	42.95	4	190
political dimension	41.9	2	44
death sentence	41.69	3	122
second opinion	40.59	2	49
peace process	37.57	5	319
death toll	36.82	3	153
immediate aftermath	35.91	2	70
military base	35.91	2	70
indian government	35.74	2	71
added advantage	35.54	2	72
political leadership	33.71	2	82
international community	29.93	3	214
last apc	29.64	1	0

3   Sample Single Keywords in *The News International*

Single Word Term	Keyness Score	Frequency in News International	Frequency in BNC
Mumbai	1988.34	70	1
TTP	901.54	32	2
Peshawar	608.74	32	57
Quetta	589.2	22	8
Islamabad	507.8	33	97
Balochistan	430.65	15	0
Nawaz	361.31	21	75
Pakistan	358.88	209	1762
Pathankot	316.08	11	0
Karachi	306.5	20	98
Sharif	290.55	26	176
Taliban	287.43	10	0
Fazlullah	287.43	10	0
Modi	272.79	20	124
Lahore	271.08	16	78
Narendra	249.89	9	4
Nisar	224.16	8	3
Kashmir	218.95	27	285
ISI	213.24	9	24
counterterrorism	199.73	7	1
Waziristan	194.58	7	4
militant	192.66	58	857
Zardari	186.56	7	9
terrorism	174.01	40	628
Punjab	173.85	21	277
Raheel	172.86	6	0
militancy	171.02	18	227
mindset	156.18	6	12
Ghani	153.71	6	14
Azhar	153.71	6	14
Mullah	152.5	6	15
Kashmiri	143.88	7	45
extremist	141.37	23	412
extremism	140.9	9	94
Haqqani	140.47	5	3
APC	138.59	7	51

Pakistani	130.71	25	504
Manmohan	129.26	5	13
Afghanistan	129.15	30	636
Imran	126.23	7	67
India	125.09	184	4622
Delhi	124.93	27	584
Uri	122.64	6	46
terrorist	118.26	59	1494
carnage	115.6	10	167
Wagah	115.57	4	0
Pakhtunkhwa	115.57	4	0
JATM	115.57	4	0
Swat	114.55	4	1
Qadri	114.55	4	1
thinkable	107.89	4	8
Eid	107.89	4	8
Ashraf	107.77	5	38
Asif	107.05	5	39
Ahmedabad	105.27	4	11
Shia	102.23	11	235
normalcy	101.17	4	16
mayhem	96.71	8	155
Khyber	95.93	4	23
Indus	91.36	5	65
Marriott	89.35	6	105
Kasab	86.93	3	0
Hazara	86.93	3	0
COAS	86.93	3	0
Bacha	86.93	3	0
Multan	85.41	3	2
Kunar	85.41	3	2
Jaipur	84.67	4	41
Jem	84.23	5	80
Durrani	83.94	3	4
Maulana	83.23	3	5
Ahmedi	83.23	3	5
Muslim	82.97	37	1324
Masood	82.52	3	6
Chaudhry	81.83	3	7

Afghan	81.01	11	326
PTI	80.48	3	9
cooperation	76.33	31	1196
detonate	75.17	6	146
Raw	74.47	4	62
Guru	71.11	3	25
CCTV	71.11	3	25
drone	71.03	9	297
inhumanity	68.57	4	77
Gujarat	63.69	3	41
perpetrator	62.58	6	198
intelligence	62.27	58	2887
impunity	61.44	4	99
bombing	60	23	1123
BJP	59.49	5	160
dharna	58.29	2	0
Samjhota	58.29	2	0
Samjhauta	58.29	2	0
NDTV	58.29	2	0
Mehsud	58.29	2	0
Malegaon	58.29	2	0
Mahar	58.29	2	0
Karzai	58.29	2	0
Jundallah	58.29	2	0
Jamaatul	58.29	2	0
HuJI	58.29	2	0
Gurdaspur	58.29	2	0
Faridkot	58.29	2	0
Dulat	58.29	2	0
DGMO	58.29	2	0
CPEC	58.29	2	0
Barkha	58.29	2	0
Ahmedis	58.29	2	0
Muslims	58.06	8	333
Obama	57.77	2	1
Ajmal	57.77	2	1
Ahrar	57.77	2	1
Rs1	57.27	2	2

