

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PORTRAYAL OF PANAMAGATE IN PAKISTANI AND BRITISH ENGLISH PRINT MEDIA USING HALLIDAYAN TRANSITIVITY

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NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES

ISLAMABAD

December, 2018

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BS.Hons. University of Gujrat (UOG)

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

In English Linguistics

To

FACULTY OF ENGLISH STUDIES

Supervisor: Dr. Muhammad Yousaf



NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES, ISLAMABAD

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NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES FACULTY OF LANGUAGES

THESIS AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read the following thesis, examined the defense, are satisfied with the overall exam performance, and recommend the thesis to the Faculty of Languages for acceptance.

Thesis Title: A Comparative Study of Portrayal of Panamagate in Pakistan and British English Print Media Using Hallidayan Transitivity

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Candidate of **Master of Philosophy** at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis **A Comparative Study of Portrayal of Panamagate in Pakistan and British English Print Media Using Hallidayan Transitivity** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of M.Phil 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

Title: A Comparative Study of Portrayal of Panamagate in Pakistan and British English Print Media Using Hallidayan Transitivity

This thesis presents the findings of the linguistic discourse analysis performed on the selected editorials and headline articles of English newspapers from Pakistan and the United Kingdom covering the Panama gate issue. The analysis that is employed, takes the aid of the Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis which utilizes the framework of transitivity theory and Fairclough's three-dimensional model respectively. The analysis attempts to realize the ideational meaning of the utterances through the grammatical choices used. The linguistic choices adopted throughout the text are complex and varied and the transitivity analysis provides meaning by linking them. Using transitivity analysis the researcher has categorized the processes in their relative categories. The deeper analysis has been conducted to read the context of the situation and how the burning issue of Panama Case affected the political scenario worldwide. Every example was analyzed in two steps: first was the textual analysis done through transitivity theory leading to the second step which was to look into the discourse practice and the socio-cultural practices in which a text is produced and consumed. Following the mentioned process the acquired results were discussed and conclusions generated. The findings of the study pointed out the fact that the material process dominates every other one in the transitivity pattern. This pattern also varied in selected newspapers of both countries. It also affirms that the text does sometimes represent the writer's point of view about an issue. The visible difference of culture and political context in the country of Pakistan and the United Kingdom marked the answer of the question that there is a reflection of the culture and linguistic choices are intrinsically motivated sometimes. The strategies used to deemphasize and emphasize a certain participant of the process and the shift of focus has also been recognized by the researcher. The percentage of usage of transitivity processes and their potential implication has also been discussed by the researcher in the following chapters. The unexplored areas in the newspaper

discourse on semantic and morphological levels have been put up as suggestions for further research.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all I would like to thank Almighty Allah for helping me throughout this arduous task. I am and will be grateful to Him always, Alhamdulillah.

I owe thanks to Prof. Dr. Muhammad Safeer Awan, Dean Faculty of Languages, Prof. Dr. Arshad Mehmood, Head Department of English for their cooperation in the entire process. I am also highly thankful to my able supervisor Dr. Muhammad Yousaf for being patient and kind enough to bear with me throughout this journey. His guidance and constructive advice has paved way for me to do my best and present this thesis. Thanks to the English Department of NUML for offering me the academic and creative space, to bring this thesis to life

Next I would like to express how blessed I was to have my mother, Mrs. Shazia and my younger brother Haider around me through all this. They picked me up on days I thought I was not doing enough. Thank you to my loving parents for making me who I am today.

All my friends especially Osama Khawar who brings out the best in me, Thank you for all the times you helped me out.

DEDICATION

This work is truly dedicated to my parents, my brother and my dear Nana Naani. Thank you all for your support you will always be in my heart.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the researcher has explained the background of the study and the statement of the problem along with a brief research design. The researcher has proposed the research questions which define the path of this study. The significance of the study has also been brought forward keeping it authentic. An extensive background of the study has also been provided for a clearer understanding.

Because of the affectivity and the significance, a lot of research has been conducted in the direction of the newspaper discourse analysis. However, a little attention has been given to the cross-cultural studies with reference to newspapers and the comparison in the reporting of different countries. This study, therefore, has studied the English newspapers of two countries covering the similar issue of Panama leaks. The researcher has tried her best to highlight the thoughts and ideas expressed with the help of the language and the hidden ideologies which change the public's opinion over time. Special attention has been given to the strategies that are used by the writers while presenting the facts and amalgamating their own views in the text in an unnoticed manner. How the structure of the sentence and the position of the participant, tell a lot about the context in which a text is produced is discussed in the study. The newspaper discourse and its importance are undeniable in every society along with its effect on the political situation of different countries.

1.1. Background

The Panama leak is the biggest corruption scandal in a very long time. About 11.5 million documents have been leaked to the German newspaper. Those journalists after studying the documents for almost a year released them in an International consortium of investigative journalists. The Panama leaks raised huge chaos in the world because of the people mentioned in the papers who were accused of using the unfair means of earning. The Prime Minister of Pakistan and the United Kingdom were named along with others in the corruption issue. Initially, there was a mixed reaction from all the faces of life but

as the international developments became clearer and leaders were forced to step down and resign from their posts the fire caught up in Pakistan and Britain too. The then serving Prime minister of Pakistan in 2016 and the leader of the biggest political party of Pakistan faced severe opposition from the rival political parties at first and then it spread to the level that public protested against him demanding for a resignation. In the UK, on the other hand, the Prime minister was at first given the benefit of doubt since the offshore company he was linked to, was founded by his father. The media went crazy all over the world because it was not a local or a national issue it had such a great magnitude that it opened up a lot of different cases to be investigated.

Every political leader may have some dirt on his hands because this is one of the perks of being in power especially when you are as influential as Pakistan's PM. Who is nowadays facing inquiring questions and finally had the verdict against him in the Supreme Court case after his impressive wealth had been brought into light by the massive leak of tax and financial corruption called Panama Leaks. In Panama papers, almost 200 people had been named having off shore companies including media organizations, businessmen, judges, and politician. It included the children of the current Prime Minister and some of his close relatives (The Diplomat). Offshore company relates to managing, registering, operating and conducting in a foreign country with the added benefits of tax and finance. It is typically pursued to realize legal tax and finance issues (Editor). The Prime Minister who has been claimed to be a billionaire was being probed by Transparency International. This anti-corruption institute had been asking top leadership to step forward and declare their assets along with a justified explanation of how they and their families managed this fortune.

The Independent and *The Telegraph* have both picked up on the connection linking the British Prime Minister to the Panama leak through his father. An article in the *Mirror* states, "Mr. Cameron's father, who died in 2010, is reported to have used Mossack Fonseca to shield his investment fund, Blairmore Holdings Inc. from UK taxes. Papers say his fund was "managed and conducted so it does not become resident in the United Kingdom for UK taxation purposes."

Although tax evasion is illegal in the UK, tax avoidance or minimization is usually legal. Media coverage appears to be focused on what steps the government will take to “crackdown” on the ways wealthy people shelter their money from tax, given the upcoming anti-corruption summit being held in London. The leak has also created an opportunity for the opposition parties to voice their criticism of the government. Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell told the *Mirror*: “The Panama papers revelations are extremely serious. The Prime Minister promised and has failed to end tax secrecy and crack down on ‘morally unacceptable’ offshore schemes, the real action is now needed”(O’neill, 2016).

The language itself is not powerful but it gains power when it is used for a certain purpose and the media in today’s world is one of the most powerful institutions in any country. It is the way through which the writers or speakers view or experience of reality can be expressed (Clark & Toolan, 1992).

In this case, it happens to be the rich communicative context of a newspaper. In Pakistan reading newspaper is much more than just a morning ritual it has a deep impact on the psychology of people. Pakistan being a politically unstable country has a rich archive of different allegations and media trials of ruling political figures. With the advent of electronic media and its vast availability, the print media has also changed its trends and acquired more freedom of speech. The newspapers seem to polarize the opinions about a controversial issue, readers, on the other hand, think that there is just the factor of truth which drives the production of newspaper discourse. The common perception about the newspaper reporting is that every stance that is presented in a newspaper is based on impartiality and is neutral. After extensive research done in this direction, it has been revealed that it is not always the case. The text that is published in the newspapers always goes through several steps before it is published in the paper. The writers sometimes deliberately and sometimes without intend mold the words to fit in their thoughts.

If we compare the British print media it has managed to run some major worldwide newspapers including The Times, Daily Mail and The Guardian for instance. It’s the passion and beliefs and ruthless investigative journalism of papers like the Mail,

the Times and the Guardian that will decide on which battlegrounds the campaign is fought, and therefore play a key role in deciding who will win. According to Roy Greenslade a prominent British Journalist the print papers are the dominant media power in Britain.

Transitivity analysis has been the prominent choice of the researchers to identify the ideational meaning in the media discourse in general and newspaper discourse specifically (Lukin 2005, Adjei 2010, Kondowe 2014, Ayoola 2013, Frimpong 2007). Lukin(2005) analyzed two different news reports one was supporting the U.S. ideology and one was centered on the Iraqi civilians presenting completely different stances. This was the researcher's motivation to implement transitivity analysis for this study. As the bias in the written discourse is more convenient to recognize the researcher has decided to take it a step further and conducted cross country research to identify the different tools to employ the strategies of language manipulation.

1.2.Statement of the Problem

The issue of Panama Leaks is relatively a recent one but its importance is immense. It managed to create one of the greatest controversies of its time leading to the dismissal of the acting Prime Minister of Pakistan and allegations on the Prime Minister of United Kingdom forcing him to resign. Media and newspapers are the ways through which people followed this issue and their opinions changed from time to time.

Time and again we have witnessed history taking its course and political affairs have always been the reason for those changes. The politicians and media spreading conflicting information have always boggled the minds of masses and for that reason, this divergence needs to be looked at to get to the underlying ideas. If the issue of media discourse would not be studied this would be a constant tool of exploitation for the media hegemony to rule over the public.

The problem with newspaper discourse that has been uncovered over time is that there are discrepancies noted between the root problem and the linguistic structures used to put forward those issues. The concept of media hegemony comes into play in this situation where the perspectives subtly change their course to favor ideologies. As a

researcher looking into the impact of context and discursive practices it is my main concern to provide a thorough understanding about the above mentioned phenomenon.

Although attempts have been made to analyze the newspaper coverage of different issues in the past yet this issue is unexplored. The research will look into the approach of the newspaper from both countries and try to analyze the cultural and social factors affecting their coverage. How the political system of both countries effects the reporting of newspapers would also be explored. This research would also highlight the implicit agendas behind certain lexical choices through the use of transitivity analysis. It aims to pave the way for a deeper understanding of the similarities and differences among the print media trends of both countries. The research will also try to find out the most dominant processes involved in the newspaper coverage and what do they tell us by incorporating evidence from previous researches. Another aim of the researcher is to provide an insight of the discourse issue for academic purposes where the budding students could be described that this is how an apparently unbiased newspaper discourse tackles a controversial issue in two different countries. The gap in the knowledge between the previously done researchers is tried to fill up by the researcher by taking the newspaper editorials of two different countries trying to fight a similar issue. Pakistan and the UK have a lot of differences ranging from the culture to the economic status.

1.3.Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to highlight the use of transitivity processes throughout the selected texts. The highlighted processes will also be related to the political context of the country through the socio-cultural practices of discourse. The Hallidyan transitivity analysis will be used for the textual purpose and the Fairclough's three-dimensional model will be implemented for the later stage.

The intent of conducting this research is to uncover the manipulative strategies used by media discourse. As Keeffe (2011) describes that media discourse is publicly manufactured, on record form of interaction. This means that it is ever evolving and changes shape as it disseminates information among people. The research tries to establish a connection between the timely statements revolving around the issue of Panama gate. The study develops to uncover the ideas that the media discourse inculcates

among the minds of people in general. The selected text will be studied under the microscope of the linguistic phenomenon that they represent. After the study, the phenomenon will be explained according to the constraints of Fairclough's model and transitivity analysis by Halliday.

Selected samples for research have been taken out of the newspaper articles on the basis of their ideologically rich context. The editorial and articles that were chosen all cover the similar issue of Panama Gate and that is the rationale behind choosing them. As it has been mentioned earlier the UK and Pakistan's Prime Ministers faced a similar fate and their trial went almost a similar path so it was only sensible to pick samples from the print media of these two countries.

1.4.Objectives of the Study

- 1) To uncover how newspaper writers maintained and expressed their stance on the issue implicitly or explicitly.
- 2) To highlight the constructive psychology which tends to play a role in the shaping of the opinion of the masses, behind the selected samples and how those ideologies are being inculcated in the minds of the audiences.
- 3) To explore any biasness towards the concerned political parties in the newspaper and how the newspaper discourse scrutinized the statements put out by the politicians to look for the clues.
- 4) To explore the central and peripheral constituents affecting the coverage in both countries essentially affecting the political scenario of the country e.g. timing of phenomenon and statements, public's sympathy and the face-saving techniques used throughout during the Panama gate issue.

1.5.Research Questions

- 1) What are the underlying metafunctions and ideological perspectives in the various strategies adopted by Pakistani and British English newspapers?

- 2) What are some of the differences and similarities revealed by the comparative study of the print media of both countries?

1.6. Significance of the Study

A lot of work has been done regarding the analysis of the discourse in the past. This research will help to understand the massive effects of Panama Leaks on the political scenarios of both countries. It will attempt to give an insight into the media's portrayal and stance through the newspaper. This research also aims to help people understand the role of print media, as the vehicle of disseminating information and shaping public opinion. The research also aims to provide an understanding of the face-saving and face negative strategies adopted by the newspapers merely through the use of language. This research will also uncover the comparative study of the manner of media agencies of two countries while handling the same international issue. It will be a source of extracting easily understandable consequences and factors involved in Panama Case for the interested young fellows. Thus it will try to establish a fruitful conclusion, based on the analysis of processes and interpretation of the selective discourse to pave way for further understanding about newspaper trends. It will be a useful source of information for the learners of transitivity theory and how it can be used for the analysis purposes and the critical discourse analysis effective method.

1.7. Delimitations

For the sake of ethical research and reliability, only the most trusted newspapers have been selected. The editorials and other samples would be restricted to the issue of Panama Leaks. The time stretch of the selected newspaper coverage is four weeks after the Panama Papers emerged on the scene. This issue has attracted a lot of media attention but to keep the research manageable the content aiming at the top leadership of Pakistan and the United Kingdom will be selected.

1.8. Thesis Organization

The thesis will be organized systematically for the readers to understand in five chapters. The distribution of the content is as follows:

Chapter 1 is Introduction. It provides a general background of the study and the issue that has been selected for the purpose of the research. It entails the research questions, objectives, significance and delimitations.

Chapter 2 is a review of the related literature. The researcher tried to list the related work done in the similar field and find gaps in those studies. The two theories selected are also discussed in detail including the transitivity process along with examples and Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis.

Chapter 3 is the research method. This informs about the research design of the study, unit of analysis, tools of data collection source of data and also an account of how the data analysis will be done.

Chapter 4 is data analysis. The chapter presents the selected examples from the data and the respective transitivity processes used. It also includes the debate on the ideologies in the discourse of newspaper of both countries.

Chapter 5 is the conclusion. The findings of the analysis are discussed here and further suggestions are provided for the upcoming researchers

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the given chapter the researcher will discuss the related literature with reference to the selected theoretical framework. The researcher has provided an insight into the use of language in print media and how those lexical choices indicate subtle ideas and notions. The special focus on the editorials of newspapers has also been discussed. The validity of transitivity analysis will also be under discussion.

2.1. Language and Power Relations

Centuries ago when the man felt the need to communicate among his species he felt the need of a medium, a medium through which he could correspond with his fellows either for the sake of necessity or for the sake of sharing his emotions. Language acted as such a medium and enabled human beings to talk and converse in any way possible. Language is not a separate entity it comprises of many constituents which are verbal as well as nonverbal. Because it involves a lot of other aspects, language cannot be studied on its own. It needs to be viewed with respect to society and its surroundings. Language is not merely used for the purpose of communication instead it is a tool for survival. As Sapir Whorf hypothesis suggests that language determines our thoughts and worldview. This certainly is true because we see countless examples of language determining the course of action or will of people. Language is used as a tool to shape people's mind because words can easily manipulate anyone that comes across them. As Silverman (2000) says that "language is not simply a neutral medium for generating subject knowledge, but a form of special practice that acts to constitute as much as to reflect social realities". This holds true especially in the case of media where every utterance is planned and every word is schemed. This research aims to look into the instances where prominent newspaper organizations have maneuvered the situations in their favor or against someone else just by giving mere statements the meaning they desired.

2.2. Discourse

Foucault (1975) defines discourse that it is a way of building knowledge along with social practices. Discourses are not merely ways of thinking and producing meaning. They govern the feelings conscious and emotions of the subject they are coming from. Discourse has written or spoken forms and each of them has words, phrases, and sentences that are absolutely necessary for the sayer to convey his meaning to the target. By communicating effectively the speaker places himself in society according to its norms and culture. As Matthews (2005) suggests that discourse cannot be confined to the sentence level only it goes beyond that. Any meaningful succession of communicative utterances written or spoken can thus be categorized as discourse.

According to him, discourse is a process and text is a product of that process. He places discourse at a higher and complex level than text because of its inclusivity of many factors. According to Fairclough discourse is referred to as extended examples of spoken or written language. Text is viewed as just one dimension of this process of text production which involves turn taking, setting, context and a lot of other features as well. Similarly, the difference remains between text analysis and discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992). Discourse can be appropriated or colonized and put into practice by enacting, inculcating or materializing them. On the other hand, the text is the dimension of an event where we can find hints of different discourses and ideologies (Tenorio, n.d)

When we talk about discourse context can never be ignored. Discourse gets its meaning from the context it is produced in. Fairclough views language as a social practice which in turn shapes and influences the psychology of the masses. According to Fairclough (1989) society and discourse is linked externally as well as internally. This is why a linguistic phenomenon reflects a social phenomenon. Fairclough also creates a distinction between a text and discourse. As the influence of context on discourse is identified the most important and relevant type of discourse will be discussed below.

2.3. Political Discourse

The political discourse can simply be defined by its participants that are politicians. However, the political discourse analysis does not just stand alone with its participants it also involves other participants in its domain including the political organizations, the writers, public and media of course. It has been observed as Van Dijk (1996) says that political discourses always have some object or agenda to establish. That may be the positive image building or defamation of the rivals it could also be for gaining the sympathy of the public or clearing any stance. As Fetzer (2013) discussed that political discourse is multilayered. It does not necessarily mean what apparently it projects. She identified the use of irony and other expressions in the context of talk shows or newspaper discourse by politicians. Young (2008) also looked at how the Australian Prime Minister promoted the Iraq War just by the use of language. She investigated how the discourse of a politician had a massive influence on the audience which positively presented the notion of war.

Bennett (2004) rightly says that the media has the power to shape democratic public life. Political discourse analysis has become enormously popular due to an easy access of people to newspaper and news channels. It was also found out that there are many institutions that shape media ownership and social responsibilities. As Bhatia (2006) claims that multidimensionality of media discourse has attracted a lot of discourse analysts because it is such an impregnated discourse that each layer uncovers a new set of meaning (p.173).

It has been debated that ideologies are embedded in day to day politics to be transferred to the public. Sometimes the use of concise narrative is made where the whole idea is centered in just a few words (Shenhav, 2005). In their book, Isabella and Norman Fairclough (2012) have analyzed the speeches and political discourses and stated their implications on society. They also studied the careful positioning of photographs in the newspaper and what their compositions, captions, and balance say about the relationship between the newspaper text and the image (Zheng, 2014).

The famous speech of Martin Luther King “I have a dream” has been analyzed by Aslam and Athar in a socio-political context. They have highlighted the most pressing

question of the modern age and that is racism. They have tried to pinpoint the hegemony and dominance of whites and how they try and have tried throughout history to suppress the blacks. They used Fairclough's three-dimensional model to study linguistics choices as well as interpreted the huge social and cultural impact of Martin Luther's speech (Sipra & Rashid, 2013). Similarly, Lanchukorn and Jimarkon studied gender stereotypes and misogyny in media discourse and politics. They applied CDA to find out how female politicians are targeted for their gender. They studied the terms used for former Prime Minister of Thailand and how they are different from the ones usually used for male politicians. They have also systemically analyzed the linguistics choices of media and what factors are behind those linguistically generated choices (Sriwimon & Zilli, 2017)

Richardson (2007 as cited in Miranti 2014) states that language is targeted at meaning something or doing something and these two actions of meaning and doing are associated with the context in which it is used to the political discourse having being produced in political domain is aimed at achieving the pre-determined agendas.

