Intertextual manipulations in the editorials of English newspapers of Pakistan

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Abstract. The selection of a specific label, a particular category of melody, or a certain style of rolling a camera in TV fiction all deliver instances of intertextuality when investigated meticulously and with a focus on the pertinent associations. A broader notion of intertextuality including social traditions, genre, nationwide and worldwide relations is essentially a requisite in the understanding of works' substantial interactive structures revealing the backgrounds and traditions to which they belong. A study of intertextuality can foster deeper understanding of the hidden meanings, agendas and ideologies of the text. The researcher aimed to explore the ways intertextuality presents itself in the editorials. Further the researcher analyzed closely the role played by intertextuality in the selected editorials for ideology building. The impact of intertextuality on readership of newspapers was also analyzed.

Keywords: Intertextual Manipulation , Media, Ideology, English Newspapers

I.   INTRODUCTION

Subtle manipulations through the use of intertextual resources do find their existence in the editorials which ordinary readers may find difficult to catch. The situation gets more intricate when it is the matter related to national issues of great importance. To curtail the possible distortion of the interpretive directions given to the readers through the editorials, this qualitative research aimed at investigating editorials of two leading Pakistani English newspapers whereby the researcher traced and analyzed the instances of manipulative use of intertextual resources applying Fairclough's three dimensional model with appraisal analysis at the core of text analysis. The findings of intertextual analysis reveal significant and manipulative use of intertextual strategies and tools by the newspapers to serve and propagate their respective ideologies and agendas. The analysis of the linguistic tools used within and around the intertextual references also revealed a number of intertextual contradictions in the sampled editorials . An extensively used phenomenon intertextuality brings up mutual relationship between the texts and can be deliberated on multiple and diverse levels (Bauman, 2004, p.4).

II.   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

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

Norman Fairclough's theory/concept of intertextuality extended on kristeva's(1967) original concept forms the theoretical framework for this study. Fairclough introduced this classification of intertextuality drawing upon Bakhitin's views.

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

The three questions were addressed using Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis whereby text was analyzed through the **appraisal** analysis of intertextual resources, using the Martin and White (2005). Appraisal analysis as a part of Systemic Functional Linguistics SFL generated by Halliday (2003) focuses on the interpersonal metafunction of language.

Two newspapers of Pakistan were selected on the basis of readership given by All Pakistan Press Association. The nominated newspapers were The Dawn, and The Daily Times. The time period for the data collection was from July 2016- December 2016. The newspapers published in this time period were collected both in hard and soft form.

The discourse selected for the research was the newspaper editorials. The selection was further delimited to the editorials which had the reference of CPEC in them. In the next round only those editorials were selected which had CPEC as their main theme. Finally one editorial from each newspaper was selected for the detailed analysis. As it is an intertextual research, data had to be limited to a manageable size.

The current study has taken just two types of Intertextuality into account namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/places.

IV.   ANALYSIS OF THE DAILY TIMES EDITORIAL : "PAKISTAN WARNS INDIA" (APPENDIX 1), SEPTEMBER 3, 2016

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

1. Intertextual Reference to Modi's Speech
The editorial begins with the intertextual reference to Indian Prime Minister Modi's speech in the following words:
Indian Prime Minister Narender Modi's speech is still resonating in Pakistan.
The speech being referred to was the independence day speech delivered by Modi on 15 of Aug 2016 at Red Fort Delhi. In that speech Modi made a number of statements against Pakistan calling it a state supporting terrorism. Further Modi made an aggressive diatribe against Pakistan saying, "**People of Balochistan, Gilgit and PoK (Pakistan Occupied Kashmir) have thanked me a lot past few days, I am grateful to them**" (People of Baluchistan ,2016).

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

2. Intertextual Reference to CPEC Semınar
The next intertextual reference appearing in the editorial is the concluding ceremony of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Gilgit-Baltistan in the following words:
The recently concluded seminar on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Gilgit-Baltistan witnessed numerous charged speeches against India's alleged subversive activities to sabotage the CPEC project.
The editor referred to the speeches made on the occasion by using the **premodifiers 'numerous'** and **'charged'** with the word **'speeches'**. The **attitudinal word 'charged'** used with the word **'speeches'** is adding **negative appreciation value** to the word **'speeches'** and the **negative attitudinal value** of the word **'charged'** was further amplified and **upscaled** by the use of the **adjectival 'numerous'**. This adds **upscaled negative graduation force** to the **negative attitudinal value** of the word **'charged'**.