4   Sample Pronouns in *The News International*

lemma	frequency	per million
it	326	5661.49144
we	209	3629.60647
they	140	2431.31534
its	114	1979.78535
their	113	1962.41881
our	96	1667.18766
us	57	989.89267
them	53	920.42652
his	37	642.56191
he	32	555.72922
I	16	277.86461
my	15	260.49807
one	14	243.13153
you	13	225.765
themselves	13	225.765
itself	11	191.03192
him	8	138.93231
your	7	121.56577
she	7	121.56577
her	6	104.19923
himself	4	69.46615
ourselves	3	52.09961
me	2	34.73308
yours	1	17.36654
myself	1	17.36654
herself	1	17.36654

5 Sample Colocations in *The News International*

Target word	Collocate	Collocation frequency	Collocate frequency	T-score	MI	logDice	log likelihood
relation	new	4	23	1.9974	9.58933	11.83007	47.30105
relation	countries	6	60	2.44396	8.79096	11.39514	65.0882
relation	between	7	80	2.63892	8.59832	11.2682	74.80588
relation	two	6	90	2.44119	8.206	10.89846	60.01805
relation	a	3	921	1.612	3.8508	6.71768	11.09881
relation	to	5	1703	2.06412	3.70096	6.57709	18.37819
relation	of	4	1482	1.83271	3.57956	6.45407	13.7089
relation	the	8	3116	2.57971	3.50741	6.38851	29.91773
crisis	could	3	68	1.72114	7.31083	10.19265	25.16982
crisis	that	5	750	2.14287	4.58451	7.74073	23.85368
crisis	of	6	1482	2.28137	3.86496	7.03614	23.29093
crisis	in	4	1144	1.84106	3.65346	6.82009	13.84843
crisis	a	3	921	1.5843	3.55124	6.71306	9.79809
crisis	to	5	1703	2.02444	3.4014	6.57457	16.00631
crisis	the	3	3116	1.23217	1.79281	4.97209	3.50549
crisis	intelligence	4	66	1.99198	7.96158	10.67807	37.68768
crisis	on	5	459	2.18616	5.48555	8.43623	30.2667
crisis	of	5	1482	2.07493	3.79457	6.77503	18.83325
crisis	to	5	1703	2.0509	3.59404	6.57625	17.51213
crisis	the	8	3116	2.56058	3.4005	6.38805	28.23055
terrorist	struck	3	16	1.72259	7.51565	10.35614	26.03843
terrorist	violence	3	29	1.7149	6.65767	10.12553	22.21575
terrorist	Mumbai	5	88	2.19574	5.79318	10.12226	31.03659