2.4. Media Discourse

Since it has been already established that media is by far the most powerful tool of the modern age to do a lot more than just giving out information. Media is an example of a state apparatus which can make or destroy someone's identity or image entirely. If there is a person who gets defamed by media or is put under media trial it becomes very hard for him to recover from it. Same is the case with the politicians even having enormous power over masses and certain institutions they cannot fully take media channels and newspapers in their hands. With the growing interest in discourse analysis, the field of political discourse analysis has also emerged drastically because the media and political discourse deserve an entirely separate discipline. Media has strict scrutiny through which every eminent personality has to go through but sometimes even media discourse has an ongoing agenda which is not really easily recognizable. Even though there is no bridle to control media houses and what they publish, at times they are serving other purposes than to just create headlines. For that purpose, they use carefully constructed utterances and beforehand analyze their impact on the public. As Bhatia (2006) declared that political discourse enables politicians to achieve their

communicative goals easily this holds true in the case of Pakistani media as well. We see the same trends and pattern here where media serves as a platform for politicians to put forward their claims and promises and media in return takes some unspoken advantages from these politicians. However, these media tactics vary a bit in different cultures. We can say that if we compare the western media with ours we would see much more transparency in that. There are proper think tanks behind the speeches of politicians which are to be on aired and published in newspapers as headlines because they do understand the impact they would leave. Unfortunately, in Pakistan, there is a growing trend of derogatory speeches and representations of others in a negative light instead of highlighting their own positive aspects. Politicians learn to play each other's mistakes and try to move forward by leg pulling. Whenever the elections emerge there is chaos and media frenzy all over the print and electronic media and politicians promoting their own political manifestos instead of delivering with proof. The Election Commission of Pakistan which is a prestigious institution and responsible for conducting elections every 5 years in Pakistan has put certain constraints on the conduct of politicians. Those rules are to be followed always doing a public appearance or address but people belonging from powerful political parties openly challenge those rules and say whatever they want to. This practice in return gives all the needed hype to media and the circle goes on. This is how powerful exploit the media and embed the ideology of self positive representation. Politics is the struggle for power and language is the most effective tool to exercise power. As discourse does not only represents ideologies it gives birth and generates ideologies during its production. The portrayal of a certain issue in any newspaper or channel has a lot more to it.

Talking about the portrayal of a certain phenomenon in media research has been done on advertising discourse. How the relations of dominance are achieved between producers and consumers. Not just dominance but it is also studied that how people are manipulated into buying certain products which they do not even need necessarily (Baig, 2013).

As Martin (2011) said that it is unimaginable to view politics without persuasion and this very concept is carried forward to media in the form of hegemony. The bright side of it can be that due to the mediatization of political issues the interest of common

man has spiked in the country's politics. Even the uneducated class of Pakistan specifically and all over the world generally has been in touch with the latest happenings of political situations. People belonging to every age group are now concerned and up to date with the ongoing political situations of the country. However, they still cannot completely comprehend the complex process of media generating headlines and discourse to cover any issue. Not everyone has the idea that how this process involves a lot of direct and indirect participants.

The main focus of my study is the print media discourse so therefore it is necessary to mention that according to Fairclough the economics and politics of media should be considered. Also who has access to the media its relationship with state and people operating in it are relevant to the research about media discourse (Fairclough, 1995). Access to media is also an important factor. All people of society do not have equal access to the media in terms of speaking or writing content. In every society however media is influenced by the institutions and government of the country. People who already have high designations and power in the form of resources or poetics in their hands have easy access to media.

The economy of media cannot be underestimated because like any other money making institution media has a product to sell. They put a lot of thought into their targeted audience and how they should advertise the product. According to Fairclough (1995), the economy of any institution is an important determinant of its text and practices. The money will always have an acute effect on the actions being done and faces a lot of pressure in the commercial market. This issue plays a vital role in determining the fact that how when and why certain news discourses are published or broadcast in print or electronic media.

Since politics and media go hand in hand one can never isolate the involvement of media in politics or vice versa. Sometimes the state's agenda is different to that of media's which creates a conflict of interest e.g. during the Vietnamese war the American media showed the uncensored images of war and turned the public's opinion other way around and on other occasions, it supports the activities of states or government. Another

instance where media played a major role was to persuade the Bush government to intervene in Iraq to help refugees (Gowing, 1991).

However, it can be safely said that the media in the west does not take dictation from the powerful people to that extent. It does not succumb to the authority of elites so how then media is affecting every phenomenon of the world around it? Its answer lies in the concept of hegemony. It was a concept presented by Antonio Gramsci (1971, 1977). He realized hegemony as political, social and cultural leadership. Media hegemony occurs when a particular structure, be it economic or political is preferred by media groups, producers, publishers, etc it becomes dominant and then changes into a social norm (Lee, 2013). The key to hegemony is however consent. It cannot be forced or dominated rather involves a consensual relationship. Chomsky (1989) and Van Dijk (1998) refer to it as ‘manufacturing consent’. According to Hackett (1991), mainstream media are the representatives of hegemony. As nothing can be forced upon the masses forever because at some point of time there will be opposition and revolution and this concept has been understood and taken care of by the media by the help of hegemony. People don’t even realize that they are being fed a certain agenda which is slowly shaping their opinions and biasness towards a certain viewpoint. That alone describes the extent of power media discourses hold among them.

2.5.Print Media Discourse and Newspapers

Newspapers have been around for a long time. They have been proved to be one of the cheapest and accessible media to gather information and stay updated with the current events. Newspapers have been found to be political by nature. The journalists representing those newspapers are expected to incorporate the ideology of the newspaper in the work they do at least on some level.

A lot of studies have been conducted on print media discourse as Zhang (2014) studied the political news covering American and Iraq’s relationship. He studied the newspaper ‘The New York Times’ applying Fairclough’s model to unveil the ideologies and the hidden relations of power and hegemony through discourse. Interactions about different context are analyzed through the CDA. The conclusion was that the American print media portrayed President of that time as friendly and having good intentions

whereas the Iraqi President as a negative impact on world peace and violent (Zhang, 2014).

If religious extremism is talked about that also has been a favorite topic for researchers in discourse studies. It also gives insight into people's ideology and their take on religion. Iqbal and Danish (2014) studied the American perception of Muslims as terrorists especially after the tragedy of 9/11. They studied the leading magazine *The Times* which presented the issues faced by Muslim communities due to such derogatory status they have in foreign countries (Iqbal, Danish & Iqbal, 2014).

The way newspapers portray an entity ultimately becomes its identity and it is not confined to individuals only. Sometimes ethnic groups or castes are looked down upon just because they have been labeled a certain way by the media organizations. This claim has been supported by Ahmed (2006) by studying the responses of the selected samples of British Muslims. They reacted to the coverage of the issue of 11 September 2001. She found a sense of grief in them but also found the common perception in them that derogatory and negative portrayal of Muslims in newspapers and electronic media immediately after 9/11 lead to a huge negative reputation. It also increased the anti-Muslim feelings among common people and they became more violent towards Muslims (Ahmed, 2006).

Newspapers do not always follow a standard set of rules or regulations. It has been observed that a similar issue can be presented in a whole other way in two different newspapers who work on it on their own terms. A parallel study was conducted about the Nuclear Power program going on in Iran which is a bone of contention between US and Iran. It was studied keeping in view the generally established negative ideologies in media about Iran. It saw the reports and highlighted the linguistics features implying that Iran is not cooperating with the US and is trying to conceal information. This in result shows the dominance of the US in a demanding position and rigid stand of Iran denying any such power over itself (Ahmadian & Farahani, 2014).

These studies prove that media or newspaper discourse does not stand alone and exists on its own. They go through an extensive process and leave a great impact on the mind of the public. Kathleen and Campbell (2000) studied the effect of media on masses

and the power they have instilled in it and in return how public opinion exerts equal pressure on media houses. They have also inquired about the persuasive strategies of media and its ramifications on politics as well (Jamieson & Campbell, 2000).

Talking about the effect of discourse in media Abbas (2001) also studied the negative discourse found in British media which sometimes aimed to subvert Muslim of South Asia. He uncovered how the ideologies of 'Islamophobia' and 'Islamic fundamentalism' are incorporated in media discourse. These, in turn, inculcate certain thoughts in the mind of the people (Abbas, 2001).

A lot of studies have been directed towards the newspaper discourse specifically. The editorials and headlines both are written and arranged by the writers of newspapers and they have in them thoughts and ideas that are not necessarily unbiased. As researchers looked into the tones used by different newspapers and compared the portrayal of Muslims with that of Christians and Jews. They studied every fourth headline of The New York Times and how they discussed Muslims during the tenure of 1985-2013. It was the study across time and pointed out that the attitude of media and its tone varied from time to time. They did not always depict Muslims as negative or vice versa (Bleichr, Nisar & Abdelhamid, 2016). The diachronic study depicted the shift of attitude of the newspaper and their changing ideologies.

Another research by Hopple (1982) focused on the comparative study of two leading newspapers one being the New York Times and the other Manchester Guardian. He learned that no newspaper covers an issue just for the sake of journalism in its true sense. It always has some implicit agenda along with the purpose to develop the headline on some issue.

As it has been established that newspaper discourse has been researched and many conclusions have been derived from them. Many types of analysis have been applied for the purpose of research of print media discourse starting from Speech Acts, Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics. However, the researcher has adopted the systemic functional linguistics for textual analysis because of its unique nature and exploration of the ideational meaning of language.

2.5.1. Editorials in sight

Editorials are one of the most explored sections of the newspapers. It is a section where writers and editors express their opinion about any ongoing happenings. Those editorials do not represent the writers alone they are viewed as the standpoint of the whole organization. That is why editorials are not published under the name of any individual. The editorials have been viewed to be criticizing or appreciating a certain phenomenon which mostly is political which makes them a significant part of the political as well as print media discourse. The editorials provide more room for the analysis purposes because the rest of the newspaper usually just reports facts. The editorials, on the other hand, have biased opinions which invite the researcher to look into the syntax and morphological structures of the text and deduce meaningful conclusions. As Ricardo (2010) an editor himself admits that sometimes they are accused of being biased and he pleads guilty to that saying that it is a bias based upon the true reporting and facts (Pimentel, 2010). The editorials are usually divided into different components consisting of the topic under discussion followed by statistics and claims put forward by the writer and then the arguments and evidence to support the writer's ideology. The editorial is an argument or a debate from a particular perspective (Russell). As it is believed that humans react to the stimuli around them and in the same way newspaper organization reacts to the anomalies and imperfections in government running the state or any other issue. The newspapers voice their opinions in the form of editorials and the vocabulary used represents a preset subject (Anyandike, 2013). Establishing the vitality of the newspaper editorials it is known that there are many ways to go around for the textual analysis, transitivity analysis is one of the most interesting theory to implement to newspaper editorials thus it will be discussed below to highlight its effectiveness in the research.

2.6. Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics

Halliday's transitivity system is based upon the concept of systemic functional linguistics. It was proposed by Michael Halliday during the late 1960s. It drives on some existing theories and work done by Malinowski and J.R. Firth. It focuses on how

speakers generate utterances and produce text to convey and put forth their intended meanings. Halliday views language as a functional entity. It is not an isolated entity and words are not just used for the sake of speaking. They are always performing some function and do not just disappear into thin air after being uttered. Systemic functional linguistics focuses on cultural and social context while analyzing the text. It explains how we make out the meaning of things or statement going around us. SFL deems cultural and social background indispensable to the study of language. Systemic theory depicts meaning as a choice. It says that all systems of language are interconnected and whatever we choose in one system becomes a way in another and we can practice that as long and wherever we want to.

Functional grammar provides three functions of language:

- 1) Textual
- 2) Interpersonal
- 3) Ideational

According to Halliday (2004), the term metafunctions was selected to imply that function is an integral constituent of the theory overall (Ezzina, 2015).

2.6.1. Textual Function

The textual function of language focuses on the arrangement of meaning in the text. It deals with the organization of words and the context in which they are used. It also focuses on the cohesion and coherence of texts. It views clauses as messages and understands the flow of words in the text. The clause is divided into Theme and Rheme. The theme is usually at the start of the sentence Halliday (1981) says that a theme contains the message and defines the textual relationship of participants. Rheme usually occupies a non-initial position in the clause and the theme develops in that part of the sentence and also provides additional information.

2.6.2. Interpersonal Function

Interpersonal function of language in SFL focuses on the relationship between the interlocutors. It is the expression of the worldview. It is divided into two parts i.e. mood

and residue. The mood is expressed through the level of formality and the degree of closeness between the interactants. Mood also locates modality and tone in a text according to Halliday. Interpersonal function deals with the clauses or sentences of language as exchange and exchange is always performed between two people to achieve the desired goal. The stance of a person can be identified through his position of being a referent. What nominal group is chosen to represent the participant can also be studied through interpersonal function. The mood and the residue also define the type of sentence as declarative or interrogative. It has also to do with speech functions which allow performing certain actions through utterances like requests demands and questions that require answers.

2.6.3. Ideational Function

The ideational function of language is defined by Halliday as providing a theory of human experience (Ezzina, 2015). Through this function, a speaker or a writer presents his world view or opinions through the lexicogrammatical choices he makes and how he chooses to arrange his text. The representation of reality or human experiences through the use of language is what defines the ideational function of language. The name of the function denotes that it is the manifestation of individual ideas or notions expressed through language. Fowler (1986 as cited in Cunanan, 2011) states that this particular function of language organizes and interprets the discourse to obtain the meaning out of it. The ideational function has two constituents that are experimental and logical aspects. The experimental aspect explains the experiences, surroundings and the happenings around us. It also explains probable situations, participants or the circumstances of a certain experiment. Dr. Nancy (2016) applied the transitivity system to the headlines of the newspaper covering the issue of terrorism in Kenya in 2013. She systematically arranged the data into clauses and fragments analyzed it and then drew a conclusion from it that how ideational meanings are represented through the use of transitivity processes. Here also the dominance of material and relational process was evident (Anashia, 2016).

Ideational function views language or utterances as a representation of our own conscious and ideas depicted through words. These choices differ from person to person because of the subjectivity involved and because each person has his own experiences

throughout life which shapes his world view. Transitivity system is based upon ideational functional is systemic functional linguistics.

2.7. Transitivity Analysis

Being pertinent of ideational function transitivity system focuses on the semiotic content of language and looks towards the grammatical choices of the speaker about his experiences. By definition, it is a system that is process oriented and focuses on encoding and decoding of any knowledge or information about the human experience through lexicogrammar (Zheng, Yang & Ge, 2014). The traditional concept of transitivity focused just on verbs and object. The segregation between transitive and intransitive verbs and objects e.g. but Halliday then argued that it should be extended to the analysis of clauses as well. Thompson (2000) also verified the diversity of this process by establishing that it can effectively analyze a clause too. It examines the sentence structure by:

- The process happening
- The participants involved
- The circumstances in which those participants perform a certain process.

The process usually involves a verbal group because it denotes some kind of action being done. The participants are expressed through a nominal group where as the circumstance usually takes up a prepositional group for explaining ‘where?’ and an adverbial group for explaining ‘how?’ the action has been done. It represents the reality and the context around, in other words, we can say that it’s an explanation of ‘who does what to whom?’ Transitivity provides different labels and categories like “actor, sensor, sayer, phenomenon, etc” to inspect a process in detail.

These processes are the result of our perception of the world and are constructed socially and culturally because of the involvement of participants and surroundings. The participants refer to the groups or individuals involved in certain processes that can be animate or inanimate. Circumstances are concerned with temporal and spatial settings where a certain process is being done. The transitivity structure can be summarized as:

Agent + process + target accomplishment

According to Halliday the process is integral to the analysis whereas participant is also an important contributor because it is directly involved in the process whereas the circumstance is the peripheral detail and can be given secondary significance in some processes. If we talk about processes there are three main processes which are material, mental and relational and three subtypes named: behavioral, verbal and existential process.

Another transitivity analysis research conducted on the first TV debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump by Yichao (2017) tried to understand the distribution of six processes throughout their speech and finding out any similarities or differences among them. He also looked at how these processes helped the candidates convey their agendas and intentions. According to him in politics, the people carefully place their words in discourse especially on media to shape their relationship with the target audience and the public which basically is the purpose of interpersonal function in transitivity (Yichao, 2017).

As discussed before transitivity analysis is a very trusted way of conducting the linguistic analysis. Analysis of the public opinion about the Jakarta Governor election was conducted by Arina (2014) where she concluded that the most commonly used process was material process and people displayed their feelings and expectations using that. Using the terminologies of Actor, Goal and so on she also identified how verbal processes helped the participants in running their election campaigns (Isti'anah, 2014).

Material process

The material process involves *happening* and *doing*. It corresponds to some tangible phenomenon in a physical world like *kicking, running, eating, clapping*, etc. It has two main entities the actor and the goal. The actor is the one carrying out the process usually a subject and the goal is the one getting affected by the process. It could be a human as well as an inanimate object. The circumstance in this process provides additional information with respect to the time, place and manner, etc.

- **John** (actor) **kicked** (material process) **the bed** (inanimate goal).

- **John** (actor) **punched** (material process) **his brother** (goal) **for breaking his car** (circumstance).

There is sometimes inherent recipient or beneficiary for home some process is done.

- **John** (actor) **baked** (material process) **a cake** (goal) **for Laura** (recipient).

The importance of material process has been proved by numerous researches as Chinese researchers used the transitivity analysis to explore the online advertising text. They conducted a case study of how certain products are described to appeal the audience and how the metafunctions of language are used. What processes are involved in producing that kind of text (Wang, Zhao & Jiang, 2017). They found out that the occurrence of material process and relational is the highest whereas the existential process almost never occurs.

Mental process

It is the process that involves sensing the phenomenon around us. Those may not be the material happenings and are usually a psychological state of beings. It has been divided into four subtypes naming cognition, perception, affection, and desire. It contains a *sensor* that usually understands, perceives or wishes and a *phenomenon* which is understood, perceived or wished for.

- **John** (sensor) **heard** (mental process) **Laura's cry** \Leftrightarrow (phenomenon) **perception**
- **His daughter's dance** (phenomenon) **pleased** (mental process) **John** \Leftrightarrow (sensor) **affection**
- **John** (sensor) **hoped** (mental process) **for a good company** (phenomenon) **with Laura** \Leftrightarrow **Desire**

Relational process

This process serves the purpose of relating two entities. Whatever is being said is to be related to the entity and combine them into one episode. It describes abstract relations between two things.

It usually makes use of copular verbs like be, seem, appear etc. It has two major subtypes:

1) Attributive relational process

It assigns a quality or an *attribute* e.g. 'A' to a certain identity e.g. 'X' and it is named as a *carrier*. So now X will be the carrier of the attribute A.

- **John** (carrier) **looks** (relational process) **healthy** (attribute).

2) Identifying the relational process

In this mode a distinguishing identity is prescribed to an entity e.g. X is identified by A or A serves the purpose of creating an identity for X. we can name X as identified and A is its identifier or identity which makes it recognizable.

- **Bill** (identified) **is** (relational process) **the principal** (identity).

Verbal process

Verbal process refers to the act of saying or uttering something. It lies between mental and relational process because the act of saying does not happen on its own. There is a whole thinking process behind it that is related to the mind. The participants are called *sayer* who is saying something the *receiver* to whom something is being said or addressed to and the *verbiage* which is the utterances being produced. The verbal process can be conscious and unconscious as well. The verbiage is usually denoted by the nominal groups such as asked, said, reported, declared announced, etc. According to Halliday (1985), it is an exchange of meaning in some linguistic form.

- **Bob** (sayer) **said** (verbal process) **he wanted to sleep** (verbiage).
- **Maria** (receiver) **was told** (verbal process) **to help her sister** (verbiage) **by her mother** (sayer).

Behavioral process

Behavioral process purely deals with psychology. It deals with a certain set of habits a person has or the response a stimulus triggers as a behavior. It falls partially into

both dimensions of mental and material process. Mental process because any behavior that is generated takes birth in mind first and material because the human participant involved or the *Behaver* actually carries it out physically.

- **She** (behavior) **smiled** (behavioral process) **on seeing her mother** (phenomenon).

Existential process

The existential process is the least distinctive one because it does not have any representational function. It does not signify anything instead just proves the existence of some entity that can be material or event. It explains its state of being e.g. existing, were, being, etc. the participant is *existent* which follows the helping verb.

- **There was** (existential process) **no plan** (existent).
- **The house** (existent) **existed** (existential process) **there forever.**

The application of transitivity analysis is not limited to the political or media discourse only but it is also a very effective tool in the field of literature. Dissertation by Maria focused on the deep analysis of the poems by Edgar Alan Poe's short stories. She highlighted the frequently used processes and how they helped in building the coherence of the story (Landa, 2017). Similarly, another student's dissertation was the transitivity analysis of medical brochures. It highlights the diversity of the transitivity analysis and how it can go out of conventional constraints and still prove helpful.

The transitivity analysis will help the researcher through the road of textual analysis and infer meanings of choices by the writers in newspapers. For relating those meanings with the hidden ideologies the researcher will make use of the Critical Discourse Analysis and specifically Fairclough's model of CDA.

2.8. Fairclough's Model of Critical Discourse Analysis

An approach as big as CDA cannot be developed overnight it takes years of progress to make it able to be implemented at research. Many researches contributed in one way or another in the progress of critical discourse analysis. By the end of 1970s researchers developed the approach of Critical Linguistics at the University of East Anglia. It was chiefly based on systemic functional linguistics by Halliday. According to

Fowler (1979) critical linguistics emphasizes that there are strong ties between linguistics structure and social structure (Elsharkawy, 2017).