The editor while referring to objective of the speeches at seminar wrote that these speeches were made against **"India's alleged subversive activities to sabotage the CPEC project"**. Interesting choices in **linguistic repository** by the author again provide the linguistic evidence for **pro Indian theme**. The impact of the **negative attitudinal appraisal** word **'subversive'** was used with the word activities but the impact of this word was **downscaled** by the use of **hedging** word **'alleged'**. Thereby the **focus** of the **negative appreciation** of Indian activities using the word **'subversive'** was blurred by the use of **hedging premodifier 'alleged'** that is **downscaling** the **graduation focus** of the word **'subversive'**. Thereby the editor is professing that the subversive actions of India against CPEC are alleged not proven.

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

The second sentence of the last paragraph brings in another sharp comparison whereby the editor writes "**If India is involved in subversive activities in Pakistan, Pakistan should take up the case in the international arena.**"

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

3. Intertextual Reference to General Raheel Speech at The Cpec Semınar
Intertextual Reference to General Raheel Sharif's speech appeared in the following words:
"Last among these …….to defeat those plots." (Appendix 1)
While intertextually referring to the speech of COAS General Raheel Sharif speech at the ceremony, *anaphoric reference 'these'* was used to put the COAS speech also in the **'charged'** category. As shown below in the comparative diagram the editor having different linguistic choices for Indian and Pakistani events again provide an evidence for pro-Indian theme emerging from the editorial.

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

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

The researcher watched the full speech of COAS (Pakistan Defense,2016) to locate the quoted part of the COAS speech in the editorials and found that the editor went for **intertextual manipulation** and **ellipses** whereby he changed the original words spoken by the COAS. The editor quoted "Let Modi and Raw know that our borders are secure." The original words were "Whether it is Modi ,Raw or anyone else, You should know…". The original speech of COAS was in Urdu and the editor translated it into English with deliberate intertextual **ellipsis**. The intertextual **ellipses** are attempts to portray a specific image of the person or institution being portrayed (Mao,2015). The use of **ellipses** is sometimes manipulative and unethical (Crystal,2015) whereby the meaning is deliberately twisted by omitting certain words. This maneuver by the editor can thereby be read as a motivated act to paint a differently situated picture of COAS and that is possibly **negative.** An anti-nationalist ideology is emerging as analyzed by the analysis of linguistic

resources by the researcher. The terms Nationalist and anti-Nationalist are used in this thesis to refer to pro-state and non-state ideologies respectively in line with definition given in Encyclopedia Britannica("Nationalism", n.d.).

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

4. Intertextual Reference to Delhi's Apprehension Of Cpec

In the next intertextual reference the editor says " Delhi's 'apprehension' of CPEC is known ,and it has not made the secret of the same." This is a **proclaimer** launched by the editor implying the **attitude** is given and should be accepted as such by the reader (Droga &Humphrey 2002). In the first part of the sentence the editor shares with the reader the Indian apprehension of CPEC by positively appreciating it with evaluative adjective 'known'. The positive appreciative term 'known' implies that this is something which is established. The use of the **copular** verb 'is' shows a high level of certainty on the part of the writer, who categorically asserts that the subject of the clause is in a particular state of existence(Biber et al,2002). This is **monoglossic declarative** clause which denies the presence of any other voice. Further **contraction** of alternative voices is seen in the second part of the same sentence which is a **disclaimer** by the editor using the tool of **negation** 'has not made a secret ' thereby making the clause all the more **monoglossic**. Those who declare something openly without making a secret of it are normally interpreted as truthful, upright, brave, not guilty, strong and morally high. The editor declares a positive **evaluation** of India's apprehension through the use of **positive appraisal linguistic repository**. The use of **nominalization** in the shape of the word 'apprehension' is an effort on the part of the editor to give this opinion a detached and objective look but the above given analysis of the linguistic evidence shows these choices as **ideologically motivated**. Anti-nationalist ideology is emerging by the linguistic analysis of this intertextual reference.

5. Intertextual Reference to CPEC Potential

Referring intertextually to the CPEC potential the editor writes "CPEC, when completed, has the potential to connect 64 countries." Interesting use of the conditional 'when' has opened up space for alternative voices and conditions. **Heteroglossia** is introduced through the use of the conditional 'when' with the completion of CPEC, thereby the other possibilities of CPEC not being completed are being admitted. The alternative clauses could have been

CPEC has the potential to connect 64countries (the words 'when completed' are omitted in this statement)
CPEC when completed will connect 64 countries (the words 'has the potential' are omitted in this statement)
CPEC will connect 64 countries (both 'when completed ' and 'has the potential' are omitted in this statement)

Thereby in the **appraisal** of CPEC double **downscaling** with two linguistic choices was done. One with the use of conditional 'when ' and second with the term 'has the potential' thereby implying that something having the potential may or may not be able to demonstrate that practically as the reality grows on ground. In the first line of the fourth paragraph the editor using the **declarative** clause declares Pakistan as isolated in the diplomatic arena. In the wake of this **declarative** then the editor makes use of a **disclaimer** in the form of **negation** 'it cannot afford to worsen its ties with India' in the next part of the sentence. It's important to note that **appraisal** resource of **negation** is used to counter or disclaim any alternative voices before they can arise and thus deny outside opinion any prominence. In the second line of the 4th para of the editorial after sharing India's efforts to improve ties with US to counter Chinese influence, the editor mentioning the potential of CPEC in the third line moves on to the fourth line that again vices the concern of India against CPEC for the second time in the editorial. Many **contradictions** in the editorial seem to forefront this part of the editorial:

1.If Pakistan is isolated in the diplomatic arena why is India concerned about CPEC?
2. Why was India's concern appraised by the editor in either positive or neutral linguistic light ?
3.If Chinese influence is so great as to make India seek ties with US then how is Pakistan diplomatically isolated when China is on Pakistan's side?
4.Is the editorial trying to protect India's interest when announcing 'Pakistan cannot afford to worsen its ties with India' if in reality it is India that cannot afford to worsen its ties with Pakistan?
5.Is the editor trying to convince the reader and the government to give up on CPEC as India is having concerns on CPEC and Pakistan cannot afford to worsen its ties with India (as mentioned by the editorial)?
Anti-nationalist ideology again seems emerging through the linguistic analysis of this intertextual reference given by the editor and **contradictions** arising thereby. The terms Nationalist and anti-Nationalist are used

in this thesis to refer to pro-state and non-state ideologies respectively in line with definition given in Encyclopedia Britannica ("Nationalism", n.d.).

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

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

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

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

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

Intertextual reference to :

1.Modi's speech without directly or indirectly quoting the words of his speech. No **value judgements** found for Modi's speech. **2.CPEC seminar** with a general reference to all the speeches made on the occasion as ' numerous charged speeches'. **Negative appraisal** words abounded the comment. **3.Raheel Sharif speech** by directly quoting some parts of the speech with intertextual **ellipsis** found. Meaningful use of **anaphoric** reference 'these' found. **4. Delhi's apprehension of CPEC** without quoting any voice/speech. Implicit positive **appraisal of Delhi** through positive **judgement**.**5. Indian atrocities in Kashmir** without quoting any voice from India or Kashmir.**6.CPEC potential** by giving some details of the connectivity through conditionals **downscaling** the potential being referred to.**7.India improving ties with US** in neutral **appraisal** terms.While adding up these intertextual references the editor did make the ideological use of **appraisal** resources whereby **appraisal** kit of **attitude**, **graduation**, **engagement**, through linguistic tools like **monoglossia**, **disclaimers**, **negations**, conditionals, **ellipses**, conditional conjuncts, **contractions**, **nominalization** etc. were used to make the meaning.

V. ANALYSIS OF DAWN EDİTORİAL : "SHUFFLING CPEC" (APPENDIX 1) NOVEMBER 7, 2016

The editorial refers to the changes made by the government in the energy projects and negatively evaluates these alterations as being a result of weak planning and as having negative impact on investment and reputation of the country. The linguistic analysis of this editorial suggests that at social level the implication of the discursive use of intertextual resources is that, it tends to drift the reader's confidence away from the potential of CPEC projects .

1.Intertextual Reference to Knocked Off Energy Projects of Cpec
"THE constant........power project" (Appendix 1)

The intertextual reference refers to the '**constant changes'** in the CPEC power projects ,calling it a result of **weak state of planning** *.* This is a straight away start of the editorial with **negative appreciation** of the CPEC planning and thereby the CPEC planners with the words **weak state of planning** and the words '**constant changes**'. The **adjectival** '**constant**' is used as an **upscalling graduation force** further **amplifying** the impact of the word '**changes'** in a **negative** way suggesting that a constant necessity of changes denotes a number of loopholes detected afterwards and being covered afterwards with constant

alterations. This goes as **negative judgement** for the planners as well, for having **negative capacity** and **negative tenacity**.

Through the use of the **generic intertextual engagement** referring to the **anonymous reports**

Latest reports suggest

 it is remarked in the editorial that

two more projects may have been knocked off.

Stenvall (2008 a, b) identified the use of   **generic sources** for example, "police, officials, military, sources, witnesses, and analysts" as instances of **authorial alignment**. He argues that whereas it may not be understood as "authoritative and credible", it delivers an impression of heightening "the newsworthiness of the quoted information, especially as the word is often premodified by the nouns intelligence, security, or military". In the above intertextual reference **authorial endorsement** is visible and the use of the **generic external source** suggests that the author is aligned towards projecting CPEC power projects as dilapidated. Who published the reports , where were these reports published and what are the names of the reports :all these details are obfuscated from the reference. The use of the nominalization tool is also visible whereby the use of the word 'report' as a 'verb' was replaced by the use of the word 'report' as noun. It is to be noted that the writer uses the words or thoughts of an outside source to validate or challenge the attitudes. The intertextual reference under analysis   cannot be taken as authoritative and credible, for the information being shared is using very **weak modality** along with a number of **visible contradictions**. Very **weak modality** '**may'** have been is used to show a very **weak possibility** along with the very strong **phrasal verb** 'knocked off the list' that means to completely remove something from the list (knock off, n.d.).The **contradiction** further gets visible while the particulars of the projected 'knocked off ' projects are detailed in the next lines. With the **obfuscation** of the **project names** one project with **vague identity** of '660MW initiative' is shown as '**Disallowed Completely'** and the other one even without the vague identity as of the first one is shown as having the timeline disturbed due to certain changes.