terrorist	our	5	103	2.18887	5.56611	9.98208	29.44798
terrorist	attacks	5	105	2.18795	5.53837	9.96438	29.25465
terrorist	who	5	155	2.16504	4.97649	9.58046	25.37512
terrorist	groups	3	84	1.68236	5.12333	9.42509	15.72857
terrorist	by	7	283	2.53615	4.59338	9.3895	32.11364
terrorist	after	3	97	1.67467	4.91574	9.29956	14.87585
terrorist	no	3	120	1.66106	4.60876	9.10115	13.62589
terrorist	Pakistan	7	366	2.50401	4.22234	9.07604	28.62401
terrorist	will	4	202	1.89651	4.27248	8.97209	16.42773
terrorist	that	11	750	3.08492	3.83937	8.79944	40.14001
terrorist	have	6	421	2.27338	3.79797	8.67807	21.07508
terrorist	we	3	185	1.62261	3.98427	8.65423	11.12881
terrorist	of	17	1482	3.75482	3.48482	8.49781	55.93485
terrorist	from	3	229	1.59658	3.67645	8.41504	9.92511
terrorist	the	31	3116	4.99433	3.2794	8.32166	102.57298
terrorist	The	4	398	1.7961	3.29406	8.16395	11.33942
terrorist	has	4	404	1.79303	3.27248	8.14513	11.23066
terrorist	are	3	295	1.55754	3.31108	8.11736	8.52575
terrorist	on	4	459	1.76485	3.08834	7.98319	10.31072
terrorist	in	9	1144	2.60928	2.94074	7.9375	22.20071
terrorist	as	3	353	1.52323	3.05213	7.89846	7.55725
terrorist	for	3	378	1.50844	2.95341	7.81347	7.19396
terrorist	to	11	1703	2.79051	2.65626	7.67643	23.63161
terrorist	a	6	921	2.06423	2.66859	7.64832	12.56612
terrorist	and	7	1262	2.15701	2.43655	7.43994	12.84097
allegation	of	3	1482	1.61318	3.86496	6.04387	11.64005
allegation	the	3	3116	1.48211	2.79281	4.97578	7.47352
militant	threat	4	21	1.98942	7.56303	10.69622	35.06791

militant	groups	7	84	2.61377	6.37039	10.65761	49.43561
militant	struck	3	16	1.72275	7.54031	10.37551	26.14326
militant	set	3	16	1.72275	7.54031	10.37551	26.14326
militant	killed	4	43	1.97834	6.52908	10.34179	28.9445
militant	when	5	79	2.20048	5.9735	10.2239	32.30841
militant	group	3	37	1.71053	6.33086	10.01511	20.80216
militant	were	5	157	2.16535	4.98266	9.57374	25.42198
militant	so	3	81	1.68495	5.20046	9.46602	16.04757
militant	after	3	97	1.67564	4.9404	9.30884	14.97787
militant	will	5	202	2.14508	4.61907	9.29956	22.94874
militant	against	3	101	1.67332	4.8821	9.27208	14.73932
militant	our	3	103	1.67215	4.85381	9.25405	14.62374
militant	attacks	3	105	1.67099	4.82607	9.23623	14.51048
militant	who	3	155	1.64191	4.26419	8.85025	12.24137
militant	from	4	229	1.88467	4.11615	8.83509	15.60025
militant	they	3	159	1.63959	4.22743	8.82341	12.09468
militant	attack	3	162	1.63784	4.20046	8.8036	11.98722
militant	have	6	421	2.27637	3.82264	8.68108	21.27703
militant	not	4	273	1.86251	3.86259	8.62931	14.2658
militant	Pakistan	5	366	2.0712	3.76158	8.59401	17.25244
militant	is	9	730	2.7549	3.61352	8.54787	29.90518

APPENDIX B

Corpus Analysis: The Times of India

1. **Sample Binominals in *The Times of India***

Binomials	Frequency
India and Pakistan	5
Delhi and Islamabad	4
military and intelligence	3
India and UAE	3
tooth and nail	2
good and bad	2
Washington and New	2
Pakistan and terrorism	2
Jammu and Kashmir	2
India and Afghanistan	2
ISI and election	2
China and West	2
Bangalore and Ahmedabad	2
writing and use	1
worship and communally	1
world but ironically	1
western and eastern	1
west and punishment	1
veteran and professional	1
uncertainty and helplessness	1
training and readiness	1
trade and connectivity	1
tough and direct	1
theatre and also	1
tall and stockily	1
surveillance and satellite-based	1
surveillance and physical	1
support and invite	1
state and about	1
staid and doughty	1
sound and fury	1
sophisticated and supple	1