The recent developments in CDA have called to clear out some misunderstandings that are to inculcate the role of audiences in the interpretation of discourse because it varies. Secondly, it asks to widen the horizon of the CDA from mere textual analysis to intertextual. Fairclough, Van Dijk and Wodak are the main proponents of the field of CDA. According to Wodak (2001), different fields and concepts emerged in the critical discourse analysis as the result of annual sittings of theorists for the development of this field.

Critical discourse analysis is perceived as layered because it deals with language in relation to society. CDA itself is an interdisciplinary form of research which studies the relations present among the discourse. The participants may vary but there is always a relation embedded in the discourse being investigated. CDA focuses on the strategies of manipulation, legitimating, manufacture of consent and other discursive ways to influence the mind of targeted people (Dijk, 1995). Leeuwen (2006) claimed that CDA's roots can be traced back to Fairclough's work. As the newer concepts emerged in the field of CDA by the late 90s the notions of ideology, power, gender and hierarchy were all considered relevant to the interpretation of the text (Elsharkawy, 2017). CDA is different in a sense that it is not confined to the role of a single individual instead it is determined by social structures. It is not a restricted theory like Noam Chomsky's Generative Grammar or so on (Fairclough 1989). Wodak (2007) says that it is an interdisciplinary approach which relies on different disciplines for its aim of interpretation of a text in different ways. To fully understand its effectiveness we need to understand what CDA aims at, the main tenants as summarized by Fairclough and Wodak (1997) are:

- CDA looks into social problems
- Power relations are discursive
- Discourse composes society and culture
- Discourse does ideological work
- Discourse is a form of social action (Dijk T. A.).

The connection of CDA with the culture and ideologies is evident by studying Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics. It shows that linguistic forms change and shape social functions (Halliday, 1985). Critical discourse analysis uses tools and analysis from these fields because of its interdisciplinary nature and answers questions of bigger relations of gender, power and so on (Luke, 1997). From its inception, CDA was a discipline to question status quo, by detecting, analyzing and also resisting the acts of power abuse done via private or public discourse. As Fairclough (2009) rightly pointed out that CDA commits to analyze social evils, partiality, injustice and unequal distribution of power and material resources.

CDA has an edge of being an integrating analysis which inculcates the study of social structures at the macro level and social action at the micro level. The effectiveness of CDA has to be in its ability to analyze ‘the social’ in conjunction with linguistic microanalysis (Luke 2002 & Pennycook 2000).

Discourse and especially critical discourse analysis draw on many disciplines as well have its roots in the interpretation of discourse. There have been many popular models and structures followed by people for research while applying the approach of CDA. The most prominent and used till date is the Fairclough’s model of critical discourse analysis and I would use the same model for the interpretation of the sample text.

Initially, Fairclough focused on ‘critical language study’ and criticized a number of existing approaches like sociolinguistics, pragmatics conversational analysis and so on. He had his reservations about each of them saying that they view language in isolation and does not provide enough details about the social settings. These approaches only focus on the critical aspect of the text and not on the socio-cultural prospects of a text. Fairclough names his theory as an alternate orientation and different from the conventional methods being used. After explaining the relation of power and ideology in his book Fairclough however, established that he was just providing a manual or a guide to undertake CDA and not an actual map or blueprint to be followed exactly.

Fairclough’s theory is based on the notion that people, as a group or individually use language to achieve certain social purposes. They can also include establishment of

certain social relationships or their maintenance. He uses the term social practice to refer to a social interaction that happens in a particular setting. It could be a way of life that is permanent or habitual.

Critical analysis of discourse is important in the sense that it helps to uncover and reveal the hidden determinants of society and establish a connection between the choice of words and their social implications. Because CDA views language, society, and identity as interrelated Norman Fairclough designed a three dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis. These three dimensions include

- 1) The object of analysis which can be either verbal or visual text.
- 2) The process of producing and receiving text by human participants
- 3) The socio-cultural situation which governs these processes

All of these stages require a different kind of analysis the text analysis is named as description, process analysis as interpretation and social analysis as explanation. The text analysis enables us to focus on the textual features of any text. The placement of words their logical selection and things like the repetition of certain words or phrases. If we look at the interpretation level it describes and explains different relations embedded inside the text and how they are uncovered. Finally, at the explanation stage, the researcher connects all of these features and tries to build a logical denouement keeping in view all the factors which are affected by the production and consumption of that particular text. One has to understand that these three dimensions are interdependent. You cannot analyze or conduct one type of analysis in isolation if done so it breaks the interdependency of these dimensions.

If we look at the first dimension of the above mentioned model that is, text, linguistic analysis is applied to the lexical-grammatical and semantic properties of text. From semantic we can infer that a logical reasoning or the implicit or explicit meaning of the selected word is tried to find. These two features of text have a mutual effect on the text and one is not understood without the other. According to Fairclough (1992) text is not just some group of words which are articulated instead they perform certain functions. This concept dwells upon Halliday's systemic functional linguistics. These functions have been renamed by him as:

- Representations of particular ideologies (ideational function)
- Construction of reader and writer's identity focusing on the aspects of mutual or individual identity.
- Construction of reader and writer's relationship focusing on how formal or informal, social or personal it is (Sheyholislami, 2001).

According to Fairclough the linguistic analysis not also focuses on presence but also the absence of certain factors from the text. Inclusivity or exclusivity of certain participants, their roles in the discursive practice and so on. Discourse practice being the second dimension of Fairclough's model he divides it into parts first is the institutional procedure and second is the discourse process. Fairclough explains this concept with the use of intertextual analysis. Sheyholislami (2001) quotes in his article that Fairclough inculcates linguistic analysis on the text as well as on discourse practice level. According to Fairclough intertextual analysis marks the territory between text and discursive practices. Fairclough declares linguistic analysis as descriptive and intertextual analysis as interpretive. Fairclough (1992, p.84) defines intertextuality as the property of text of being enriched with other texts produced at different times periods in other social events. According to him, text is an amalgamation of other text which may merge or oppose the text they are present within.

Finally, the third dimension of his framework is sociocultural practice. It concerns three aspects of a communicative event that are economical, cultural and political. He does not posit that analysis should be done at all these levels but any aspect which is critical to the study should be studied in detail.

2.9.Panama Papers Case

It is one of the major leaks to date from a law firm named Mossack Fonseca. It is a Panamanian firm that provides its services to the people who for some reason want to keep their assets and wealth secret. There may be multiple reasons for that including tax avoidance, black money, unreliable resources and embezzlement in funds. Most of these crimes can only be committed when they abuse power. Most of the 200 people named in Panama papers hold any public office which makes them criminal to misuse the public

funds. It included people from all fields of work media organizations, judges, businessmen and politicians. All of these people had multiple offshore companies to their names which generated a big amount of evidence against them. Offshore companies usually manage, organize and secure the finances of people in foreign countries with added tax and finance advantages. They usually keep their money in offshore accounts to hide it from plain sight and to avoid due taxes. Prominent politicians from Pakistan and Britain have also been named in the Panama case. Then Prime Minister of Pakistan after being named as one of the potential candidates of corruption has been probed by transparency international. After the emergence of Panama papers, the political scenario of the whole country changed drastically and that change is still ongoing. As soon as the issue appeared on the surface all the political parties took advantage of the situation and started a movement to hold the people responsible for this mischief. Numerous protests and catcalling started throughout the country and the opposing parties started throwing tantrums at each other. Several politicians and public too has demanded the involved candidate to step up and declare his assets and provide a money trail. Not only the person himself been named in the Panama Papers but his immediate family has also been dragged in this massive corruption scandal. Both of his son and a daughter who is currently actively engaged in the Pakistani Politics were pointed out as equally responsible for enjoying his illegitimately kept wealth (Cheema, 2018).

Similarly, Prime Minister of Britain had also been nominated as the beneficiary of an offshore account. Though he was not directly named it was said that he was a direct beneficiary of an offshore account owned by his father. *The Telegraph* and *the independent* both highlighted the potential link of the British Prime minister to the Panama Scandal. Prime minister's father Ian Donald Cameron was believed to have hidden his money and investments in an offshore account so that they cannot be imposed with the taxation rules in the UK. There are some countries where tax ratio on business is kept extremely low just so that business headquarters move or shift there to keep their tax paying money low. These are called 'tax havens' where any company makes more profit and has to pay less resulting in a better financial setup. Stephenson (2016) points out the fact that firms like 'Mossack Fonseca' might also provide legal advice but in this case it had helped people avoid paying taxes and legalizing black money.

The British Prime Minister has been widely criticized about his shady financial system. He had been very vocal in the past about the crackdown on the tax avoiders and he claimed that people like this have nowhere to hide. Initially, it did not turn out to be of that big of magnitude in Britain as it did in Pakistan but as the time progressed and people somehow grew more invested in this entire situation, the scenario changed. The PM somehow mishandled the situation and did not understand the power of media to instigate massive issue demanding his resign from the public office. He said in an interview that he had been lucky to have wealthy parents and an amazing upbringing throughout but as the investigations progressed it was revealed that he and his wife both actually benefitted from the offshore company which he denied earlier (Before and After Panama Papers: David Cameron of Britain On Tax Avoidance, 2016).

If we talk about the Panama case in Pakistan we know now that how dangerous its implications were. Although the Prime Minister of Pakistan denied any wrong doing in his statements and claimed to have bought the London property with his own family wealth (BBC, 2017). The rise in the protests about Panama Papers led to the dismissal of the current Prime Minister not only from his designation but also from politics. The Supreme Court of Pakistan put an end to his political career. Not only had that changed the public sentiments they also showed it through the power of the vote. The drastic chain of events leading up to the election of 2018 in Pakistan proved just how much an issue highlighted by the media can affect everyone. The party involved in the scandal was defeated by a great margin in the entire country and many others were completely wiped out. The party who took a firm stand about Panama issue started cases and demanded an investigation got the advantage of the situation. People who never knew about off shore companies and black money all gave special attention to this issue. All of this happened due to media. The news media played a crucial role in the understanding of the data revealed for the masses (Nils Kobis & Christopher Starke, 2016). All leading newspapers and channels full coverage to this issue and didn't let it go out of the sight of the public.

If we compare the media policies of both countries and how the newspapers or the channels broadcasted it there is a huge difference evident. We know the trend here in Pakistan is to use demeaning terms and the media also has a weird sense of freedom because sometimes they do cross the line. Western media, on the other hand, focuses

more on technicalities and how the candidate in some trouble will defend himself and how he will put forward his statements.

After having ups and down throughout the politically unstable situations of Pakistan, Pakistani print and electronic media have acquired a lot of power in itself. The same people who jailed journalists and blacklisted the newspapers are now afraid of letting anything bad out into media. Even if we talk about western media they too have a tremendous effect on the ongoing political situations in their respective countries. The members of parliament and all the state men are highly conscious of the fact that media has all eyes on them. Even if we review the latest scenario of U.S. where there is a visible division between the supporters of Donald Trump and the opposing parties, media leaves no stone unturned to find a burning or a petty issue and make it the highlight for the next one week. The same media has been the small island of Panama the tax haven because of its very lax finance laws and that is what probably led to this huge corruption scandal (Hines Jr & Rice, 1990).

As it has been observed by the researcher that there is an ample amount of work done on newspaper discourse using transitivity but the nature of Panama Case makes it unique for this particular research. Panama Gate is a corruption scandal and analyzing the texts relating to this issue is a newer dimension in Transitivity analysis. Other than that the comparative analysis previously done rarely involved Pakistani newspapers so the researcher aims to fill the gap and bring light to the discursive practices in Pakistani and British journalism. It would be interesting to see how the same language and the same issue can be used in different ways and project completely different ideologies.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The progression of this chapter is that first the theoretical underpinning of this research will be discussed. Then the methodology selected for the implementation of this theoretical framework will be explained which paved the way for the researcher to carry the study in the desired direction corresponding to the research objectives. The rationale behind selecting the data would be discussed and the researcher will provide a brief background of the Panama Gate issue to supports her choice of the data selected. The usage of the transitivity system and the categorization of the processes will also be talked about.

3.1.Theoretical Framework

This research is based upon the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics and specifically transitivity analysis. The second theory that has been adopted by the researcher is the Critical Discourse Analysis. The importance of discourse can never be denied as it is said that any discourse be it written or spoken that is not reiterated is not easily forgotten (Ricoeur, 1981). Every discourse that is formed is affected by the context and that influences the role of participants too. Hasan (2001) says why we say what we do and that question is answered by the context itself. The context in any form, be it cultural, political or social has a stranglehold on the discourse composition and thus is evident throughout. Van Dijk (2008) presented models and tried to explain how these models organize the individual's subjective beliefs. According to him, text is based upon those models and takes inspiration from the circumstances and to extract information speakers or readers need to know the communicative context behind these discourses (Aronsen, 2016). This is relevant to this study because the discourse of print media is shaped as a result of the circumstances around which in turn are shaped by the media input.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) language functions as a process of categorization and those categories are in turn interpreted into taxonomies. Halliday provided a set of taxonomies which we understand as transitivity processes. Transitivity processes are based upon the ideational metafunctions of language and construct upon how language is aligned with the society it does not translate the mental on goings of a person instead looks at the use of language to achieve the certain purpose and the contexts behind the production of texts. The objective of language is for people to express their experiences and for that they need to have an account of who did what to whom and the manner of how a process is done is identified as the circumstance. The transitivity analysis explains the semantic roles of the participants and the effected.

The examples of transitivity analysis show that a certain event is realized through the processes and they help the researcher to recognize the lexical choices systematically. Halliday, however, presented these processes as a continuous circle where they often overlap each other.



Figure 3.1 “The grammar of experience: types of processes in English” Halliday and Matthiessen (2004).

The second theory that had been focused upon is the Critical Discourse Analysis. The application of this theory has been done through the lens of Fairclough's three-dimensional models. Critical discourse analysis has been extensively explained in the previous chapter so the researcher does not feel the need to repeat its tenets. The significance of CDA, however, is increasing each day and it is truly becoming a multidisciplinary approach. CDA has been used as an analytical and conceptual framework to analyze the broader sense of how media generates ideologies and fulfills metafunctions using certain linguistic choices (Sriwimon & Zilli, 2017).

3.2. Research Method

The current research aims to look at the selected text with the tool of transitivity analysis along with the application of Fairclough's (1992) three dimensional model of critical discourse analysis to uncover the difference and similarities in the newspaper reporting of the Panama Gate issue. These two models are best suited for this research in the researcher's opinion due to the fact that a text always offers an interpretation and that interpretation has to be put out for the world to see. To do that, the research will take the course of being descriptive because the hidden meanings of the texts are to be put forward as logically and clearly as possible.

The editorials and articles selected from the two Pakistani and two British newspapers will be first closely read and statements will be systematically highlighted keeping in view their validity. Those statements will be categorized into the process types according to the principles of transitivity analysis. Wodak and Meyer (2006) pointed out that systemic functional linguistic is helpful for the text analysis undertaken by CDA (Istianah, 2014). After the classification process, each example under the heading of corresponding process type will be discussed. At this stage, the textual analysis will be completed after the identification of transitivity patterns along with the participants and other elements. The second stage of the analysis will be the interpretation and explanation stages of the selected data. The discussion will be in accordance with the discourse and socio-culture practices of both countries. As Bernstein, said that by looking at the obvious components of a text it may be possible to say something about the invisible or less apparent components of the text which is the main object of this research

(Aronsen,2016). The individual journalism would not be discussed instead the researcher will highlight the attitude of the whole organization towards the issue and how a newspaper discourse is published and how the context affects the choices that have been made. As Fairclough (2001) pointed out that whatever is published in the newspaper is given legitimacy and credibility. Young and Harrison (2001) pointed out the commonalities between SFL and CDA and argued that both theories look at language as socially constructed phenomenon secondly they view language as an element which can be influenced by the discursive events around it. These arguments provide the researcher with confidence for her selection of the framework. The ideologically governed choices will be highlighted besides the discussion of the context and the Panama leaks issue affecting the scenario of Pakistan and Britain.

3.3.Research Design

The data collection was done by the researcher herself as Lincon and Guba (1998) argue that the qualitative research encompasses the human experience so the researcher must be able to capture the complexity of human experience and for that the best-suited instrument is a human being himself. The research is qualitative descriptive research. The descriptive aspect of the research comes from the fact that it attempts to describe the ideologies and notions that drive language usage in media forums. According to Foucault (2012) two most dominant approaches are established for the analysis of a discourse. Structural analysis gives attention to detail at the linguistic level, while by the principle the post-structural analysis emphasizes on the coherent whole and is more abstract in nature (Fairclough 1992).

The researcher has gravitated towards the post-structural approach towards the discourse. Focusing more on the institutional factors as to what has been said to whom and how it has been decoded and presented by the newspaper. Keeping in mind the suggestions provided by the McGregor, (2003) that, more than one careful readings of the text is the prerequisite of discourse analysis the researcher has tried to suspend any presupposition about the newspaper discourse.

This research makes an effort to familiarize the people to the transitivity processes and what do they mean in the actual text. The selected examples from the data have been

arranged systematically in a coding system and have been numbered for the easy cross-referencing. The table also lists the process type and the name of the newspaper from where it was obtained. The comparative tables have also been made to quantify the data and to give a numeric representation of the transitivity processes used in different newspapers.

Talking about the research design the article selected from the four leading newspapers of both countries serve as the population. The newspapers that have been selected were cited from numerous websites to validate their readership and following. *The Guardian* itself conducted a survey where the newspaper asked the readers to voice their opinions about the content of the newspaper. Almost 4000 readers took part in the survey proving to be its active members and those who did not participate are separate (Hodgon, 2015). According to The Guardian's CEO David Pemsel shared that 1000 to 130,000,000 readers are associated with the newspaper in the annual report of 2015 (Pemsel, 2015).

Similarly APNS evaluated Dawn News as one of the most read newspaper in Pakistan. According to a survey conducted by Gallup Pakistan the English newspapers of Pakistan including *The Express Tribune* have covered more than 2100 pieces in the month of September alone. The topics of politics, international and social issues dominated the place (Research, 2019).

Throughout the sampling of the research, non-probability sampling technique was generally followed. The method does not have a pre defined criteria of selecting sample. Following this process the researcher is responsible for selecting the samples for the research which he/she deems best.

The sampling however was not entirely random. The sampling technique falls into the category of purposive sampling. The researcher collected statements from the population of articles that were best suited to the research objectives. The statements that were selected had rich ideological context and had covered the topics of Panama gate issue. The content which did not align with the purpose of research or did not suffice the requirements of the research was kept out.

3.4.Data

As Fairclough (2006) has propagated that the media is not just an institution it is now being used as a tool, which is undetectably changing the psyche of people through its complex construction of ideology. The thing which makes it more powerful is the fact that it can be interpreted in a lot of different ways. People associate the wanted meaning with the discourse and give it power. The study to investigate the ideologically invested meanings of discourse and especially a newspaper text is thus vital to understand the matters of hegemony and power through a comprehensive framework.

Tolson, (1991) also agrees that a lot of times the information that is supposed unbiased and based on facts comes out of the vessel shaped by ideologies. The basic purpose of any such information is to maintain and establish social relations. One might question as to how these relationships are affected by the use of mass media. It has been observed by many researchers that the relationships of superiority and oppression are posed and upheld with the use of this carefully created information (Hassan 2018).

Taking this view forward based on Fairclough's views it can be deduced that there are also other factors which affect the competence and performance of media. The media however not just represents one true reality but the different perspectives of reality. Saying this we can look into the details of the data collected and the tools used for the analysis of data.

Pakistan has quite a number of newspapers but some are prominent than others and as we can say more controversial too. *Express Tribune* is one of the credible newspapers and has a good repute associated with its name. It is an English language newspaper with nationwide editions. It started in 2010 so it has gained popularity in a very short time. *Dawn News* is one of the oldest and widely famous newspapers in Pakistan. It was founded in 1941. According to the All Pakistan Newspaper Society (APNS), one of the most influential English newspapers is Dawn. It has a huge following ship and is one of the largest dailies in the country with its editions in almost all big cities.

British newspapers selected for the purpose of study include *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail*. The Guardian is quite old established in 1821 but previously it was known as

Manchester Guardian. According to the analysis conducted by a website, the guardian was the third most read newspaper in the UK while the Daily Mail was on second with almost the biggest circulation in the country.

The data selected for the purpose of the analysis is taken from four newspapers. Two of them are Pakistani English newspapers. From each newspaper, 15 editorials and headline articles have been selected following the timeline of Panama Leaks from April to May 2016. As Van Dijk, (1991) affirms that the headline is the gist of the content and reader makes his overall understanding of a phenomenon sometimes by just glancing at the headlines. The newspapers samples all cover the same subject matter which was specially kept in mind due to the comparative nature of the study. The total number of selected articles is 60. The researcher has taken out an equal number of statements as examples from each newspaper to obtain accurate results of the quantitative aspect of the research. The reason behind selecting the English newspapers of these two countries is that after a lot of study the researcher concluded that the Pakistani newspapers have not been studied that frequently and especially the cross-cultural studies including Pakistani newspapers were rarely found. This phenomenon motivated the researcher to select the newspapers from her own country. Including newspapers from Britain had a simple reason that because the UK and Britain are more relatable to the Pakistani nation as compared to the people from other countries named in Panama e.g. Ice land or Nigeria. Both the countries have democratic systems with active opposition and the same designated participants are named in Panama Gate that is the Prime Minister of both countries. Also upon studying the researcher found out that the initial response of both the PM's to the accusations was the same which makes it more rational to choose the newspapers from the mentioned countries. Also, there was another aspect which was kept in mind while selecting the data from these newspapers that one country is developed and independent that is UK and Pakistan is struggling and is underdeveloped in researcher's sight it would be informative to see how the media of both countries tackle this issue. Bell, (1991) claimed that newspapers discourse drops hints of the underlying ideologies as to how a certain phenomenon is foregrounded or excluded intentionally or by the use of active or passive voice of the tense.

The issue of Panama Leaks has its own significance as the research entails that it is the biggest corruption scandal of history. The Panamanian firm Mossack Fonseca was responsible for holding the documents and running offshore and hidden companies for the wealthiest people all around the world. The aim of these offshore companies is the facilitation in tax embezzlement. Surprisingly many politicians were named in this scandal leaving the nations bewildered. Any person holding public office and politicians especially should be very particular about their image and credibility. As the scandal emerged a huge ratio of the people started the protests demanding the culprits to step down of their posts. Judging by the magnitude of the issue the media all around the world gave it a lot of coverage which proves the impact of this corruption scandal. The print media being the commonly accessible medium to most of the population was of more interest for the researcher because the headlines of newspapers are impregnated with meanings and almost all the content of the newspaper is flashed as headlines to grab more attention from the audience (Montgomery & Feng, 2016). With the growing awareness upon these issues, the researcher felt that it would be beneficial if this issue will be studied due to its imperative nature and it will contribute to the understanding of people about how the world of politics works.

3.5. Corpus Collection

The data collected for the purpose of analysis has been retrieved from the official websites of the selected newspapers which leaves no doubts about their authenticity. The editorials and articles were selected from the electronic paper from the archive of newspaper dating back to 2016. Each article has been cited with the proper format and the individual links have been provided in the reference section following the format.

3.6. Process of Data Analysis

The process of the analysis of data is divided into different stages. First of all the examples selected are listed and numbered. After tagging the statements with process types the percentage occurrence of each of the six processes is calculated. The percentages were then discussed under the heading of each of four newspapers first Pakistani and then British newspaper. Every example is analyzed by breaking it into its

constituents and discussing each element separately and what can be inferred from those examples with the help of evidence from previously conducted researches. The role of context is determined in each case and how that lexical choice was intrinsically or extrinsically motivated. The researcher's knowledge about socio-cultural practices of discourse was implemented here and the discussion about the political aspects of the example is discussed. As Seo, (2013) pointed out in his research that the differences in the national contexts of two countries reflect in their headlines. He also made use of transitivity theory to assess these differences. The researcher has not categorically separated the three steps of the analysis from textual analysis to the explanation into separate headings but the systematic procedure is followed to avoid any confusion. Lastly, a comparative table is also made to address the research question about the similarities and differences in the media discourse of both countries. The table shows the figures for how often a transitivity process is repeated in newspapers of two countries.

3.7. Triangulation of Data

The selected data has been validated through the use of a mixed approach. As it has been mentioned that the researcher used two theoretical frameworks to analyze the text that was selected to compare and comprehend in a better way. The transitivity process allows the researcher to get a grasp at the textual level and the Fairclough's model has enabled the researcher to explain the core factors implicitly embedded in the text.

3.8. Delimitation of the study

To limit the size of the research the articles that have been selected for the analysis have been limited to the time span of one month only. The immediate four weeks after the emergence of Panama Case have been considered. The coverage given by the media at the time is observed and samples have been collected dating April-May 2016. To keep the research manageable each transitivity process has in every newspaper been discussed with two examples. The selected number of examples from each newspaper was kept 50-60.

CHAPTER 4

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Looking at the samples collected as a whole gives an impression about the reporting styles both in Pakistan and Britain. It does give the researcher insight about what is going on in the print media and different newspapers but it does not provide us with the comprehensive view and for that researcher have attempted this analysis. This aims to make it easier for everyone to grasp the basic ideologies and differences between the two countries reporting styles over the same issue. Both types of analysis have their own importance and emphasize some major aspect in the field of linguistics.

4.1. Background

In the wake of the latest issue, the Panama Gate our country has seen a significant change. This issue has not only touched our country but it has been a worldwide storm. As it has been mentioned earlier that Panama leaks are related to corruption and no doubt our country has been suffering from this menace for years. Now it has named the serving Prime Minister of Pakistan and the leader of one of the ruling parties of the country. Similarly, in Britain, Prime Minister David Cameron has also been under the heat for allegedly benefiting from an offshore company. Although the company Cameron has been accused to benefit from was established by his father Ian Cameron and is in his name. Whereas in our case, Prime Minister directly along with his family members, has been named to own offshore companies in their name.

Panama leaks have unveiled a massive scale corruption happening right under the nose of many world leaders claiming to do their best to eliminate every such evil. Consequently, the amount of attention it got all over the world added salt to the injury of many who were involved forcing them to resign from their offices and being disqualified by the court etc. such decisions were not just prompted by the leaks themselves instead a whole lot of media coverage was a big factor.

Panama scandal had over 11.5 million leaked documents and they had the most powerful and unexpected influential people named in it who were linked with offshore accounts and tax avoidance. It had people from every field of life starting with politicians to businessmen to actors and so on. The reason it caused the public outrage in the world was over the fact that politicians who are believed to fight for the public welfare were involved in such kind of activities. People started seeing them as morally corrupt and it sparked a massive protest all over the world including Pakistan and the United Kingdom.

If we talk about the role of media in this situation we can surely say that it was the primary medium through which people were keeping themselves updated on the issue. No one from the public really saw those documents and the legal documents proving the accused people guilty. They learned it all through media both electronic and print. In Pakistan, there are certain norms attached with the reporting and sometimes rules are pushed behind the line to get the way. On the other hand, western countries and their newspapers strictly follow the code of conduct and have to maintain dignity, whatever the issue may be. As David (1984) said that the concept of media hegemony includes the ideology of journalist, the tendency of journalists to support the status quo and the negative character of foreign news coverage especially third world countries. So I would look into the details of these matters with the samples collected and try to unveil that whether the same concepts have been buried under the explicit strategies of newspaper reporting.

4.2. Identification of Transitivity Patterns

As for the purpose of textual analysis, transitivity process has been selected. The system given by Michael Halliday takes the aid of different processes which define the ongoing of the surroundings. Those are categorized in different ways and thus each one has its own distinct characters through which we identify it in an utterance. All of these have their own purposes and somehow give us some insight into the rationale of the writer for choosing such vocabulary.

4.2.1. The Express Tribune

Table 4.1 gives us the idea about the usage of the processes and we can clearly see that there is a distinct difference between the occurrences of processes. Having the highest percentage material process is dominating and it is somehow predictable. We know that material process is used to express any change with or without the information about the surroundings writers usually, use material processes mostly to document what is happening to whom and editorials are the biggest source of that. Newspaper discourse has to reflect what is going on around in the world and for that, it has to make use of the action verbs.

Transitivity process	No.	Percentage
Material process	26	39%
Relational process	9	13%
Mental process	15	22%
Verbal process	10	15%
Behavioral process	6	9%
Existential process	1	1%

Table 4.1: Transitivity process in The Express Tribune

4.2.1.1. Material process

The material process involves doing some concrete action. This process defines an action which can be seen or felt and so on. It has an actor which is the doer and the circumstance which is the setting or the cause of the action performed. If we look at table 4.1 this process has the highest percentage among all which implies that newspaper reporting in this particular newspaper requires a lot of strong verbs to describe the phenomenon. If we look at

Example 1:

Opposition parties have apparently *teamedup* to press PM Nawaz Sharif to come clean on the charges that his three children own offshore companies (Tribune, 2016).

Here it can be seen that the word *teamed up* shows a material process. The *actors* are the opposition parties in this case whereas the *goal* is that they are affecting is the PM Nawaz himself. As Sabbachat and Mahdi,(2014) pointed out in their research, the researcher also found a concrete change happening in the situation by the actors of the process which is the act of getting together against one person over an issue.

Now before I get into the detailed analysis of this utterance the backdrop to this statement should be discussed. As the issue of Panama leaks emerged on the surface it caused stirring among the political rows of each country and so Pakistan. The current serving Prime minister of Pakistan was named as one of the beneficiaries in the offshore companies established in the names of his children. Offshore companies aid people to avoid taxes on properties and to stash a huge amount of wealth without getting noticed. The biggest and ruling party of the country was dragged into this corruption scandal and almost immediately everyone in the opposition took their chances to question Nawaz Sharif. The opposition parties asked PM to declare his assets and to take in confidence the public as well as the members of the parliament about the ongoing situation. They also asked blatantly about his family's ownership of the offshore companies and to include them in the clarification too.

The socio-cultural analysis of this statement in one of the leading newspapers of the country reveals that print media in Pakistan has a mind of its own. The use of the word *teamed up* right next to *apparently* means that the writer or the reporter is not sure of this possibility. Writers usually deliberately chose to ignore specific details when there is a hint of uncertainty and just highlight the even that is under discussion. He just assumed that this might be the case although unfortunately, the politicians of Pakistan have never really been on the same page. To some extent he cannot be blamed because in the political culture of Pakistan it is quite common to get into the line if one party or any person is under the heat. In the past PML-N and PPP have been together numerous times to team up against the Imran Khan and that is what was happening here too. Secondly, the statement says that they are pressing the PM to come clean which implied that the reporter must already think that there is some dirt behind this issue and on some level, the charges put against the PM and his children could be true. Pakistan is one of those countries where politics play a huge role to decide the fates of the people and the

newspaper knows the importance of such sensitive issues like Panama Leaks so they are trying their best to inculcate their own opinions too. As it is seen that language and ideology have a close relationship in newspaper discourse which is propagated by the linguistic choices used (Matu & Peter, 2008). Another example of the material process is

Example 2:

The appearance of PM in parliament has done nothing to *dampen* the fires *ignited* by the Panama Papers affairs (Editorial, Impasse over Panama, 2016).

Here the words *dampen* and *ignited* both show some action and interestingly both of them are opposite to each other. Here the PM is the *actor* whose appearance has instigated some kind of action which is denoted by the above mentioned words. The *goal* is the Panama papers and the gigantic uproar it had created. The use of fire and the analogies related to it gives the researcher a clear idea about the magnitude of the problem being discussed here. The newspaper has adopted an unconventional use of words here which catches the reader's eye. It has been observed that sometimes the material processes do not necessarily denote the material or concrete actions like this example where the PM was not exactly to dampen any fire. Koutchade and Kouyinampou, (2017) discuss the same idea in their study and highlight the words which do not denote any immediate concrete action happening.

This statement depicts the circumstances right after the speech of PM in the National Assembly. As it had been discussed earlier that the opposition put intense pressure on the prime minister to appear on an official forum and give some justification. They expected the PM to answer the seven questions they had drafted which contained questions about offshore families and other financial matters. By the analysis of the use of words, it gives an idea that the writer tried to describe the gravity of the up stir caused by Panama leaks and compared it to the fire. As Gee, (2005) said that language has a magical property and people design their communication around the situation they are in and use words according to it and the choice of words represent writer's point of view (Anashia, 2016). Similarly the newspaper has expressed its own stance in an implicit manner that the issue of Panama leaks is not a matter to be handled recklessly.

After the enormous pressure from almost all sides, PML-N decided to put up its stance in front of the public as well as opposition parties. Even though Nawaz Sharif has been denying about any alleged money laundering his fellow politicians refused to agree to what he had to say. They kept accusing him of hiding assets and to bring forward his family's income. The government adopted a bold strategy and the PM went on to say that he is not accountable to anyone. Unfortunately, this turned against him because media had given the issue of this corruption scandal a lot of coverage. Comparing it to the fire gives the idea that it has brought major repercussions with it and as fire destroys things that come in its way this problem too is only going to disturb more things. With the upcoming elections of 2018, it was a highly sensitive time for the politics of Pakistan to engage in any kind of fire.

4.2.1.2.Relational process

The second major process in the transitivity system is the relational process. It describes the act of identifying or relating a certain attribute with someone. Table 4.1 shows that the less percentage of relational process points the fact that newspaper reporting does not necessarily depend on the relational process. It has to do with the fact that the newspaper reports facts and it does not assign identifies and characteristics to things. Let us look at

Example 3:

The PM *appears* to have placed himself above and beyond accountability at the same time as saying he would step down if found guilty of any wrong doing(Editorial, A Political Deadlock, 2016).

The use of the copular verb *appears* shows that this process is relational. PM is the *carrier* and placing himself above accountability is the *attribute* being talked about. The statement is somewhat contradictory and the writer of this particular editorial carefully picked up these words to denote the irony of the situation. The researcher observed that in the Pakistani newspapers PM was the participant or the actor many times and that means that the writer wanted to focus more on what and how prime minister was doing things as Nguyen, (2012) mentioned in his research that a lot of processes focused

on the city and the society in which the main character was living where writer was inviting the readers to understand the character's society.

These words refer to the time when PM instead of adopting a humble attitude amid the Panama leak issue became hostile and said that he was not answerable to anyone. This statement by Nawaz Sharif was not taken well by anyone including public and he was widely criticized for it. A person holding public office is answerable to public as well as other state institutions. The writer has made use of the paradox to highlight the absurdity of words. On one hand PM keeps denying any inquiry or investigation and on the other hand, he offers to resign of his seat if found guilty. The efforts of PM trying to establish the supremacy of law through words was also highlighted by Naveed (2017) in his research. Question is how would it be decided that he is guilty or not without any kind of inquiry being done? Another example is

Example 4:

National media as well *seems* more focused on Panama leaks rather than on analyzing critically the performance of the economy in the outgoing year(Editorial, Budget Lost in Panama Papers?, 2016).

This is the relational process where the national media is the *carrier* and being focused on Panama is the *attribute*. Here the writer has acknowledged the fact that including his own newspaper the whole media is bent on just one issue. Although he played it safe by the use of the word *seems* which leaves a little room for doubt that it may not have been the case. He also simultaneously gives a suggestion as to what media should really do. This achieves the aim of being opinion in a newspaper because it reflects the suggestion given by the editor himself.

This statement from the editorial is from the time where the annual budget of the year 2016-2017 was about to be presented in the National Assembly and it is a huge deal for every critic. People compare and analyze the economic situation of the country and expected changes in the coming year. At this time however, media itself sucked into the vortex of Panama leaks because it was the hot issue then. Everyone was interested to know more about the Panama than the budget but the writer slightly criticizes the fact

that instead of just this the media should be more responsible and cater to the national budget and analyze the performance of the government. Urooj and Rasool, (2016) found out in their study conducted on the Pakistani Press editorials that mass media usually establishes government policies and the trend of criticism on government and other institutions is pretty repetitive throughout. He may have here implied that if everyone would be looking at one issue the present government might get away with the flaws in its performance in the past year.

4.2.1.3.Mental process

Mental process refers to the intangible action happening mostly through perception. Whatever happens in the mind of the person refers to the mental process. The percentage of mental process is higher than that of relational which is surprising because it means the newspaper reporting made use of the mental verbs more. Mental process denotes someone's ongoing thought process and it is quite difficult to identify that.

Example 5:

Gen Raheel *urges* PM to resolve Panama Leaks issue (2016).

This statement seems short and to the point but it contains a hidden as well as an explicit meaning. The process is mental because urging someone to do something is playing with his psychology too. It does not involve any material action and so Gen Raheel is *sensor* here and the resolving of Panama leaks is a *phenomenon*. The newspaper has carefully chosen the word to report this because of the tension between civil and army leadership. The writer successfully gave a hint of the superiority of the army General in this situation.

Nawaz Sharif has never been on good terms with the army throughout his political career. The very fact led to his demise by General Musharraf in October 1999. Even after the successful transfer of power to him in the elections 2013 he has not been able to establish a smooth relationship with Pakistan army. The headline pointing to the fact that in a meeting General Raheel Sharif then COAS persuaded or we can say pushed Nawaz Sharif to solve the pending issue of Panama. Darani, (2014) found out in his research that the persuasive style of writing can easily be identified by the use of the

transitivity analysis and its respective categories. The researcher also gets the same idea here by the use of words from the writer who is trying to establish the authority of the Gen Raheel. The details of the meeting are not known but the speculations rose that COAS had asked the PM to end this futile drama through whatever means he can. Involvement of the army in such a case is itself a big move.

Example 6:

This is likely to increase distrust between civil and military, the sign of which can already be *detected*(Rizvi, 2016).

This is another example of the mental process. Detecting is something that you do through your own perception the direct sensor in this statement is missing but we can assume that the general public is the one who detected this. The awkward rigidity between the army and the ruling party is the phenomenon being talked about. The newspaper cunningly avoided any subject because that would have been caused trouble and by omitting the subject it can also put forward its own stance.

This statement also refers to the sensitive relationship between the PML-N government and the Pak army. Knowing that directly saying anything against this situation could be asking for trouble the newspaper reported it using the passive voice where it focused more on the object and the mental verb. The researcher found that mental process here means that the writer is giving out his own opinion which can also be identified as the common perception too as Nguyen (2012) confirms in his study that wherever the writer makes use of mental verbs he is intentionally or not expressing his own views about a phenomenon.

This is the general perception in Pakistan that Sharif brothers do not get along with the army and there is also unseen pressure from the army to solve the Panama issue because it was causing unrest in the country. The fact that the newspaper used the word increased means that there already is some distrust or tension present between both parties.

4.1.1.4. Verbal process

The verbal process as the name suggests is the act of saying something. It does not, however, limit to the mere saying of words only it also includes any act done by using the act of uttering. Promising, declaring, announcing are examples of such acts. If we analyze table 4.1 we see that there is a low percentage of the verbal processes which means the discourse of this particular newspaper does not report direct speech very much. It provides its own documentary over the situation instead of just blandly pasting the words said by the concerned people.

Example 7:

From the PM to the PML-N media drum beater, who think their verbal *wrangling* on TV will salvage the situation (Rizvi, 2016).

This is an example of a verbal process the word *wrangling* defines the process. The drum beaters are the *sayers* in this situation and the *verbiage* is not exactly quoted here. There is however given a vague idea as to what they are probably saying and that is something bad. The use of word *wrangling* gives the process a negative connotation. The statement from the writer clearly shows his own dislike through words. The use of such strong vocabulary like drum beaters shows the fact that the writer does not have much regard for people like those.

The example represents a whole culture in itself. A culture of biasness and political affiliation of media houses with certain political parties. The leading channels and newspaper groups each have their own associations with politicians and they get benefits for that. In turn, the standard of reporting goes low because of the partiality. Behnam and Khodadust,(2010) confirm that the media shows biasness after being affected by the context. The situations of the country and the value also affect the ideology of the media. Here the same people are talked about who were using the Panama situation for their own advantage. Some journalists and media person clearly sided with PM on his stance and justified his unknown sources of income raising suspicions over their own credibility. Whereas there are some who strongly opposed him during the PM's media trial and somehow added to his misery.

Example 8:

Detractors *say* no way out for Nawaz (Zaman & Haq, 2016).

Detractors are the *sayers* here and implying that there is no way out for Nawaz is the *verbiage* in this process. The use of the short and to the point words declares that the writer himself is of the view that there might be no way out for PM. This also implies that Nawaz must have tried to mold the situation in his favor and was denied any middle way.

As soon as the Panama issue was raised there were immediate concerns about the PM taking a way out. The history provides evidence to support this claim because Nawaz Sharif fled to Saudia Arabia after his exile and 14 months of imprisonment by General Parvez Musharraf. People started assuming that something similar would happen if the circumstances would aggravate for the Sharif family. A detractor is a very wide term though technically it means the critics it also implies the people who oppose PM and wish for his downfall. The choice of sayer also says a lot about the ideological views it is presenting as Ben (2017) pointed out in his research that same statement changes its meaning if the sayer has been changed he gives out the example of the same event published in the newspaper with a different sayer same case has been highlighted here where the chosen sayer by the writer is ‘detractor’ and this word has a negative connotation and suggests that the statement is given by cynics instead of analyst or experts.

4.2.1.5. Behavioral process

Behavioral process lies somewhere between mental and material process because there is some provocation upon which behavior is initiated. The reaction could be material or mental as well. The behavioral process has an extremely low percentage in the newspaper discourse. These figures point to the fact that the style of reporting is more formal and there is not much room for the behavioral aspects of the entities being talked about.

Example 9:

Some politicians are *behaving* like commissions within themselves (Bhutta & Manan, 2016).

In the above mentioned example behaving denotes the behavioral process. The *behavers* are the politicians which are referred to in the statement but there is a description of the phenomenon as to what are the actual circumstances they are creating. The rest of the utterance explains the way they are behaving.

This example shows the point of view of the PM Nawaz Sharif. He gave this statement during one of his foreign tours. He pointed to his rival parties including PPP and PTI that they are trying to judge him. Although he declared himself not answerable to anyone let alone the opposition members he, on the other hand, seems quite irritated because of them. Panama case issue led to the demand of forming of a commission whose task would be to look into this matter and investigate Nawaz Sharif and all the corruption charges upon him and his family. Nawaz Sharif compared the opposing politicians to that commission and gave the hint that they have no right to actually ask him questions having no authority.