sophisticated and commercially	1
slowly and subtly	1
simple and stark	1
shaky and slippery	1
security and then	1
security and intelligence	1
secretary and Coast	1
resilience and hope	1
railway and bus	1
preparedness but i	1
power or water	1
power and wealth	1
poverty and extremism	1
political and security	1
political and religious	1
political and military	1
political and diplomatic	1
place and execute	1
peace and security	1
order and special	1
operation or prolonged	1
open but business	1
open and multicultural	1
occupation and ethnic	1
notional but pertinent	1
network and Lashkar-e-Taiba	1
nation and Bonalu	1
music and macho-comic	1
moral and military	1
miscommunication and Islamabad	1
military and strategic	1
militant and sectarian	1
mastermind and Lashkar-e-Taiba	1
man and meeting	1
maintain but also	1
lifeline and jugular	1
life and terrorist	1
law and order	1
journalist and Baba	1

investigative and judicial	1
international and bilateral	1
intelligence and security	1
insecurity and frustration	1
hopelessness and frustration	1
heavy or diplomatic	1
heart and soul	1
gun and put	1
guesswork but security	1
guard but do	1
government and security	1
government and hence	1
geopolitical and ideological	1
force and army	1
family and even	1
failure or action	1
email and video	1
do but then	1
detain or question	1
defensive and offensive	1
death and terror	1
dark and frightening	1
crowded and soft	1
court and take	1
country and run	1
country and cause	1
cooperation and establish	1
control and guide	1
contain and roll	1
community and other	1
civilian and security	1
city and even	1
chaos and protect	1
chaos and bring	1
bandh and attendance	1

2   **Sample Multi Keywords in** *The Times of India*

Multiword term	Keyness score	Frequency in Times of India	Frequency in BNC
terror attack	963.74	22	1
pakistani establishment	309.78	7	0
pakistani army	215.94	5	3
terror strike	177.44	4	0
home minister	169.97	4	5
indian security	161.75	4	11
civilian government	156.25	5	47
afghan front	133.33	3	0
civilian leadership	133.33	3	0
hostile posture	133.33	3	0
pakistani military	132.28	3	1
religious radicalism	132.28	3	1
security cooperation	131.1	3	2
strategic depth	129.95	3	3
foreign secretary level	129.95	3	3
international border	126.62	3	6
secretary level	126.62	3	6
city police	126.62	3	6
chief minister	122.12	4	51
border security	120.55	3	12
ammonium nitrate	119.58	3	13
big challenge	114.06	3	19
police training	106.75	3	28
international community	106.67	7	214
foreign secretary	105.87	4	76
dangerous place	99.65	3	38
joint statement	99.04	5	139
rickshaw puller	89.22	2	0
police training academy	89.22	2	0
training academy	89.22	2	0
strong military action	89.22	2	0
school attack	89.22	2	0
live bomb	89.22	2	0
joint commissioner	89.22	2	0
isi-military complex	89.22	2	0
pakistani court	89.22	2	0

added strategic depth	89.22	2	0
military-intelligence establishment	89.22	2	0
world forum	89.22	2	0
security grid	89.22	2	0
hard-line military	89.22	2	0
terror monster	89.22	2	0
terror outfit	89.22	2	0
indian security preparedness	89.22	2	0
security preparedness	89.22	2	0
pakistani society	89.22	2	0
human surveillance	89.22	2	0
pakistan-based terror	89.22	2	0
terrorism tooth	89.22	2	0
fishing trawler	89.22	2	0
hostage incident	88.51	2	1
home ministry	88.51	2	1
intelligence official	88.51	2	1
low-cost option	88.51	2	1
pakistani soil	88.51	2	1
fighting terror	88.51	2	1
suicide bombing	87.73	2	2
state policy	87.43	3	59
security establishment	86.96	2	3
blame game	86.96	2	3
terrorist state	86.96	2	3
diplomatic campaign	86.2	2	4
indian soil	86.2	2	4
special team	84.73	2	6
terror group	84.01	2	7
afghan army	83.31	2	8
election commission	83.31	2	8
strategic context	83.31	2	8
eastern front	83.31	2	8
selective approach	81.93	2	10
military preparedness	81.93	2	10
military option	80.67	2	12
military action	77.18	4	146
fig leaf	75.74	2	20
splinter group	70.42	2	30

entire operation	69.98	2	31
senior police officer	69.49	2	32
defence secretary	67.13	2	37
poor light	65.8	2	40
close watch	64.98	2	42
safe haven	58.85	2	58
main gate	56.87	2	64
christian community	53.52	2	75
civil society	53.13	4	263
air base	52.12	2	80
senior police	51.6	2	82
political issue	49.08	2	92
south asia	45.11	1	1
first india-arab	45.11	1	0
moderate islam	45.11	1	0
hardline islamist	45.11	1	0
new hardline islamist	45.11	1	0
radical islamist	45.11	1	0
true muslim	45.11	1	0
v p	45.11	1	24
police pc	45.11	1	0
damage us-india	45.11	1	0
leading urdu	45.11	1	0
supremo v	45.11	1	0
evening aarti	45.11	1	0
bengali accent	45.11	1	0
external intelligence agency	45.11	1	0
spy agency	45.11	1	0
existential agenda	45.11	1	0
own existential agenda	45.11	1	0
macho-comic aggression	45.11	1	0
deep air	45.11	1	0
indian air	45.11	1	0
important airbase	45.11	1	0
independence amount	45.11	1	0
detailed post-operation analysis	45.11	1	0

3 Sample Single Keywords in *The Times of India*

Single word term	Keyness score	Frequency in Times of India	Frequency in BNC
Pathankot	1280.22	29	0
Mumbai	1050.32	24	1
Islamabad	971.1	41	97
jihadi	750.89	17	0
Taliban	618.56	14	0
Pakistan	616.1	233	1762
Pakistani	571.05	71	504
Peshawar	527.41	18	57
CRPF	525.66	12	1
jawan	442.11	10	0
ISI	436.98	12	24
terror	427.14	133	1431
Ahmedabad	402.68	10	11
Vaidik	398	9	0
Narendra	384.32	9	4
Saeed	378.16	10	19
Uri	376.27	12	46
Quetta	371.54	9	8
Modi	356.93	17	124
Jaipur	356.22	11	41
Saarc	347.7	8	2
Hanuman	335.95	8	6
Lahore	313.01	12	78
Mandir	309.78	7	0
terrorism	308.06	46	628
Mujahideen	300.41	8	20
Rampur	289.19	7	8
Simi	286.8	7	9
terrorist	277.73	90	1494
Musharraf	265.67	6	0
Kasab	265.67	6	0
Kashmir	262.19	21	285
ISIS	258.76	6	3
Hafiz	252.2	6	6
Islamist	244.49	7	30
Urdu	236.17	8	56

Delhi	227.9	32	584
Rajasthan	224.03	7	43
Osama	221.56	5	0
Obama	219.6	5	1
Haqqani	215.79	5	3
Headley	201.46	8	85
Gujarat	194.64	6	41
Sharif	189.44	11	176
Afghanistan	185.57	28	636
Pervez	177.44	4	0
Lakhvi	177.44	4	0
Kargil	177.44	4	0
Johari	177.44	4	0
counterterrorism	175.88	4	1
BSF	172.83	4	3
email	172.44	5	32
Waziristan	171.34	4	4
RDX	167.04	4	7
Bhutto	166.01	9	157
Punjab	165.76	13	277
Karachi	165.45	7	98
lawmaker	162.32	5	41
Toi	161.62	4	11
Nawaz	159.31	6	75
RSS	159.04	4	13
Hyderabad	158.19	5	45
Rawalpindi	156.54	4	15
Loc	156.21	5	47
Devi	156.21	5	47
airbase	150.54	5	53
extremism	144.64	6	94
Sharma	143.06	4	27
insurgency	139.57	5	66
India	136.1	130	4622
Wagah	133.33	3	0
Malala	133.33	3	0
DGP	133.33	3	0
Barack	133.33	3	0
Balochistan	133.33	3	0