Example 10:

The combined opposition *refused* to back down from its seven proposed questions to PM *rejecting* all explanations offered by the government (Zaman & Haq, 2016).

The process is an example of a behavioral process. Both the verbs indicate the behavior. There is the same *behave*r of both processes that is opposition. The behaviors are the variation of the same word and mean similar too. The emphasis on the negative words shows that the writer perceived the reaction of the opposition as quite severe. It can be said that the writer leaves it up to the readers to interpret his severe stance hidden between the words making it an exchange between encoders and decoders (Behnam, 2002).

After the Panama case opposition immediately debated about PM's innocence because Sharif family has also previously been accused of corruption. The government, however, failed to provide a satisfactory clarification and ignored the piling questions. After the situation got worse and even the army chief of the time intervened advising Nawaz Sharif to solve this matter for the sake of country only then he agreed to address the National Assembly. Sharif did not properly answer the questionnaire made by the

opposition asking when and how he bought his property. He made his speech revolving around his family and how he got money but even those claims were not backed up by the necessary evidence as the same newspaper reported. The opposition rejected that speech by PM and displayed an unyielding stand that they would not accept these facts which were just presented to stall it. They asked the prime minister to step up and provide some substantial explanation because the accusations were very severe. According to the members of opposition the only answers they will accept would be the ones to their own formulated questions.

4.2.1.6.Existential Process

The existential process simply refers to the act of existing. If some entity or a thing exists and its state of being is discussed that would be called existential process. This process has an almost nonexistent percentage, in fact, there was only a single existential process found in all the samples collected from this newspaper discourse.

Example 11:

The street process will *be* his main strategy (Rizvi, 2016).

The presence of the word *be* insures that this is an existential process. The street process is the *existent* here.

This statement is about the leader of PTI Imran Khan. After the rise of Panama case on the international scenario he left no stone unturned to grab the opportunity and started a campaign against corruption and corrupt leaders mainly Nawaz Sharif. Imran had already a bone of contention between him and then present PM over the rigging of the election 2013. He kept raising his concerns over the systematic rigging in four constituencies. When his demand to open and investigate those four constituencies fell on the deaf ear he conducted a protest and sit in for the long period of about 126 days. After that ‘dharna’ in the capital city, the street protest kind of became his identity and he was widely criticized for the fact too. Here the strategy of Imran Khan is under discussion and as the statement no. 40 suggests that the Panama issue was being considered a God sent opportunity for the politics of PTI leader. He was thought to turn back to the old ways and get into streets to register his protest and to put pressure on Nawaz government.

4.2.2. Dawn News

Transitivity process	No.	Percentage
Material process	37	52%
Relational process	3	4%
Mental process	8	11%
Verbal process	7	10%
Behavioral process	9	12%
Existential process	7	10%

Table 4.2: Transitivity process in Dawn News

Table 4.2 shows the figures of the transitivity processes used in the second selected Pakistani English newspaper Dawn News. Here we can see that the material process tops the chart once again like the similar analysis of the transitivity patterns by Nancy (2016) shows the predominance of the material process in 9 out of 2 headlines she selected for the research. Comparing it to table 4.1 we see a sudden drop in the use of relational process along with an increased percentage of about 12% in the behavioral process. The least commonly present process in the discourse was an existential process but even then it has more occurrences in Dawn news discourse than in Express Tribune.

4.2.2.1. Material process

The material process mostly contains the top position in transitivity tables. It corresponds to the fact that the coverage of the events happening around is the main focus of the newspapers. Surprisingly Dawn News shows a higher percentage of the mentioned process. The other Pakistani newspaper displayed the material process only 26 times. The material process is doing any physical act which also entails the power of the doer to affect anything around him which makes this process distinct from others (Wati, 2014)

Example 12:

At a time when government is *battling* to *regain* its credibility a most unhelpful notion has been *introduced* in the NA calling for all the members of the parliament to be *given* a hefty pay raise. (May 21, 2016)

The highlighted words all represent the material processes in the statement. The reclaiming of the credibility is the *goal* in this case whereas the government is the *actor*. The choice of words by the writer shows a clear discontentment with the idea being discussed in the statement. The use of word *regain* establishes the fact that the government already has lost its credibility and the newspaper is sure of it. *Battling* literally means fighting against the enemy so by choosing this particular verb the writer entails that everybody has turned against the government.

If we look at the statement no. 64 it states that the chief justice of Pakistan pushed the PML-N government in a compromising situation and as the headline read he used “unusually blunt language” means that the behavior of the Supreme Court was surprising for the media as well. The Panama scandal had already made things difficult for the government and the increasing criticism made more room for the errors. As the writer expressed his dissatisfaction by declaring it as an ‘unhelpful notion’ one is forced to think what might be the reason for this? The attempt to win the support of the members of NA could be one of the reasons for introducing this pay raise. Ironically when the supreme leader of the country is being accused of the huge corruption only then he decides to throw in more money into the scene. The writer uses the concept of timeliness. Where the issue is presented as current and new for the readers so that its effectiveness never dies. This refers to the time-bound theory where it is supposed that any element presented in news is current and important. In this example, the timing is very crucial and the action done by the government has been criticized (Moses & Anyandike, 2013).

It also reflects the sad reality of our country where more than half of the population is below the poverty line and the rulers are so rich that their assets are spread all over the world. In a struggling country like this the representatives of the masses

shouldn't be concerned about their pay raise instead utilize those funds for the public which truly deserve.

Example 13:

PM has not *made* a single declaration that has been definitively *backed* up by documentary evidence to support his family's position (Editorial, PM's Opportunity in Parliament, 2016).

The process is material whereas the *actor* is once again the prime minister himself. The *goal* is evidence. The statement makes use of alliteration intentionally or unintentionally to give it a more dramatic effect. Words like declaration, definitively and documentary certainly embellish the language. One thing is, however, to ponder that the basic purpose of any newspaper is to just report the facts, not aesthetics. The word 'single' gives the researcher a clue that the media or this particular newspaper has been following the PM's footsteps and were not able to find any substantial proof in Nawaz Sharif's favor.

The mention of the documentary evidence proves the fact that PM's claims of innocence were futile. When after giving a brief summary of his assets in NA he could not show any verified documents to sustain his virtue he was doubted even more. The money trail he was expected to show was absent from the documents he presented. The writer has used the strategy of repetition where throughout the editorial writer has highlighted the negative actions of the PM to convince the audiences of his mishandling of situation as the same phenomenon has been studied by other researchers in their respective works (Yaghoobi, 2009). As the statement no. 61 suggests that PM can reset the substance about his family's wealth it points to the reality that he actually had messed it up by not taking it serious enough. The same editorial referred to the international examples of other politicians who were forced to take drastic steps after not been able to handle the matter initially. That means that the writer was somehow predicting the looming dangers over the PM's future by giving him examples of those leaders.

4.2.2.2. Relational process

Against the expectations and being one of the major processes, relational processes have quite less percentage in the sample of Dawn news. This means that reporting is more formal and the newspaper does not aim to assign attributes or carry out identities, according to Goathy, (2003) relational processes are used to describe and classify the participants in the text (Abrafi & Ewusi, 2015). Lesser use of relational process could also point to the fact that the newspaper did not identify the entities because the relational process also helps in categorizing certain lexical items into their equivalent constituents if present.

Example 14:

Referring to the discovery of an offshore company in Mr. Khan's name Mr. Asif described him as 'meesna' a colloquial Punjabi expression for someone who pretends to be innocent even though they know they *are* guilty (Ghumman K. , Imran Rejects PM's claim on London properties, 2016).

If we look at the above example we can see the interesting choice of words. The process is relational. It is an attributive relational process because the characteristic of being guilty is assigned to it. *They* or in this case indirectly Mr. Khan is *carrier* of the attribute guilty. The use of the Punjabi word 'meesna' suggests the use of code mixing. Chughtai & Khan (2016) state in their research that the most common reason for code-mixing is because the speaker does not find an alternative for the word in the language being used. This is the case here because the term 'meesna' is quite complicated and even the writer felt the need to explain it. This is something the researcher did not find in the reporting of the western newspapers their discourse is much more formal than ours.

The statement is by the foreign minister of then government Mr. Khawaja Asif accusing the rival party leader to have been involved in the corruption himself. This kind of statement from the foreign minister of the state shows that the politics of Pakistan is highly infested with the blaming and accusing. Politicians use negative face strategies more often than to defend their own self. The tradition of pulling each other's leg dominates in the media talk too. Newspaper on the other hand instead of omitting the

term or translating it into the appropriate term gave the explanation of the local term to be better understood for every type of audiences. As Akram,(2017) also stated in his study that the media discourse of selected government officials never addressed the accusations put against PM but put all their vigor to prove that Panama leaks are not an issue and is just a controversy to defame their leader.

Example 15:

It *seems* that this is going to be a tough sell for both sides (Ghumman K. , Panamagate Committe to meet behind closed doors, 2016).

This statement from the editorial suggests the fact that writer has openly expressed his own opinion. The use of the word *seems* implies that he is not so sure of the situation but that is his view. This is perception linking according to the categories presented by Lock, (1996). The use of relational process here explains to us the effect of Panama leak issue for both participants involved which are government and opposition. According to Hossein, (2010) the writer expresses the negative or positive outcome or any action by the use of a relational process that is what has been observed in this example.

The example refers to the situation where there was a deadlock between the government and the opposition parties over the terms of references. For the formulation of the inquiry commission for Panama gate scandal, Supreme Court directed both parties to agree upon the terms with mutual consent. This seemed very difficult at the time because both sides were being stern. As the statement no. 103 truly describes the picture that both participants entirely refused to give each other any ground. They could not get on the same page for a very long time until the Supreme Court of Pakistan itself formed a joint investigation team (JIT).

4.2.2.3.Mental process

The researcher saw a drop in the usage of the mental process too if we compare both Pakistani newspapers. Where Express Tribune has used almost 22% mental processes the Dawn only shows 11% which once again points to the fact that the later one is more vigilant about its reporting strategies and does not necessarily refers to the

thoughts expressed by the individuals. As Chen, (2007 cited in Joharta, 2016) said that transitivity is the best-suited tool to analyze what people say and how it is reported in newspapers and the mental process is the

Example 16:

At various points in his speech, the PM's delivery *suggested* nervousness at odds with defiant content (Editorial, PM's Defence , 2016).

The example shows the mental process of suggesting which means giving an impression and it could be classified as a cognitive mental process. There is no *sensor* here but we can assume that the writer or anyone who heard the speech is the sensor of this *phenomenon* which is being nervous about the speech. Another noticeable fact is that the writer gave himself the role of the critic and himself passed the judgment about PM being nervous. Secondly, the newspaper itself classified the content of the PM's speech as 'defiant' without giving any rationale.

The speech under discussion is the one Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif gave after he was immensely pressurized to appear in front of National Assembly and clarify his stance. As statement no. 51 says that it was more of a showdown or a battlefield for opposition and government so obviously that speech was of much importance. Nawaz Sharif on the other against the expectations of the opposition just stated his apparent sources of income which did not align with his net worth. As a result, the opposition protested and rejected these counterfeit claims (statement no. 77). According to the news the PM seemed nervous, there could be various reasons for that including the pressure of scrutiny and the fact that everything was going against them at the time. This also implies that PM may have not written the speech himself and did not thoroughly know the contents of the speech. Reading it there on the floor of the house must have made his body language awkward. The positive fact about this statement is that the newspaper reporting keeps a keen view of all the aspects of the situation and picks up the subtle hints.

Example 17:

It (government) should be *aware* that its own campaign-style politics have contributed to the prevailing sense of governmental paralysis (Editorial, Panama: judicial commission , 2016).

The state of being aware is the mental process. *It* which is a pronoun used for government is the *sensor*. The damaging state of government is the *phenomenon*. The writer has used the suggestive style of writing here. By observing this statement it is obvious that there is the use of strong vocabulary to express a notion and may be some over wording. The exaggeration urges to think that the writer feels too strongly about the fact that the Panama case has severely hurt the government's reputation.

Campaign style politics refers to the culture of using face negative and face-saving strategies in Pakistani politics. Instead of showing performance it seems easier to just throw dirt and pinpoint faults of others. After the PML-N government was stuck in Panama case their performance deteriorated so much that it seemed inevitable to investigate this matter and put an end to it. This was another major difference between our country and others where the scandal had nothing to do with the responsibilities of government. The editor has made use of active construction where he has foregrounded the derailing situation where Panama gate has severely affected government's performance as Yaghoobi, (2009) observed the same phenomenon in his work where only one participant's action was highlighted. The statement using the concept of being aware shows that somehow the government officials are in a state of denial where they have no idea that things are getting out of hands and they should soon take an action. Government has been personified and then given a relational value of being paralyzed.

4.2.2.4. Verbal process

The researcher found less difference between the occurrences of the verbal process in both newspapers. This presents the point that the newspaper which did not quote statements of the individuals more does not have a high percentage of the verbal process. The verbal process usually includes the verbiage that is mostly a subordinate clause and sometimes is studied independently then the main clause.

Example 18:

“We have not resorted to *calling* each other ‘chor – chor’ because we know who benefits from such a situation”(Zaidi H. B., 2016).

This particular statement is by the leader of the opposition Syed Khursheed Shah. The act of calling makes it a verbal process and the *sayer* and *target* as well are absent but we do know who exactly said this and to whom. The *verbiage* is present and makes most of the part of the statement. This example proves the informal style of reporting and is another example of code mixing this time with the Urdu language. This is an example of intra-sentential code mixing. The word ‘chor’ does have an appropriate equivalent in English that is ‘thief’ but the writer chose not to use it. This means that he wanted to inculcate the feeling of inclusivity and even when people are reading English newspaper they don’t feel alienated from their own language. According to Talaat, (2005) code mixing is not only a linguistic phenomenon but also a social phenomenon.

This is a declarative positive statement showing a good gesture on behalf of the opposition leader. Another thing is that unlike the previous example the newspaper did not feel the need to explain the concept because it is commonly understood in the culture.

The language like this used in the National Assembly reflects the sad reality that politics has become just a game of money and power. Although the statement reads that the leader of the opposition says that they no longer get petty and have stopped accusing each other the reality is not just that. Statement no. 85 from the same newspaper reports that the government has increased the verbal attacks on the opposition parties. It is a paradox. An unidentified entity has also been mentioned here which could benefit from this situation according to the *sayer*. Such kind of talk leaves a lot open for interpretation at the same time it is an effective strategy to give a silent message. Lastly not explaining the concept of ‘chor’ proves that this is a commonly used and understood term in every household of our country.

Example 19:

PM to *answer* burning questions in NA today (Ghumman K. , 2016).

The process is verbal. There is no direct *sayer* but we do know that the answers will be given by the PM so he is the indirect sayer. Today is the temporal circumstance which is usually used to authenticate the argument of the writer or the speaker (Naz, Alvi & Baseer, 2012).

The statement shows the situation Nawaz Sharif would face when he would be going to the National Assembly to answer the questions opposition wants him to. The opposition parties had prepared seven questions with census to ask PM when he was scheduled to appear in NA. The Prime Minister had prepared his own speech and documents to present as his proofs but the opposition was not ready to accept anything less. The newspaper headline shows its own assessment that the questions would be hard to handle for the prime minister. The burning question is seen as the use of metaphor. The use of metaphor in newspaper discourse is strange and the researcher did not find any such examples in British newspapers.

4.2.2.5. Behavioral process

The researcher found Behavioral process in the Dawn news less than those in Express tribune but the difference is negligible. The percentage of 12% is still less than other dominating processes. The behavioral process tells us about the mental state of the participants because they lie on the boundaries of mental and material process. Whatever is going through the thought process of an individual is realized by the material action and thus classified as the behavioral process.

Example 20:

The PTI *expressed* serious concerns over the government's efforts to pressure the independent media (Ghumman K. , Talks on Tor for commission deadlocked , 2016).

The verb *expressed* shows the process. PTI is the behavior and the expressing concern is the behavior that can be seen. This is a declarative sentence which hands out information about the worries of PTI. The writer did not try to deny the claims of PTI by adding the words like alleged which shows that newspaper reporters feel the same. Self-praising can also be sensed with the use of the word 'independent media' whereas it is a common perception that newspapers favor some parties more than others.

The Panama case highlighted a lot more issues than just corrupt leaders. It shed light on how things work to shape the psyche of the public without them even knowing. What better tool to create a narrative than print and electronic media? Consequently, the government turned to these ways too. PTI has a history of pinpointing every flaw they can see or sense in the government strategy. Here same technique had been used where the PTI party leaders tried to gain the favor of the media and newspapers by siding with them in their right of freedom. Statement no. 100 reveals that they did not even hesitate to accuse the media regulatory authority of being partial and being manipulated by the PML-N government.

Example 21:

PM Sharif does not at least *lack* for inspiration and examples to follow internationally (Editorial, PM's opportunity in parliament , 2016).

The process is behavioral. Prime Minister Sharif is the *behave*r in the statement. The statement is negative and again suggests an advice to be followed. As Halliday (1978) and Eggins (2004) said that the analyzing the participant puts focus on the doer of the action and this analysis relates to ideational Meta function so the researcher has highlighted the participant of the process to understand it in a better way. The researcher did not find many occurrences in the newspaper where international examples were quoted. This statement is an exception where the PM is being directed to look around him and take inspiration from other world leaders. Initially after being named in the Panama case PM or the government didn't pay much heed to the crisis that was rising. As one of the ministers even quoted in the National Assembly that people would soon forget about this Panama Gate scandal. The tackling of the government of this issue was not appropriate and it made people angrier. The editor is also suggesting that Nawaz Sharif should be aware of the huge scale consequences of Panama internationally. Around this time the prime minister of Iceland was forced to resign due to corruption charges and the similar pressure was faced by the British Prime Minister David Cameron who did eventually resign. Prime Minister Sharif was asked to resign too initially by PTI and then the whole movement gained strength in public too. The editor is referring to those

incidents that Sharif should understand the situation by learning lesson from other leaders and avoid any such outcome.

4.2.2.6.Existential process

The researcher found an increasing trend of the existential process in the Dawn news. The existential process only requires the state of existing and explains how an entity stays as it does. In other newspapers, the researcher could only find one example of an existential process which made clear that its occurrence is highly rare. In Dawn News, however, there were some examples which were classified as the existential processes. This process does not generally occur because it does not encode any meaning as other processes do.

Example 22:

Prime Minister said that there *was* no justification for an opposition hue and cry (Ghumman K. , Govt opposition heading for showdoen in parliament, 2016).

Having no justification is the *existent* in this process as well as the verbiage if we consider the same statement for the verbal process. This statement shows the point of view of the PM about the protests done by the opposition. This is a negative statement. The example shows the use of an idiom which might not be comprehensible to everyone.

Though the existential process just reports the act of existing or being researcher concluded that the statement is the rejection of all the accusations made by the opposition parties against the Prime minister. He utterly rejected all those claims and declared them as futile cries and waste of time. He has established that because there is no justification for this entire drama meaning he is not answerable to the rival parties.

Example 23:

... So he can focus on the more important budget preparations that should *be* the biggest claim on his time these days (Editorial, Budget and Panama, 2016).

The statement is an example of the existential process. The *existent* is the biggest claim that is being talked about. The statement sheds light on the situation going on when Panama whirl was on its peak in Pakistan. As per rule, the annual budget of Pakistan is to

be presented in the National Assembly in June. By this time opposition parties and the government was caught up in a big clash and there seemed no way out of it. All the government officials were busy in clearing the name of their leader as well as PM. Despite being neutral and focusing on the important agenda of the budget of the country the finance minister was wasting time in giving out a statement over Panama issue and blaming other rivals of creating a feud.

Pakistan being a financially challenged country needs a lot of thought to be put into its budgeting process. Finance minister in PML-N government was also one of his near relatives. The statement from the editorial shows the condemnation from the writer where he feels it necessary to suggest a better strategy to finance minister. The suggestion is given where there is always room for improvement.

4.2.3. The Guardian

Transitivity process	No.	Percentage
Material process	34	45%
Relational process	10	13%
Mental process	8	10%
Verbal process	9	12%
Behavioral process	7	9%
Existential process	7	9%

Table 4.3: Transitivity processes in The Guardian

Looking at table 4.3 it can be seen that the material process has the highest occurrence. It makes up almost half of the percentage of the transitivity pattern of the newspaper. Other than that all the minor processes have a low percentage as well. In a similar study conducted about the Persian and English newspaper, editorial material process was at the top with 54% (Shokouhi & Amin, 2010). The high percentage of one process is a similarity between Pakistani and the British newspaper however there is a difference in the ratio of other processes.

4.2.3.1. Material Process

As seen before the same trend has been established here where the material process is at the top of the table. The percentage of the process in *The Guardian* is, however, is less than the other British newspaper. The material process has the obligatory element of the *Actor* and an optional that is the *Goal*. The goal does not necessarily present itself in every statement and the examples quoted by the researcher too sometimes showed the absence of the goal but it was explained with the help of the study of the context.

Example 24:

Cameron left dangerously *exposed* by Panama papers fallout (Macaskill & Mason, 2016).