Abbottabad	133.33	3	0
Bangalore	131.72	4	39
BJP	127.79	7	160
Pak	126.7	4	45
Pok	126.57	3	6
Nagar	125.51	3	7
Hameed	125.51	3	7
Jammu	124.86	5	87
UAE	123.67	6	129
Manmohan	119.51	3	13
Karan	115.81	3	17
blast	114.74	44	1789
extremist	113.63	12	412
Afghan	113.31	10	326
Bazar	113.18	3	20
infiltration	111.42	7	200
Farooq	102.36	3	34
fallout	101.02	4	85
handiwork	100.51	4	86
ratchet	100	4	87
operandi	99.63	3	38
GPS	98.98	3	39
dossier	96.35	5	146
rickshaw	91.15	3	52
preparedness	90.88	4	107
sharpnell	89.22	2	0
netizen	89.22	2	0
mandir	89.22	2	0
karein	89.22	2	0
insaniyat	89.22	2	0
counterterror	89.22	2	0
chup	89.22	2	0
aarti	89.22	2	0
Yousafzai	89.22	2	0
Vidyasagar	89.22	2	0
Vaishnav	89.22	2	0
Sushma	89.22	2	0

4   Sample Pronouns in *The Times of India*

lemma	frequency	per million
it	192	3334.37533
its	114	1979.78535
they	59	1024.62575
he	49	850.96037
we	46	798.86076
their	44	764.12768
his	34	590.4623
them	31	538.36268
I	22	382.06384
us	19	329.96422
our	16	277.86461
itself	13	225.765
she	12	208.39846
him	10	173.66538
my	8	138.93231
her	8	138.93231
you	7	121.56577
themselves	6	104.19923
himself	4	69.46615
your	3	52.09961
me	2	34.73308
one	1	17.36654
myself	1	17.36654

5   Sample Collocations in *The Times of India*

Target word	Collocate	Collocation frequency	Collocate frequency	T-score	MI	logDice	Log likelihood
Mumbai	train	3	12	1.72916	9.22837	11.41504	33.59952
Mumbai	local	3	20	1.72724	8.4914	11.12553	30.19303
Mumbai	terror	9	158	2.97805	7.09451	10.66213	75.01465
Mumbai	attack	7	276	2.60227	5.9272	9.57854	46.13077
Mumbai	terrorist	3	149	1.6962	5.59416	9.15033	17.82445
Mumbai	on	8	472	2.75887	5.34572	9.0458	46.70533
Mumbai	for	3	410	1.63339	4.13385	7.82341	11.90372
Mumbai	the	16	3514	3.63384	3.44947	7.21128	60.0055
Mumbai	a	4	965	1.7989	3.31398	7.05017	11.77345
Mumbai	have	3	977	1.49695	2.88112	6.61774	7.09965
Mumbai	be	4	2217	1.53798	2.11397	5.87007	6.00444
Mumbai	to	3	1703	1.32224	2.07947	5.83091	4.30402
Pakistan	India	23	314	4.5309	4.17809	10.42816	93.41721
Pakistan	to	71	1703	7.60834	3.36503	10.23088	225.70912
Pakistan	for	23	410	4.4499	3.79323	10.19489	81.43965
Pakistan	establishment	9	24	2.96763	6.53411	10.1643	67.89141
Pakistan	its	15	228	3.63477	4.02314	10.05827	57.27062
Pakistan	will	14	207	3.5178	4.06301	10.026	54.15326
Pakistan	have	34	977	5.15296	3.10439	9.84667	91.30884
Pakistan	US	8	60	2.74259	5.04225	9.80524	41.72207
Pakistan	on	19	472	3.92074	3.31443	9.78645	55.05087
Pakistan	be	66	2217	7.0198	2.87915	9.78583	166.85011
Pakistan	policy	7	29	2.6014	5.89852	9.77393	45.4691