The word *exposed* shows the process. The *actor* is a non-living entity Panama papers and the *target* who got affected by it is the British President David Cameron. The statement shows the crucial point of time when Panama papers hit the surface in Britain and the serving prime minister was linked to an offshore company too. The use of word *exposed* brings about that something was kept covered or secretive which has now been revealed. The adjective *dangerous* has been modified into an adverb to fit the situation and the act of exposing has been explained through it. Yaghoobi, (2009) also agrees with Van Dijk's (1985) observation in his research that the starting of the article or editorial in newspaper text is usually the most important one and established the theme and hands out information about the events happening. The researcher observed the same thing in the above mentioned example which was the headline where the most important idea was expressed in the starting point of the text. The statement shows no sign of over wording or exaggeration just simple declaration of the situation.

The statement is the representation of the stance of the British newspaper after the emergence of Panama papers. At the start, the researcher did not find any serious and emphasizing content about the corruption scandal. Later on, with the development of the case and the building pressure, the tone and style of reporting however changed (see statement 146). David Cameron the prime minister of the United Kingdom and the leader of the Conservative Party till 2016 was named as one of the beneficiaries of an offshore the account in Panama leaks. Initially, the scandal was not taken seriously and brushed off as merely some financial glitch but as the propaganda got strengthened Cameron had to face the scrutiny or 'grilling' as the newspaper wrote and come clean about his financial matters. However, a hint of Cameron being a victim is sensed here as he through no fault of his own had been facing this inquiry as Yaghoobi validates that the newspaper discourse represents an entity as a victim by representing them as passive participants in the clause.

Example 25:

Downing Street *lurched* between four successive lines starting out with palpably unsustainable *dismissal* of the whole question as private a matter (Editorial, The Guardian view on David Cameron: off-message on offshore , 2016).

The act of lurching and dismissing both justify the material process. Downing Street is the *actor* of the process and the rest of the utterance is giving an insight into the *goal*. Personification has been used to present Downing Street as an individual trying to hide behind its words. The statement mirrors the utter disappointment of the writer where he rejected the act of Downing Street. Labeling it as ‘palpably’ shows that the writer did not shy away from expressing his stance within newspaper reporting. Keeping in view that Downing Street is the official hub of the top government office holders criticizing it depicts true freedom of expression in a British newspaper. The theme is placed at the starting of the statement whereas rheme follows it.

This statement refers to the time when after a lot of pressure and raising questions Downing Street finally decided to release a statement about the matter. The press release of the western countries has much more formal mode as compared to the Pakistani spokespersons. Therefore giving out a statement about Panama was a huge deal. In its first statement, the Downing Street without realizing the insinuations of the words said that it was entirely a private matter for PM and his family. It launched criticism and a lot more question about the credibility of David Cameron. To clear things up Downing Street had to state and restate the explanation (see statement no. 128). According to the researcher, the labeling of Downing Street’s claim as ‘unsustainable’ was a prediction on the part of the writer saying that this cover will soon blow up and the state will have to provide a valid clarification which is in fact what happened in the days after. Relational Process

Relational process has a lower percentage in the newspaper editorials and headlines. The main purpose of relational purpose is to identify and assign attributes. The researcher found that the British newspaper was more focused on just stating the facts in its headlines rather than labeling and accusing the individuals of certain acts. The editorials, however, tell a different story where there is a blunt and bold show of words.

Example 26:

He *is* certainly guilty of epic hypocrisy(Editorial, The Guardian view on corruption: David Cameron should look closer to home, 2016).

The process is relational. The *carrier* is expressed by a pronoun ‘he’ which refers to the British PM. Being guilty is an *attribute*. It can be said that the agency is not clear and could be difficult to understand if the statement is taken out of context. The statement shows that the noun ‘epic’ has been used as an adjective to give an idea about the scale of hypocrisy by the process of adjectivization. The blunt statement is about the Prime Minister Cameron and his links to an offshore company. Although that particular company was established by his late father Ian Cameron he was still under suspicion to be getting profit from that company. The accusation of being hypocrite, however, has a separate background. Cameron after being elected as a Prime Minister has taken daring steps to eliminate corruption and the tax embezzlement. He had also made a law against “bearer shares” which allows any person who physically holds the shares certificate its sole owner. Identifying that this could lead to money laundering and fraudulent dealings in money Cameron banned it in the UK in 2015 just a year before the Panama scandal (see statement 121). The hypocrisy under discussion is the same where the irony has been pointed out that being the flag bearer of the transparent money dealing he himself was named in the biggest corruption scandal till date.

Example 27:

Cameron it *seemed* was reluctant to acknowledge the obvious that his father’s offshore fund had helped the family financially (Harding, 2016).

The statement has a relational process. The *carrier* is once again the PM, Cameron and the *attribute* is being reluctant to concede the facts. The declarative statement confirms some facts and leaves no room for any doubt. The newspaper is sure about Cameron being the beneficiary of his father’s offshore fund. Although he was not charged with any criminal offense, unlike our PM he still was widely frowned upon being named in Panama. The choice of word ‘obvious’ raises the question that whether the newspaper conducted thorough research about the claim it made or it just went ahead and reported it.

After denying any connection with offshore funds and driving the media into a frenzy Cameron finally admitted that he had profited about £31000 by selling the shares of offshore company. The fact that Pm eventually had to give in to the mounting pressure

on him describes the power of the media that was bent on getting the truth out of him. In researchers point of view media in modern ages can be considered as one of the ideological state apparatus because of the power it holds.

4.2.3.2.Mental Process

The mental process occurred only 8 times throughout the data. Mental processes are an important insight into what and how the writer is constructing the text. It caters the emotions, understandings and the sense of being of the people. The occurrence of mental process in British newspapers was lesser than those of the Pakistani Newspapers. The free style reporting of the Pakistani newspapers have contributed to the spike in the usage of mental process where the writers have mixed the personal opinions in their written expression.

Example 28:

...Until the prime minister can again make himself sound like a man who *wants* to open up the whole offshore question instead of closing it down(Editorial, The Guardian view on David Cameron: off-message on offshore , 2016).

The statement shows mental process of desire. Prime minister once again was the *sensor* and opening up the offshore question is the *phenomenon*. The statement provides a time frame for the PM to get himself together and to present himself for the accountability once again. As it had been stated earlier that David Cameron shot down the question of being involved in the Panama scandal too many times before finally admitting that he had actually gained profit over it. The media criticized him for this strategy and was blamed for ‘fending’ the questions (see statement 110).

This scrutiny of media for the Prime minister of the country proves what Althusser (1972) established about domination and subjugation. He presented the concept of interpellation where an individual identifies himself as a subject through ideology (Nguyen, n.d.). This way subject unknowingly acts on the norms established through ideological working. Similarly, over the years, media has created this unidentifiable fear of being exposed and being questioned that everyone gives in to its pressure. Media trials have been proved dangerous for the careers of the people and politicians specially and

this phenomenon is the same all over the world. The authoritative use tone in this particular example points to the fact discussed above.

Example 29:

No. 10 must *understand* that it will not do to dismiss the question of whether any Cameron family money remains tied up in the fund as “private matter”(Editorial, The Guardian view on the Panama Papers: secret riches and public rage, 2016).

The statement has a mental process. Understanding is a cognitive mental process. No. 10 is the *sensor* and the dismissal of the question is realized a *phenomenon*. The repetitive use of word ‘dismissal’ throughout the data of The Guardian suggests the writer’s personal vault of words from where he chooses. Calling the officials of No. 10 as just No. 10 shows the use of hyponymy.

The statement once again shows the rejection of the fact that the PM’s link to the Panama Scandal was considered as the private matter. The researcher found many instances in the newspaper where the writer registered his protest against this act of Downing Street. The tone of the statement is suggestive because it urges No. 10 to change its attitude towards this susceptible issue.

4.2.3.3. Verbal Process

Even though the researcher rarely found direct speeches of the politicians quoted in the newspaper the occurrence of the verbal process is almost 12% in total. Verbal process also touches the margins of the mental processes because it is the manifestation of the beliefs of an individual in the form of sentences and utterances. The sayer can also be an inanimate object that has the ability to exchange information or speak being a machine (Thompson 2000 as cited in Zhao & Zhang, 2017)

Example 30:

The Prime Minister (David Cameron) had *promised* to sweep away decades of offshore “tax secrecy”(Mossack Fonseca: inside the firm that helps the super-rich hide their money, 2016).

Promising shows the presence of a verbal process. The *sayer* is the Prime Minister and the *verbiage* is the sweeping of tax secrecy. *Target* is not present in the statement. The immediate effect the researcher got from the statement was ironic. It seems more of a satire on the PM than just a declarative statement. At the time where David Cameron is battling for his trustworthiness, bringing out his claims about eliminating tax secrecy does not look coincidental.

The writer has effectively implied the tool of irony and used punctuation marks to further emphasize what he means to say. The exaggeration made by saying that PM pledged to entirely clean the face of the world from black deeds like tax secrecy shows the irony of the situation. Keeping in view the fact that he had to clean his name and eventually had to step down from his post as Prime minister this brutal statement proves that he was already disqualified in the sight of the media.

Example 31:

Yet for too long even *talking* about corruption, never mind *tackling* it has been a taboo (Editorial, the fight against corruption begins with political will, 2016).

The example shows a verbal process. The *sayer* as well as *target* is absent from the process. There is also no direct *verbiage* in the statement. The statement from the editorial talks about the norms of the society where doing corruption does not get someone in trouble but talking or pointing it out seems like a big problem. The writer has made use of argumentation where he is putting forward his claim about corruption. As Hossein and Forough, (2010) observed in their research that writers usually put forward their propositions and sometimes they are supported with reasons and evidence too.

As the researcher mentioned earlier that the Panama Leak has been one of the biggest scandal involving many high profile people which were regarded very highly by the public. The statement shows the writer's take that compares it with the past situation. In the past, a lay man actually did not know about corruption, money laundering, and tax embezzlement. To him, these were alien concepts only meant for accountants and government officers dealing with financial matters. In the wake of technology and awareness people re-educating themselves more and more about these things and in turn

questioning more about what is going on their surroundings. As Fowler (1986) talks about the link between ideology and discourse and according to him discourse originates ideology socially and institutionally encoded within the language so people follow ideologies through the discourse they hear or read and that is why newspapers have an undeniable power to shape people's opinion. The newspaper is acknowledging the fact that now the corruption is a topic that is widely talked about and everybody has an opinion about it. This also refers to the possibility that in past press or print media was not as liberal as it is now. There were restrictions and the topic of corruption was a taboo let alone naming big fishes in corruption scandals. This once again proves how media has evolved over time and how it gained strength with every passing day.

4.2.3.4. Behavioral Process

The occurrence of a behavioral process is extremely low. Behavioral process, however, is rare in all the four newspaper selected for the research. Gerot & Wignell, (1994) realize behavioral process as the physiological and psychological like dreaming, breathing and listening, etc. These processes are the outward reactions of the inner goings of any individual. According to Halliday, (2004) the boundaries of the behavioral process are not clearly marked and they overlap other processes.

Example 32:

He *dodged* the key part of the question about whether he or his family stood to benefit (Ewen&Mason, 2016).

Dodging is the behavioral process. The *behave*r in the statement is presented by a pronoun 'he'. The researcher concluded that The Guardian is more direct in its reporting and does not hesitate from making assertions. Here the same behavioral is displayed when the writer himself supposed that David Cameron was dodging the questions about his wealth. The case could be different considering that PM has to follow a protocol or he might have panned a proper way to answer questions. This solid manner was detectable throughout the samples collected from the newspaper.

Example 33:

...he *confirmed* a direct link to his father's UK- tax avoiding fund (Booth, Watt & Pegg, 2016).

The process of confirming is behavioral. The pronoun 'he' describes the behavior. The rest is the *behavior* of the participant. The study of the context allowed the researcher to know that the behavior is the prime minister himself.

After a lot of pressing David Cameron accepted the fact that he did have some profit gained from the offshore company his father set up. The word 'confirmed' shows that there was already some speculations about David Cameron being guilty of corruption. Something is confirmed only and if only there are some concrete facts behind it. Although after this declaration the situation whirled downward for Cameron because the whole world was fuming over the Panama issue. The public of the UK also protested for his stepping down and they registered their disapproval by protesting in front of Downing Street.

4.2.3.5.Existential Process

The existential process has the same value than behavioral process in the transitivity pattern of the newspaper The Guardian. The existential process does not have any significant function except then just entailing the state of existence of something. The existential process occurs 7-8 times throughout the data whereas at in the rest of the newspapers the researcher hardly found the examples for the existential process.

Example 34:

It *was* the fifth explanation in four days from Cameron (Booth & Watt, 2016).

The presence of the fifth explanation proves the existential process. The *existent* is the fifth explanation and the rest is the *phenomenon*. As Gerot and Wignell, (1994) explained that the existential process is a process of existence of an entity. This short statement is anything but an understatement. The use of digits here foregrounds the absurdity of Prime minister explaining something too many times. There is intentional less use of words to shift the focus towards the fact that Downing Street and Cameron

had been over explaining their position which raises more suspicions even though it is a paradox. In Pakistan, the trend of constantly passing statements and jibes is very common even by the ministers themselves but putting out too many statements even about the most sensitive issue by the PM in the UK is something very unusual for them.

Example 35:

It is *being* hosted by a politician who admitted last month that he has personally profited from offshore finance (Editorial, The Guardian , 2016).

The process is existential and the existent is the conference being talked about denoted by it. The *existent* is not clear in this statement. The topic under discussion here is the Anti-corruption summit which was chaired by Cameron himself. As the researcher previously stated that there is a lot that has been done by Cameron himself for the eradication of corruption in any way. He had made laws and took audacious steps in this direction. The conference itself was one of those steps where there were big talks about stopping this growing iniquity. The conference was held on May 12, 2016, where he invited representatives from more than 40 countries. Many people Including politicians, business men, and civil society attended the summit. However, the coverage it got from the media almost everywhere had a hint of mocking or subtle satire that it was hosted by Mr. Cameron who was recently named in the biggest corruption scandal of the history. The same statement had a topic and the description of the topic that why it was worth mentioning here. The claim of the prime minister to profit from the offshore company has been presented as a negative attribute. After admitting that Prime minister had benefited from an offshore trust his position deteriorated further and he was asked to leave the public office since he was no more credible.

4.2.4. Daily Mail

The daily mail had surprisingly given very less coverage to Panama case. The researcher has tried her best to put forward a true picture of transitivity patterns throughout the newspaper. Table 4.4 shows that like the other three sample newspapers material process is prominent. The relational process is the second most common. The verbal process is surprisingly low in this newspaper.

Transitivity Process	No.	Percentage
Material process	29	57%
Relational process	6	11%
Mental process	4	8%
Verbal process	3	6%
Behavioral process	8	15%
Existential process	1	2%

Table 4.4: Transitivity process in Daily Mail

4.2.4.1. Material Process

The material process takes the highest place in the *Daily Mail* newspaper too. The use of the material process is inevitable because most of the actions which are to be reported are done by the use of material verbs. If we compare the previous tables we can see that the material processes are highest among all newspapers. Other major processes like relational and mental ones are far less than the material process.

Example 36:

Downing Street yesterday *issued* an extraordinary fourth statement within 48 hours (Groves & Allen, 2016).

Issuing shows the material process. Downing Street is the *actor* and rest is the *goal*. The newspaper has expressed its wonderment about the fact that Downing Street has issued more than required statements. As Nordlund, (2009) agrees that in a newspaper the role of the participant may be emphasized or minimized so by using the active voice the writer has shifted the focus to the actor which is the Downing Street. The use of the adjective ‘extraordinary’ describes the queer sense of the situation. The foregrounding factor here also is the number of statements given out by the official office. The writer has used the circumstance of frequency to show the importance of the numerous statements given by Downing Street.

The statement refers to the same time when after the Panama scandal came out and PM was under the heat and had to face a lot of burning questions. Statement no. 158 shows that Downing Street had to face a lot of condemnation over the way Panama issue

was being handled. Both the British newspapers made a big deal out of the fact that the PM's office issued statements on top of each other to over-clarify things.

Example 37:

In any case Prime minister cannot be *held* responsible for his late father's financial decisions (Oakshott, 2016).

The material process is realized in this statement. Although there is no direct or clear *actor* in the statement the role of Prime minister shifts to being a *target*. According to the similar research by Nancy, (2016) where she observes sometimes the role of the participant or actor is sometimes omitted completely as it had been done here where it is not stated that PM cannot be held responsible by whom? Not being held responsible for anything has been categorized as *a goal*. The statement shows a volte-face in the reporting style of the newspaper reporting because in the previous samples of another British newspaper researcher found that the newspaper was less forgiving. There had been the constant use of words in The Guardian which showed that the media believed all the speculation about PM.

This statement also limits the PM's innocence to the extent that he shouldn't be blamed for the illegal activities of his father. Anything more than that and he would be questionable for his deeds. Ian Cameron who had been the owner of The Blairmore holding the offshore company was the one named in the Panama case as the primary defaulter. David Cameron his son was named as a beneficiary of the money that was free of any tax. The statement points out the courteous manner in reporting.

4.2.4.2.Relational Process

The use of the relational process is slightly higher than *The Guardian* although the difference is negligible. The lesser use of relational process than the newspaper of the same origin is what shows that every newspaper has its ideology which is asserted through its discourse. Daily Mail has been found as the one newspaper which presented the facts and figures along with every claim which explains why there has been lesser use of the relational process. The newspaper has refrained from self assigning the attributes to the participants.

Example 38:

Cameron's problem *is* the lingering suspicion that he himself benefits from offshore funds (Oakshott, 2016).

The relational process is evident from the statement. This is the equivalence relational process where the problem is the *token* and suspicion is the *value* assigned to it. The token is the holder and the value is the something which defines it by giving a referent (Halliday, 1994). The statement is declarative and establishes a fact by revealing a true sense of the problem. Use of the word 'lingering' shows that the newspaper still gave David Cameron a margin of being blameless. Until this point, the British Prime minister had not accepted the fact that he actually profited from the offshore trust. After the initial denial, the suspicions rose and eventually everything was out in front. The statement is from a time after the Panama scandal which was confusing for the media as nobody knew what really was going on. The researcher found out that Daily Mail kept a professional manner and did not accuse the British Prime minister of the corruption until he himself admitted it.

Example 39:

Over the years he has gone to great lengths to create an illusion that he *is* only a bit better off than most (Oakshott, 2016).

The process is relational attributive. The pronoun 'he' is the *carrier* and being better off is the *attribute* he carries. The statement throws light over the fact that David Cameron had adopted the strategy of being an underdog in terms of wealth. Owing to the psyche of the common public who do not consider rich people eligible to understand their true problems Cameron did not ever show off his wealth. The statement reflects his wealth as compared to others which verifies the use of relational process because it is used to express the abstract relation between participants (Abrafi & Ewusi, 2015). If anything he went to great extent to make it look like that he was just a commoner and had a slightly better status. The researcher found facts and figures quoted with this claim in the same newspaper which supports the researcher's claim of Daily Mail having a

professional outlook about reporting. Comparing it to the statements from the Pakistani newspapers there were rarely any proof or research provided before breaking any story.

4.2.4.3.Mental Process

The occurrence of the mental process was extremely in the samples collected. Some examples of the process the researcher was able to find are discussed below. The mental process also occurred at lesser instances. If we compare the percentage of the mental process in Daily Mail with Pakistani newspapers we see that both Pakistani newspapers showed a higher percentage of the mental process meaning that the writer had incorporated his thoughts a lot more times than this newspaper.

Example 40:

In modern politics as the PM well *knows* image is everything (Oakshott, 2016).

The process is mental and signifies the cognition. The *sensor* is PM and the importance of image is the *phenomenon*. The statement highlights the modern trends in politics and acknowledges the fact that Prime Minister is well aware of everything happening around him. Image is a very broad term, here it is perceived as the reputation a politician holds. It should be kept in mind that the milieu of this statement is also the Panama case.

Daily Mail's reporting constantly shows signs of a modern up to date and civilized reporting. The newspaper does not merely keep its vision to the blaming and cursing happening in the national or international media but it provides thoughtful insights about the matter under discussion. Similarly, in this statement, an important detail has been put forward that Cameron has always been conscious of his image and how he is putting it out in the world. That is one of the reasons he underplayed his monetary situation (see statement 193). Cameron knew that he should look like a PM who could relate to the public and they should not label him as an outgroup.

Example 41:

The PM has always been *aware* that if voters knew the scale of his wealth they would *consider* him incapable of relating to their daily struggles (Oakshott, 2016).

The above mentioned example shows two mental processes in one statement. The first one is linked to cognition where PM is the *sensor* and the second is associated with perception. The *sensors* of the second mental process are the voters. The intermingling of the phenomenon of the first mental process and the second one makes it a unique example.

This statement is linked to what has been discussed in example 32 about the finances of PM. The same idea has been shared here that Prime Minister David Cameron kept a note of this important factor that he has to display himself as one of the common men to gain the compassion of the public. This is the fact that Pakistani politicians seem to forget where they keep general public and voters at an arm's length except for election season.

4.2.4.4. Verbal and Behavioral Process

The behavioral process corresponds to the behavior where psychological aspects are inseparable with the physical ones. The behavioral process has occurred the highest times in *Daily Mail* while no other newspaper displayed such number of behavioral process. Behavioral process displays the mood of the participant and the verbal process gives it words to be represented in the form of language.