Pakistan	civilian	7	30	2.59987	5.84961	9.76844	44.93515
Pakistan	can	10	144	2.97802	4.10115	9.76351	39.0401
Pakistan	of	45	1486	5.81185	2.90378	9.7445	111.35295
Pakistan	from	12	236	3.18843	3.65146	9.71152	39.7177
Pakistan	terror	10	158	2.9601	3.96729	9.7109	37.229
Pakistan	not	14	329	3.38586	3.39456	9.67293	41.74931
Pakistan	this	14	336	3.37829	3.36418	9.65507	41.2007
Pakistan	in	35	1232	5.07343	2.81164	9.6126	81.28509
Pakistan	a	28	965	4.55357	2.84211	9.58094	65.37729
Pakistan	by	12	289	3.12652	3.35918	9.55706	35.14944
Pakistan	as	14	382	3.32854	3.17907	9.54291	37.88868
Pakistan	that	22	765	4.03045	2.82926	9.49654	50.55734
Pakistan	and	32	1287	4.73625	2.61935	9.43014	66.47279
Pakistan	with	12	337	3.07045	3.1375	9.43014	31.76002
Pakistan	encourage	5	5	2.22702	7.94914	9.42711	55.20691
Pakistan	against	7	103	2.48822	4.07	9.41504	26.94976
Pakistan	the	70	3514	6.6671	2.29953	9.25776	128.15067
Pakistan	terrorist	7	149	2.41787	3.53733	9.22993	21.99056
Pakistan	should	6	100	2.2843	3.89025	9.20558	21.62413
Pakistan	must	6	105	2.27604	3.81986	9.18408	21.06037
Pakistan	but	8	223	2.5094	3.14824	9.16711	21.1693
Pakistan	make	6	115	2.25952	3.68862	9.14202	20.01692
Pakistan	while	5	62	2.12387	4.31688	9.11736	20.89702
Pakistan	isolate	4	7	1.98584	7.14179	9.09311	34.6114
Pakistan	do	7	209	2.32611	3.04914	9.01945	17.62949
Pakistan	itself	4	24	1.95144	5.36418	8.99438	22.6807

Pakistan	become	4	27	1.94537	5.19426	8.97763	21.67945
Pakistan	down	4	36	1.92716	4.77922	8.92854	19.28741
Pakistan	would	5	105	2.04606	3.55683	8.92105	15.7979
Pakistan	community	4	39	1.9211	4.66374	8.91254	18.63416
Pakistan	get	4	39	1.9211	4.66374	8.91254	18.63416
Pakistan	world	4	47	1.90491	4.39456	8.87072	17.13074
Pakistan	talk	4	47	1.90491	4.39456	8.87072	17.13074
Pakistan	one	5	118	2.02253	3.38843	8.8666	14.70696
Pakistan	most	4	49	1.90086	4.33443	8.86045	16.7986
Pakistan	need	5	123	2.01349	3.32856	8.84619	14.32286
Pakistan	show	4	53	1.89277	4.22122	8.84013	16.17671
Pakistan	take	5	126	2.00806	3.29379	8.83409	14.10077
Pakistan	government	5	128	2.00444	3.27107	8.82607	13.95601
Pakistan	no	5	130	2.00082	3.2487	8.8181	13.81379
Pakistan	attack	7	276	2.22364	2.64797	8.81583	14.20769
Pakistan	army	4	63	1.87254	3.97186	8.79055	14.82349
Pakistan	it	10	518	2.49945	2.25426	8.76926	15.83932
Pakistan	military	4	72	1.85433	3.77922	8.74733	13.79398
Pakistan	when	4	84	1.83005	3.55683	8.69166	12.62366
Pakistan	rip	3	6	1.71803	6.94914	8.6841	24.80445
Pakistan	terrorism	4	86	1.826	3.52288	8.68259	12.44681
Pakistan	Saarc	3	9	1.71103	6.36418	8.6661	21.68898
Pakistan	crack	3	11	1.70635	6.07468	8.65423	20.27129
Pakistan	longer	3	13	1.70168	5.83367	8.64245	19.13295
Pakistan	Pakistani	4	96	1.80577	3.36418	8.63806	11.62666