Example 42:

No. 10 had *insisted* the Cameron family's finances were a private matter but Mr. Corbyn *said* a failure to pay tax was not a private matter (2016).

The statement refers to the instance of having multiple processes in the same utterance. The word 'insisting' denotes the behavioral process with No. 10 being the behavior. The second one is the verbal process. Mr. Corbyn holds the position of the *sayer* and the comment on tax paying is the *verbiage*. The *target* was not located in the utterance. Multiple processes in the sentence give it a deeper meaning and as a result, they require in-depth analysis. In the statement, a paradox has been discussed not only in terms of the ideas presented. The people being talked about in the sentence are also completely opposite. No. 10 represents the PM office and presenting his stance about the Panama scandal whereas Mr. Corbyn who is the leader of the opposition in Britain and

the leader of the second largest political party The Labour. In the findings of their research Idrus and Ismail, (2014) present that using verbal process is the show of power usually especially where the sayer is included in the statement and the newspaper aims to show its confidence in its reporting.

There has always been an opposition between David Cameron and Mr. Corbyn because politics calls for it but rarely had it happened that they commented on each other's personal character. After Panama was out in public and Downing Street tried to settle the matter by considering it a private matter Mr. Corbyn jumped in and expressed his views. He denied that not being able to pay the state's money back is a private matter. According to him, it is a matter of public interest and PM should be questioned for it.

Example 43:

Mr. Cameron *said* he was publishing the information to be “completely open and transparent” about his financial affairs(Press Association, 2016).

The word *said* indicates the verbal process. The *sayer* is visibly Mr. Cameron whereas the *verbiage* is also present. The target is missing in this process. The *verbiage* has some part of direct speech quoted as it is. This statement is from the time when after trying a lot to dispel the alarming questions had to present some evidence of his innocence. With the increasing frenzy around Panama issue and many world leaders resigning or forced to resign from their offices Cameron had to give something to the public and media. Verbal processes usually involve the sayer which is an authority and sometimes writers hide behind this voice and put their own words into the *verbiage*. Martinez, (2001) studied that the verbal process in research articles allows students to quote their own thoughts by using the citation as they present their own thoughts as the cited ones.

David Cameron presented his financial details along with the valid documents of his transactions and dealings and established that he had done for clearing his name. The use of words like open and transparent suggests that he wants to give an impression that does not hesitate from presenting himself for accountability. However, the newspaper quoting his speech as it is with punctuated marks means that it is solely what he said and

that is not the standpoint of the newspaper itself. This means either the writer chose not to agree with Prime minister's view or he had a different one.

4.2.4.5.Existential Process

The researcher did not find the excessive occurrence of the existential process throughout the data collected at all. There was hardly an existential process recognized. The existential process was not present in the data collected and it is expected to be less occurring because it does not serve any significant purpose other than just stating the being of an element. The only valid example the researcher could locate is discussed below

Example 44:

The truth about David Cameron's incredible wealth and why despite his fight against tax avoidance, it will always *be* his weak spot (Oakshott, 2016).

The existential process has *existent* which is the presence of the weak point. The headline from the newspaper is in the form of a question. It starts with the revelation and curiosity is added with the following question. A reader is bound to read the content to look for those answer. At the same time, there is a declaration in the sentence. Cameron right after entering the office as the PM has been working against the tax avoidance and money laundering. He was always focused on the ways to stop this dirty business. Due to his fruitful efforts in this direction, he was placed in high regards by the public as well as the critics. As soon as the Panama gate named him the whole scenario changed. The media, as well as public, had seemed to forget his past and focused on the accusations on him. That is the reason that tax avoidance and offshore trust have been labeled as his biggest faults which could not be easily overlooked.

4.3.Comparison between Pakistani and British newspapers

By studying the percentages the researcher found that there is not a notable difference among the usage of the same processes in Pakistani and British newspaper. However, the superiority of the material process remained the same in both cases. Most of the relational processes located in Pakistani newspapers were attributive whereas

British newspapers also had occurrences of identifying relational processes. The percentage of the relational process was a little higher in British newspapers than Pakistani newspapers. Talking about mental process there is a slightly higher use of mental process in the Pakistani newspapers which explains the amalgamation of personal feelings and subjectivity of the writers in the newspaper reporting because according to Martin, Maithessen and Painter, (1995) the mental process understands a person involved in aware processing that may be cognition or perception. All three minor processes had less proportion compared to the major ones.

Transitivity Process	Pakistani News papers	British Newspapers
Material process	45.6%	50%
Relational process	8.6%	12.6%
Mental process	16.6%	9.5%
Verbal process	12%	9.5%
Behavioral process	10.8%	12%
Existential process	5.7%	6%

Table 4.5: Comparative use of transitivity process in Pakistani and British newspapers

The strategies adopted by both kinds of newspapers were different too. According to the observation of the researcher, the British newspaper had a much more formal tone of reporting than Pakistani newspapers where even colloquial or inappropriate words were not omitted. Some differences, however, were observed in the reporting of the British newspapers individually as well. The Guardian had a bolder and commanding tone which has been highlighted with examples whereas Daily Mail had a very subtle and polite mode of discourse.

However, like Ansary's (2004) research, the researcher did not find much difference between the discourses of both Pakistani newspapers. According to Ansary, there was not much difference in the rhetorical structures of editorials written by native or non native writers of the same language and the researcher observed the same phenomenon in terms of syntax of English language (Ansary, 2004). The researcher also

studied that the editorial of newspapers of both Pakistani and British newspapers gave a similar sense and the choice of words was also not very different.

The effect of cultural and political situation cannot be denied at all as the results of my research agree with Hossein and Forough, (2010) who pointed out the different stance presented by western writers in their editorials whereas the ones written by the Iranian writers conveyed the ideology of the Iranian government. Similarly, my research findings state that the socio-political culture of our country is extremely different than that of UK and it reflects in the newspaper reporting about the same issue. The visible difference proves that the situation in which a text is produced has a high impact on it.

The British newspapers incorporated a lot of international examples about Panama gate in their news as well as editorials. On the other hand, Pakistani newspapers lacked this factor and their reporting was focused on the national scenario only.

The researcher has found legitimate examples and tried best to explain and relate them as required. The important points to infer from the analysis shall be discussed in the final chapter of the conclusion.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1. Major findings of the study

The researcher has tried to explain the use of language as social practice particularly in the print media discourse. The analysis has been carried out in two stages one being the systemic functional linguistics transitivity method and secondly Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis. The findings have also been presented in two parts one explains the numerical data that had been collected through the transitivity analysis and the other presents the trends and ways found in the study.

5.2. Findings based on numerical data

The researcher analyzed a number of examples to verify claims and to answer the research questions which were the aim of the research. By studying the quantitative data the number of conclusions can be derived starting with the use of transitivity processes. The researcher found the presence of all six transitivity processes in the text of newspapers. However, some processes were prevailing and others were lessened. The material process in both Pakistani and British English newspaper topped the table. The comparative percentage of the material process in both newspapers was also quite similar to the British newspaper taking a lead with about 5%. The relational process was also found in both newspapers where its use was more common in British newspapers but the difference lies in the types of relational process. Most of the relational processes found in Pakistani newspapers were attributive where a certain quality is being assigned to the subject whereas the British newspapers mostly made use of identifying ones. The use of identifying relational process simply means stating an entity and its equivalent identity. Moving on to the mental process there was a difference in the occurrence within the Pakistani newspapers too. Express Tribune used mental processes 15 times whereas Dawn news made use of them only 8 times. Comparing it to the British newspapers the Pakistani newspaper discourse has used the mentioned process more often than them. British

newspaper had only used the mental processes 10% of the times throughout the discourse. Verbal processes were also as common as relational processes. The researcher found a similar frequency of verbal process in both types of newspapers. The verbal process is the subcategory of major processes. The behavioral process also represented itself throughout the data. There was 10-12% usage of the behavioral process in the selected samples of both newspapers. Lastly, the existential process was the least frequent process as expected because all the other researches that were consulted showed the same results and my research displayed a similar tendency. The percentage of the existential process in the newspapers of both countries show 6% usage which is quite less compared to other processes realized in the data.

Answering the first research question about the metafunctions the researcher realized the transitivity patterns of the newspaper discourse. The researcher found out that every text in newspaper discourse had an ideological orientation which heavily depends upon the social and political arena of the country. The use of material process and the choice of words like ‘escape’, ‘target’ and ‘exploiting’ shows that the newspapers had a loud and clear stance over how they saw Panama leaks. The high usage of the material process was an indicator of the fact that the reporting of the facts and surrounding was done efficiently and a detailed account of every episode happening was presented affectively. At many instances, writer established a relationship between participants or even with his own self with the lexical choices he made as was seen in Abrafi and Lawrence’s, (2015) research where he concluded that politicians use relational processes in their speeches to create a positive self-image in front of masses. Similarly, verbal processes were simply the representation of what someone had earlier said. A different choice of sayer, however, revealed to the researcher that writers of editorials sometimes twist the same utterance and give it a completely new outlook. Another conclusion that is derived from the research is that the overwhelming use of material processes explains the most important actions that were established are the act of ‘defending’ or ‘answering’ and being ‘accused’ or ‘exposed’. These revolved around the PM of both countries.

The editorial’s selected from the Pakistani newspaper Express Tribune showed a lot of variance in the topics under discussion. Although every topic was in relevance to

Panama Leaks which was the main focus of researcher, it was noted however that editor also covered all the other things happening around with insight. The topics ranged from Panama papers, to the disintegrating civil-army relationship, to the upcoming budget affected by the leaks. The reporting of the newspaper displayed more of the suggestive style where the writer always presented with an alternate to be followed by the government of the concerned participants. Example of self-critique was also found in Express Tribune where the editor pointed out the fact that national media is bent on just a single issue that is Panama Gate and the rest of the events were being ignored. According to the researcher, this is a good approach as positive criticism always allows organizations to grow and progress further.

The Express Tribune however clearly displayed that the accusations to PM had some weight to them for which examples have been quoted. The negative response towards the PM's handling of the situation was also seen where editorials clearly stated that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was keeping himself above and beyond the reach of the law. As Matu and Lubbe, (2007) deduced from their research on Kenyan newspaper editorials regarding political issues that certain ingroups are presented favorably and outgroup are presented in a negative light by suppressing and de-emphasizing which means that newspapers have the power to project an entity any way they want. The researcher, however, found no biased or completely partial statement towards any party or government. The reflection of the public's opinion nevertheless was evident throughout the newspaper discourse where the accused PM was not given the benefit of out and was asked repeatedly to prove him not culpable. The research affirms Bloor and Bloor's, (1995) claim that transitivity helps people to represent their perception of reality because there were a lot of instances where researcher saw the linguistics choices provoked by the situational context.

Dawn news was also thoroughly studied by the researcher and it was found out that the newspaper had an assertive tone. The newspaper had a pre-judgmental attitude and has a keen eye over the unfolding of events. The use of metaphors was evident throughout the discourse of the newspapers like 'root out', 'battling', 'reins of government' etc. The use of such metaphors supports the researcher's claim of unconventional reporting style of Pakistani newspapers. The merger of other languages

was also observed as the example of using the lexical item of 'chor' had been discussed. *Code mixing and switching* was observed in the mentioned newspaper whereas there was no example of this phenomenon in British newspapers. Criticism about media was also found in the samples but it was merely a restatement given by a politician and did not reflect the thoughts of the writer himself. The comments about the PM were found to be a little harsh than the Express Tribune. The actions of the Nawaz Sharif were criticized over and over again using the strategy of re-emphasizing. The standpoint of the newspaper's editorials was highly negative towards the whole Panama gate situation and despite not being proven guilty at that time the newspaper left no stone unturned to make him look guilty. As Kuo and Nakamura, (2005) investigated original English newspaper reports and translated Chinese reports published in Taiwan they found some manipulation in the source language and target language. The target text was omitted or excluded to fit into the ideological views of the newspaper using the CDA. Similarly like the mentioned research, the Dawn news at instances focused just on the negative effects of the PM. The study proved that certain linguistic choices are intrinsically motivated (Halliday, 1971) and despite having a choice and several other ways in which writer could present an experience he chooses a strategy best suited to present his own ideas.

The researcher also observed the use of slightly difficult vocabulary in Dawn news this means that the Dawn news was potentially targeting a different audience circle by using such a repertoire of words.

The answer to the similarities and difference between both countries newspaper was quite evident. The primary object of the research is to make apparent the influence of Pakistani and British contexts which the readership of both countries has to deal with. It is said that transitivity is an important concept which helps us understand the meaning of representation of reality and transitivity helps us to understand the same events in different ways (Ezzina, 2015) and the researcher found that true about her own research too. The researcher found a lot of differences in the newspaper discourse of both countries. The situational context was dominant in the use of lexical choices. By closely analyzing the editorials and headlines of the newspapers it was found that the British newspaper had a more formal and professional mode of reporting Panama issue. The Guardian was blunter and had a lot of strong opinions about the ongoing situation as

Moore (2002) considered that difference in text features of different newspaper or journals foreground the ideology of that particular newspaper or writer even where it is not expected to be done. However, the Guardian caters a lot of issues which reflected the consequences of the Panama gate e.g. the G7 summit for the corruption and the shady reputation of the David Cameron who was to chair the summit and talk about the corruption. The British newspapers specifically reported the impact Panama had created upon the Prime minister and those named in it.

For the purpose of the detailed analysis, the Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis had been chosen. The interpretation stage of the text and how it is consumed and understood in the different situations was implemented. The relation of the text to the society and how it helps build a narrative is revealed. The difference between western and our society has also been highlighted with the help of analysis and the used model to comprehend how ideologies differ.

The researcher found out that the Daily mail's discourse was based on facts and figures and a lot of assertions that were stated in editorials or articles were backed up by the numerical data. This very trend was missing from Pakistani newspapers where no additional information was stated to back up any indictment.

The researcher observed that in Pakistani newspapers more than 90% of the times the subject and the topic of the editorials and headlines was Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif himself. There was no inclusion of other politicians of the same country or even international examples. This presents a conclusion that Pakistani Newspapers do not focus on the worldwide implications of any issue. Also, there was no comparison or coverage of international happenings that Panama Gate urged. The resignation of other world leaders and their line of defense were ignored by the Pakistani newspapers although the readers have the right to know each and everything.

Another notable fact was that the British newspapers allowed everyone's point of view in the reporting of the Panama issue whether it's the opposing parties or the general public's view. Pakistani newspapers just focused on what the Prime minister was doing or saying and how he was handling the situation other than that there was no significant

representation of a different point of view. The PM had the role of actor a lot many times with the Panama leaks as circumstance which proves the focus on the issue by the Pakistani newspapers. As Li,(2010) investigated the issue of NATO bombing on the Chinese embassy both written in English in *The New York Times* and *China Daily* to show the difference between them. According to her the newspapers tried to justify their actions and blame others. The same phenomenon was observed by the researcher where every newspaper tried to blame the Prime Minister without the allegations being proved.

To summarize it can be said that as Halliday said that transitivity analysis helps identify the processes used and through those processes, we can see that how writer corresponds to the reality and the chronological events happening around him. It helped the researcher to locate the role of the subjects under discussion that are the people involved in the Panama Gate scandal. The researcher found the transitivity analysis useful in unveiling how the role of a subject can be reversed and how blame can be placed without overtly reproving. The transitivity analysis helps researchers to understand the writer's or in this case the whole newspaper organizations account of how they perceived the notion of Panama Gate.

The research was also an attempt to academically highlight the use of language in print media considering the increasing political influence in every field of life. The researcher also wanted to raise consciousness about the exploitative social relations using language, as Fairclough(1989) pointed out which is not possible for a lay person who is also actively involved in this process by the act of reading. The audience does shape and base their views upon what they hear, read or see around them and that is only through the media.

5.3.Suggestions and recommendations

There are a number of things to gain from this research but it is not humanly possible for the researcher to cover every aspect in this study. There are other directions which are open for exploration and can be studied further in depth to gain insight about them.

Firstly the transitivity analysis that had been used was based upon the ideational metafunctions of language and thus leaves other Meta functions i.e. textual and interpersonal to be investigated further.

Secondly, it was the research of the written text in print media researchers may look into the electronic media sources and analyze spoken discourses like speeches, talk shows or interviews, etc.

Thirdly even after conducting the comparative study of the newspapers I still feel that Pakistani newspapers have not been much explored and there are not enough comparative studies about them to analyze how they are better or less than the international standards of journalism.

Lastly, there are many other frameworks that could be used to conduct critical discourse analysis and researchers can take a different lead and work from there. Van Dijk, Ruth Wodak and many other expert linguists have given credible theories which can be used in further studies.

5.4.Suggestions for further research

Politics is gaining more and more magnitude each day and all the major platforms are based upon the political agendas. Thus the critical discourse analysis holds its importance more strongly each day because in politics there is wordplay throughout. Political discourse analysis is becoming an independent field because of the attention being given to it. The researchers can carry out significant studies in this direction.

Secondly, there are other structures which can be looked into e.g. the field of pragmatics and semantics related to meaning formation have also a lot of gaps and new dimensions waiting to be explored.

There are a lot of other important discourses that need to be looked into. The advertising pamphlets e.g. are yet an underexplored area. While the advertisements on electronic sources have been analyzed the written text has not been given much attention and in my sight, it can tell us a lot about the society and the trends it establishes.

This research can also prove helpful for the researchers in the discipline of English language teaching because a reader should be taught how to analyze a word effectively and change if need be. The Critical Discourse Analysis is consistent with this view and thus this research can be taken as an example to teach them about the underlying features while producing a text.

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Appendix A

TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS OF SELECTED TEXT

	Text	Process	Newspaper
1.	Gen Raheel urges PM to resolve Panama Leaks issue	Mental process	Express triune
2.	Says the scandal is affecting national security	Verbal process	Express tribune
3.	Opposition parties have apparently teamed up to press PM Nawaz Sharif to come clean on the charges that his three children own offshore companies.	Material process Relational process	Express tribune
4.	The opposition has also announced boycott of the parliament unless the PM shows in the house and clarifies his position	Verbal process Behavioral process	Express tribune
5.	The civil-army relation had strained after the army chief called for an across the board accountability	Material process	Express tribune
6.	However other sources believe Nawaz administration will have to address several contentious problems	Mental process	Express tribune
7.	..Urged the Prime Minister to smoothen ties with military instead of following in the footsteps of Turkey's President Recep Tayyib Erdogan in his dealings with military.	Material process	Express tribune
8.	The evolving nature of democracy in Pakistan has khaki space.	Relational process	Express tribune
9.	He (PM) would be wise to come clean and give ground gracefully honor preserved all around.	Relational process	Express tribune
10.	Opposition asks PM seven blunt questions.	Material process	Express tribune
11.	If PM's responses are satisfactory the opposition will call off their protest and sit quietly.	Verbal process	Express tribune
12.	The opposition wants to know since when Nawaz has been living in these apartments.	Mental process	Express tribune
13.	Nawaz Sharif did not own an offshore company.	Relational process	Express tribune

14.	Stop <i>judging</i> me PM tells opposition	Mental process	Express tribune
15.	PM Nawaz Sharif has <i>accused</i> the opposition	Behavioral process	Express tribune
16.	Some politicians are <i>behaving</i> like commissions within themselves	Behavioral process	Express tribune
17.	..while <i>speaking</i> to reporters onboard his aircraft	Verbal process	Express tribune
18.	Detractors <i>say</i> no way out for Nawaz	Verbal process	Express tribune
19.	The combined opposition <i>refused</i> to back down from its seven proposed questions to PM <i>rejecting</i> all explanations offered by government	Behavioral process	Express tribune
20.	The PM is likely to <i>appear</i> in parliament on Monday to <i>address</i> the opposition's concerns	Material process Verbal process	Express tribune
21.	There is no <i>escape</i> (from questionnaire) opposition leader said	Material process	Express tribune
22.	The PPP Senator (Aitzaz Ahsan) said that some people <i>used</i> abusive but they would be mistaken to <i>think</i> that they have given the answers	Material process Mental process	Express tribune
23.	Moments after opposition meeting Talal Chaudry, Danial Aziz <i>hit back</i> at the parties united against the government	Material process Verbal process (in context)	Express tribune
24.	They merely want to <i>target</i> PM Nawaz	Material process	Express tribune
25.	Earlier the opposition <i>staged</i> a walkout from the National Assembly	Material process	Express tribune
26.	He (PM) <i>believed</i> the opposition's criticism was not aimed at bringing improvements to the country	Mental process	Express tribune
27.	PM Nawaz <i>seeks</i> advice from top legal minds	Mental process	Express tribune
28.	Even if the current uncertainty persists for some months, it will adversely <i>affect</i> the federal government's capacity to <i>cope</i> with internal security	Mental process Material process	Express tribune
29.	This is likely to increase distrust between civil and military, the sign of which can already be <i>detected</i>	Mental process	Express tribune
30.	From the PM to the PML-N media drum beater, who <i>think</i> their verbal <i>wrangling</i> on TV will salvage the situation	Mental process Verbal process	Express tribune

31.	It is unlikely that the impact of Panama leaks will <i>fade away</i>	Material process	Express tribune
32.	SC <i>refuses</i> to form 'lame' inquiry panel	Behavioral process	Express tribune
33.	He <i>agreed</i> that it is possible for the federal government to raise legal questions over the judiciary's response <i>giving</i> guidelines to the government through a letter	Behavioral process Material process	Express tribune
34.	The PM <i>appears</i> to have placed himself above and beyond accountability at the same time as <i>saying</i> he would <i>step down</i> if found guilty of any wrongdoing	Relational process Verbal process Material process	Express tribune
35.	no judicial commission can be formed until the TOR's can be agreed and that goes to the heart of the political deadlock that currently <i>paralyses</i> government	Material process	Express tribune
36.	There <i>appears</i> to be no intention by him to <i>be</i> publicly accountable to any institution of state	Relational process	Express tribune
37.	How the PM will <i>tackle</i> an uncompromising opposition <i>is</i> anybody's guess	Material process Relational process	Express tribune
38.	Unimpressed opposition says PM just <i>wasting</i> time	Material process	Express tribune
39.	The oppositions parties might have <i>decided</i> on the walkout strategy in a meeting held earlier but <i>kept</i> its cards close to its chest	Mental process Material process	Express tribune
40.	For Imran Khan this is an opportunity to <i>undermine</i> the prime minister that is far more potent than the always shaky rigging allegations	Material process	Express tribune
41.	The appearance of PM in parliament has done nothing to <i>dampen</i> the fires <i>ignited</i> by the Panama Papers affairs	Material process	Express tribune
42.	Sharif family should <i>face</i> inquiry first, <i>say</i> lawyers	Material process Verbal process	Express tribune
43.	Budget <i>lost</i> in Panama Papers?	Material process	Express tribune
44.	National media as well <i>seems</i> more <i>focused</i> on Panama leaks rather than on analyzing critically the performance of the economy in the outgoing year	Relational process Mental process	Express tribune

45.	It is time the government <i>started</i> focusing on important matters of the state like <i>finalizing</i> a people-friendly budget	Material process	Express tribune
46.	Another dimension of the current political situation is the <i>growing</i> strain in civil military relations and subtle anti-military propaganda by the federal government	Material process	Express tribune
47.	Street process will <i>be</i> his main strategy	Existential process	Express tribune
48.	The PM's clarification speech in the NA <i>failed</i> to <i>satisfy</i> opposition	Material process Mental process	Express tribune
49.	On the day when the PM was <i>expected</i> to give a befitting reply to protesters	Mental process	Express tribune
50.	The annual budget season this year <i>seems</i> to have been eclipsed by the Panama leaks	Relational process	Express tribune
51.	Govt, opposition heading for <i>showdown</i> in parliament	Material process	Dawn
52.	<i>Playing</i> the role of mediator , National Assembly speaker Ayaz Sadiq persuaded Prime Minister to postpone his much awaited speech	Behavioral process	Dawn
53.	Prime Minister said that there <i>was</i> no justification for an opposition hue and cry	Existential process	Dawn
54.	Opposition says they will become <i>disruptive</i> if the PM doesn't hear them out	Behavioral process	Dawn
55.	The opposition has already <i>warned</i> that it could only guarantee that proceedings would be civilized if the PM promised to hear them out	Verbal process	Dawn
56.	PM Sharif does not at least <i>lack</i> for inspiration and examples to follow internationally	Behavioral process	Dawn
57.	...several (democrats) have <i>responded</i> appropriately even if only under pressure	Material process	Dawn
58.	Embattled British Prime Minister David Cameron at first <i>offered</i> various and contradictory explanations for his father's name appearing in the Panama Papers	Material process	Dawn

59.	In case of former Iceland Prime Minister the honorable decision to resign was made quickly	Material process	Dawn
60.	PM has not made a single declaration that has been definitively backed up by documentary evidence to support his family's position	Material process	Dawn
61.	PM will have an opportunity to make amends and reset both the tone and substance of the debate surrounding his family's wealth	Existential process Material process	Dawn
62.	Opposition should give the PM the opportunity to re-establish his credibility and legitimacy	Material process	Dawn
63.	PMLN government has dealt with another blow	Material process	Dawn
64.	Declining to form a judicial commission in unusually blunt language the chief justice has effectively pushed the PML-N into negotiating with the opposition on the terms of reference	Material process	Dawn
67.	Judicial commission should be able to use whatever legal tools that it finds necessary to complete the task.	Material process	Dawn
68.	Since the Panama Papers revelations the wheels of governance have effectively halt and the political landscape has been transfixed by the matter	Material process	Dawn
69.	It (government) should be aware that its own campaign-style politics have contributed to the prevailing sense of governmental paralysis	Mental process Material process	Dawn
70.	The minister(saad rafique) bitterly criticized PTI leader	Verbal process	Dawn
71.	He told IK that if Nawaz Sharif was removed from the office of the PM he could not become a prime minister	Material process Existential process	Dawn
72.	PM to answer burning questions in NA today	Verbal process	Dawn

73.	Revelations that his arch rival PTI chief IK has also set up an offshore company have <i>eased</i> some of the pressure that was <i>mounting</i> on the PM in the aftermath of the Panama Papers leak	Material process	Dawn
74.	PM is likely to <i>urge</i> political leaders across the board to come up with a collective strategy to <i>root out</i> the evil of money laundering once and for all	Behavioral process Material process	Dawn
75.	Two earlier addresses to the nation <i>clarified</i> little it <i>was</i> still an uneven performance	Mental process Existential process	Dawn
76.	At various points in his speech the PM's <i>delivery suggested</i> a nervousness at odds with defiant content	Material process Mental process	Dawn
77.	The speech and the opposition's response a walkout that appeared to <i>agitate</i> the PML-N leadership	Material process	Dawn
78.	From the PM's tone it <i>seemed</i> that he <i>expects</i> some of his rivals to be found guilty of the financial misdeeds that they have <i>accused</i> his family of	Relational process Mental process Behavioral process	Dawn
79.	There is at least no attempt by Mr. Sharif to <i>reject</i> fresh scrutiny	Behavioral process	Dawn
80.	Consider that the finance minister himself instead of being <i>immersed</i> in the details of the upcoming budget is spending a great deal of time as <i>acting</i> the government's chief political fire fighter	Material process	Dawn
81.	Triggered by PM's reluctance to <i>engage</i> with parliament on a regular basis the opposition boycott <i>achieved</i> its basic purpose of <i>having</i> the PM appear in parliament	Material process Material process Existential process	Dawn
82.	Perhaps now with the PML-N <i>needing</i> to answer serious questions still the leading opposition parties will once again begin to <i>treat</i> parliament with the respect it deserves	Mental process Material process	Dawn

83.	At a time when government is <i>battling</i> to <i>regain</i> its credibility a most unhelpful notion has been <i>introduced</i> in the NA calling for all the members of the parliament to be <i>given</i> a hefty pay raise	Material process	Dawn
84.	PTI chairman IK again <i>presented</i> himself for accountability alongside PM Nawaz Sharif	Material process	Dawn
85.	The government of late has <i>stepped up</i> attacks on the PTI leader over his alleged misuse of charity funds meant for the hospital	Material process	Dawn
86.	Referring to the discovery of an offshore company in Mr. Khan's name Mr. Asif <i>described</i> him as 'meesna' a colloquial Punjabi expression for someone who <i>pretends</i> to be innocent even though they <i>know</i> they <i>are</i> guilty	Verbal process Behavioral process Mental process Relational process	Dawn
87.	Panama gate committee to <i>meet</i> behind closed doors	Material process	Dawn
88.	It <i>seems</i> that this is going to be a tough sell for both sides	Relational process	Dawn
89.	Government senator <i>told</i> reporters that the meeting took place in a friendly atmosphere and <i>was</i> hopeful of a positive outcome	Verbal process Existential process	Dawn
90.	During the multiple political crises over the last two parliaments, the federal government has for long stretches been <i>forced</i> to or <i>opted</i> to put regular governance matters on back-burner	Material process Material process	Dawn
91.	But it is entirely new for a Prime Minister to be <i>absent</i> from the country for such a long period of time	Material process	Dawn
92.	It is quite another thing to simply <i>hand over</i> the reins of the federation to a federal minister	Material process	Dawn
93.	The government does not belong to Mr. Sharif or any other prime minister and it cannot be <i>treated</i> like a private business where ad hock arrangements are made.	Material process	Dawn

94.	Helped by aides Sharif <i>running</i> Government from UK	Material process	Dawn
95.	“We have not resorted to <i>calling</i> each other ‘chor – chor’ because we <i>know</i> who benefits from such a situation”	Verbal process Mental process	Dawn
96.	The finance minister needs to be <i>freed</i> from the deliberations so he can focus on the more important budget preparations that should <i>be</i> the biggest claim on his time these days	Material process Existential process	Dawn
97.	Timing of the announcement gives rise to suspicions that it is <i>designed</i> to buy support at a time when the government is <i>struggling</i> to regain its credibility	Material process	Dawn
98.	Much damage can be done to the economy if the government <i>loses</i> track of its responsibilities at this critical juncture	Material process	Dawn
99.	The PTI <i>expressed</i> serious concerns over the government’s efforts to <i>pressure</i> the independent media	Behavioral process Material process	Dawn
100.	He <i>accused</i> the government of using PEMRA to <i>harass</i> those TV networks that failed to toe its line	Verbal process Material process	Dawn
101.	PTI leadership <i>felt</i> it was simply unacceptable that the government was using public funds to <i>stop</i> channels from conducting investigations into corruption and <i>exposing</i> the guilty	Mental process Material process	Dawn
102.	<i>Lavishing</i> disproportionate funds to those channels that <i>fell</i> in line with the government propaganda	Material process	Dawn
103.	Both sides <i>refused</i> to budge on their stated positions on investigations into Panama papers	Behavioral process	Dawn
104.	Mossack Fonseca: inside the firm that <i>helps</i> the super-rich <i>hide</i> their money	Material process	The Guardian
105.	... <i>takes</i> a closer look at company <i>exploiting</i> tropical tax havens	Material process Behavioral process	The Guardian
106.	The prime minister (David Cameron) had <i>promised</i> to <i>sweep away</i> decades of offshore “tax secrecy”	Verbal process Material process	The Guardian

107.	Nobody <i>asked</i> questions for a couple of thousand dollars a year, it was possible to <i>hide away</i> profits where governments could never <i>find</i> them	Verbal process Material process	The Guardian
108.	Cameron's speech <i>was</i> merely the latest piece of unwelcome attention	Existential process	The Guardian
109.	But the Panama Papers have shone light on hidden world the firm <i>says</i> it does not <i>recognize</i> one that sometime <i>facilitates</i> crime, <i>launders</i> dirty money. Plus <i>evading</i> taxes	Verbal process Mental process Material process (3)	The Guardian
110.	In the wake of Panama Papers disclosures the Prime Minister has been <i>fending</i> off questions about his finances	Material process	The Guardian
111.	The document <i>shows</i> the myriad ways in which rich can <i>exploit</i> secretive offshore tax regimes	Material process Behavioral process	The Guardian
112.	Sigmundur David <i>resigned</i> as prime minister last month days after the guardian and other media <i>published</i> details of a secretive company	Material process	The Guardian
113.	Russia claimed 'putinphobia' was a foot, but Iceland's prime minister <i>was</i> less cool under pressure and David Cameron is still <i>feeling</i> the heat	Existential process Mental process	The Guardian
114.	Mainstream TV and media <i>are</i> under Kremlin's thumb	Relational process	The Guardian
115.	Russian citizens <i>know</i> little of Panama Papers the Putin story has been <i>ignored</i>	Mental process Behavioral process	The Guardian
116.	Three people <i>demonstrated</i> outside Russia's Duma or parliament <i>calling</i> for Putin's impeachment	Material process	The Guardian
117.	They were <i>arrested</i>	Material process	The Guardian
118.	The country (Azerbaijan) <i>has</i> a lousy human rights record	Relational process	The Guardian
119.	Azerbaijani authorities have <i>shut down</i> critical media organization and <i>jailed</i> prominent journalists	Material process	The Guardian
120.	The new facts however <i>were</i> piquant	Relational process	The Guardian
121.	Ironically enough , David Cameron <i>outlawed</i> bearer shares as PM <i>recognizing</i> that they could be used for money-laundering	Material process Mental process	The Guardian

122.	This line of defense swiftly crumbled when Cameron was grilled about Blairmore	Material process	The Guardian
123.	The answer was a master class in how to stick to the simple past tense.	Existential process	The Guardian
124.	Cameron it seemed was reluctant to acknowledge the obvious that his father's offshore fund had helped the family financially	Relational process Mental process	The Guardian
125.	The Sharifs sons Hussain and Hassan and daughter Mariam denied wrongdoing	Behavioral process	The Guardian
126.	The president said ...	Verbal process	The Guardian
127.	David Cameron admits he profited from father's Panama offshore trust	Verbal process Material process	The Guardian
128.	After three days of stalling and four partial statements issued by Downing street he confessed that he owned shares in the tax haven fund	Material process Verbal process Relational process	The Guardian
129.	...he confirmed a direct link to his father's UK- tax avoiding fund	Behavioral process	The Guardian
130.	But the interview appeared unlikely to end scrutiny of Cameron's tax affairs	Relational process	The Guardian
131.	It was the fifth explanation in four days from Cameron	Existential process	The Guardian
132.	Downing street said that there was no offshore funds or trusts the family would benefit from in future , leaving questions about past	Verbal process Existential process Material process	The Guardian
133.	Cameron left dangerously exposed by Panama papers fallout	Material process	The Guardian
134.	...after repeatedly failing to provide a clear and full account about links to an offshore fund	Material process	The Guardian
135.	As the storm over Panama papers gathered strength in both the UK and elsewhere around the world	Material process	The Guardian
136.	He dodged the key part of the question about whether he or his family stood to benefit	Behavioral process	The Guardian
137.	David Cameron should look closer to home	Behavioral process	The Guardian

138.	Britain <i>wags</i> its finger at dodgy money in poor countries even while the city <i>pushes</i> the cash into tax havens	Material process	The Guardian
139.	It is <i>being</i> hosted by a politician who admitted last month that he has personally <i>profited</i> from offshore finance	Existential process Material process	The Guardian
140.	Not only that he has <i>intervened</i> to aid tax avoiders, that's right David Cameron is <i>holding</i> a meeting on corruption	Material process Material process	The Guardian
141.	He <i>is</i> certainly guilty of epic hypocrisy	Relational process	The Guardian
142.	London has <i>become</i> the financial centre for the world's dirty money	Relational process	The Guardian
143.	Few will <i>call</i> this corruption or hypocrisy as it wears a sharp suit and <i>talks</i> so nicely	Verbal process	The Guardian
144.	Yet for too long even <i>talking</i> about corruption, never mind <i>tackling</i> it has been a taboo	Verbal process Material process	The Guardian
145.	David Cameron's <i>handling</i> of the Panama papers has <i>been</i> a master class in <i>whipping</i> up a hostile media storm	Material process Existential process Material process	The Guardian
146.	Downing street <i>lurched</i> between four successive lines starting out with palpably unsustainable <i>dismissal</i> of the whole question as private a matter	Material process	The Guardian
147.	The prime minister and the chancellor thus <i>owe</i> it to the nation to <i>make</i> sure that they do not look like the embodiment of this elite	Mental process Material process	The Guardian
148.	Recall too the potentially lethal explanation he had to <i>give</i> at the height of the phone hacking scandal	Material process	The Guardian
149.	An equivalent blast of Cameronian chutzpah today might <i>work</i> wonders again <i>assuming</i> of course that no awkward secrets are still lurking behind the evolving denials	Material process Mental process	The Guardian

150.	..until the prime minister <i>can</i> again make himself sound like a man who <i>wants</i> to open up the whole offshore question instead of closing it down	Material process Mental process	The Guardian
151.	Half-hearted politicians <i>are</i> the weakest link	Relational process	The Guardian
152.	Resentment of financial elite has been <i>simmering</i> for years now the biggest ever leak <i>moves</i> the focus to politicians	Material process	The Guardian
153.	The sense that normal rules do not <i>apply</i> to the global elite. In a new gilded age taxes would once again <i>appear</i> to be for the little people	Material process Relational process	The Guardian
154.	No 10. must <i>understand</i> that it will not do to dismiss the question of whether any Cameron family money remains tied up in the fund as “private matter”	Mental process	The Guardian
155.	David Cameron was <i>rocked</i> by fresh questions about his ax affairs	Material process	Daily mail
156.	The PM <i>faced</i> further embarrassment when it emerged that he <i>intervened</i> personally three years ago to water down and EU bid to reveal the beneficiaries of trusts	Material process Material process	Daily mail
157.	Downing street yesterday <i>issued</i> an extra ordinary fourth statement within 48 hours	Material process	Daily mail
158.	Number 10 which has been <i>forced</i> on to the back foot over revelation in the so called Panama Papers	Material process	Daily mail
159.	Downing street has been <i>scrambling</i> to get on the front foot on the issue	Material process	Daily mail
160.	As controversy <i>mounted</i> Mr Cameron was <i>forced</i> to make a partial statement on his tax affairs	Material process Material process	Daily mail
161.	Mr. Cameron <i>said</i> he was publishing the information to be “completely open and transparent” about his financial affairs	Verbal process	Daily mail
162.	Cameron urges plea for Tory unity as he <i>defends</i> personal finance records	Material process	Daily mail
163.	Mr. Cameron <i>used</i> the spring forum to launch the Tory local election campaign with an <i>attack</i> on labor	Material process	Daily mail

164.	Panamanian lawyer at the centre of data leak scandal that has embarrassed a clutch of world leaders said that his firm was a victim of a hack from outside his company	Behavioral process Verbal process Relational process	Daily mail
165.	Company emails, extracts of which were published were taken out of context and misinterpreted he added.	Mental process	Daily mail
166.	Documents leaked from the firm have caused public outrage over how the world's rich and powerful are able to stash away their wealth and avoid taxes	Material process	Daily mail
167.	The PM has come under intense pressure over his family's tax arrangements following the Panama paper data leak	Material process	Daily mail
168.	But as questions continued about the past and future benefits the Cameron may have reaped , No 10 put out fresh statement	Material process	Daily mail
169.	His (Ian) use of firm to help shield investments from tax helped build up a significant legacy	Material process	Daily mail
170.	.. part of which was inherited by Prime minister	Material process	Daily mail
171.	The truth about David Cameron's incredible wealth and why despite his fight against tax avoidance, it will always be his weak spot	Material process Existential process	Daily mail
172.	Downplaying his family's fortune has been vital to the PM's political success	Behavioral process	Daily mail
173.	The PM has always been aware that if voters knew the scale of his wealth they would consider him incapable of relating to their daily struggles	Mental process	Daily mail
174.	In any case Prime minister cannot be held responsible for his late father's financial decisions	Material process	Daily mail
175.	Cameron's problem is the lingering suspicion that he himself benefits from offshore funds	Relational process Material process	Daily mail
176.	.. an impression he has failed to dispel by dodging the question this week	Material process Behavioral process	Daily mail

177.	Over the years he has gone to great lengths to <i>create</i> an illusion that he <i>is</i> only a bit better off than most	Material process Relational process	Daily mail
178.	The truth is that by almost any standards the couple <i>are</i> stupendously rich	Relational process	Daily mail
179.	Under pressure to <i>reveal</i> whether he benefits from any investment held in offshore trusts he has <i>chosen</i> his words very carefully	Material process Behavioral process	Daily mail
180.	In modern politics as the PM well <i>knows</i> image is everything	Mental process	Daily mail
181.	Cameron <i>forced</i> to <i>deny</i> he gets any income from his late father's tax haven	Behavioral process	Daily mail
182.	He <i>continued</i> to <i>sidestep</i> key questions over whether other members of his family still gained from offshore assets	Material process	Daily mail
183.	No. 10 had <i>insisted</i> the Cameron family's finances <i>were</i> a private matter but Mr. Corbyn <i>said</i> a failure to pay tax was not a private matter	Behavioral process Relational process Verbal process	Daily mail
184.	David Cameron <i>faces</i> embarrassment as the leak <i>threatens</i> to <i>overshadow</i> international summit on tax avoidance next month	Material process Behavioral process Material process	Daily mail
185.	U.S probes tax avoidance schemes <i>mentioned</i> in Panama Papers	Material process	Daily mail
186.	Governments across the world have <i>begun</i> investigating possible financial wrongdoings by the rich and powerful	Material process	Daily mail
187.	US bribery watchdog to <i>review</i> Panama Papers over hidden funds	Material process	Daily mail
188.	The effort was <i>undermined</i> within hours when it emerged that his late father Ian left unspecified assets in tax haven	Material process	Daily mail
189.	The revelation came on another day of the drama <i>prompted</i> by the leak of millions of documents	Behavioral process	Daily mail

190.	The brief statement (by No. 10) was an <i>attempt</i> to kill the issue before it gathered pace	Material process	Daily mail
191.	The row has <i>infuriated</i> No. 10 which insists Mr. Cameron has done nothing wrong	Mental process	Daily mail
192.	This week's reminder about his father's links to tax havens <i>is</i> so potentially toxic	Relational process	Daily mail
193.	To <i>emphasize</i> the point Cameron's children attend state schools (for the time being at least)	Material process	Daily mail