The suggestion shown through the veil of external anonymous source 'Reports' is thereby proven as **contradictory** as the reports were shown as suggesting two projects as 'knocked off' the list whereby the details given afterwards show one of the projects removed and the other one delayed. These twists, turns ,and back and forth movements of the argument show existence of **intertextual manipulation** whereby the data seems to be chewed and reshaped at multiple stages to suit the purpose which seems to be projecting the CPEC power projects as a failure.

Negative appreciation   terminologies for CPEC power projects abound the intertextual reference .For example

weak state of planning ; have been knocked off ; timeline has been disrupted ; a question mark on the entire project

The **adjectival** 'weak' , the phrasal verb 'knocked off', the **disaster verb** 'disrupted', and the doubt **noun** '**question mark'** are **negatively appreciative terms** appreciating CPEC power projects **negatively** as **disrupted**, **discontinued**, **weak**, and **doubtful**. This automatically shows the **negative judgement** for the government as having **weak capacity** and **weak tenacity**.

Negative appreciation for the government is again visible in the last line of the first paragraph whereby the government is shown '**rushing'** to commission a new   **1200 MW plant to run on imported LNG.** Looking at intertextual analysis of the linguistic resources the word 'rushing' **connotates** here steps taken without a wise premeditated planning and homework. Thereby the government again is being **negatively judged** as having **negative capacity** and **negative tenacity**. **Obfuscation** of the project name is visible again and it is left to the reader to locate the specificities   of the project for further verification.

Further consolidating the **negative appreciation** of the CPEC power projects, examples of previous CPEC power projects that went into trouble are given. One of them is shown with its name

Salt Range coal-fired power project

The same project was mentioned in the editorial of 4th October whereby it was named as

Coal-fired power plant to be built in Kallar Kahar

It is an important observation since that **repetition** of the same subject is seen in the newspaper with a gap of just two days. Further the repetition in both the days comes with different names for the same project that is

Salt Range coal-fired power project (November 7th)

Coal-fired power plant to be built in Kallar Kahar (November 4th)

It seems this usage of different names for same project might be a strategy to counter any doubts created in the minds of the readers regarding the fairness and legitimacy of the objective of this quick repetition

of the same name, subject and argument. It may also have an objective of disguising, faking, dissimulating or confusing the identity of the projects so as to showcase a that it's not one project but two that were scrapped. This again may be taken as strategy of **intertextual manipulation** whereby multiple nominations for the same project were used that may affect the clarity of the statement so as to lead the reader into different interpretations into the desired direction of the newspaper. **Repetition** in **appraisal framework** is identified as an **upscaling graduation** force to emphasize a point. Thereby an **intertextual repetition** of the same subject is noted between the selected editorials of Dawn - the editorials of 4th and 7th November being the examples in point- whereby the same project was repeated with different names in both the editorials.Other linguistic manifestations of the repeated intertextual salt range project in the currents editorial entail the usage of the term 'midcourse alterations' and the **disaster vocabulary** word '**collapse'** in the following ways

midcourse alterations to the terms in the solar tariff

collapse of the Salt Range coal-fired power project

The words '**midcourse alteration' negatively appreciate** power projects' performance as not moving forward in the direction of completion but lingering on in the way because of alterations in the mid of the journey. The **adjectival 'midcourse' modifying** the word '**alteration'** further **upscales** the **gravity** of the alteration as being a signal to the non-professional **capacity** of the planners for having to cause it the mid of the course suggesting that the capabilities of the planners are so weak that the need for alteration was detected by them when half way to completion of the project had been covered.

The selection of intertextual resources and references cab be malicious and ideologically motivated (Momani et al ,2010).The resource of engagement in appraisal system can itself bear value positions and ideological inclinations. This ensues when text producers want to express a negative idea about a group of people ,an individual, or an event/happening by selecting references that serve their own purposes.

In the analysis of the Dawn editorial 'Impediments to CPEC projects' published on 4th of November 2016, the researcher listed a number of successful power projects of CPEC, some of which were operational since 2016 and many got operational the following year and onwards. Further 2016 also marked successful Financial Closing FC of many CPEC power projects. The fact that none of the successful power projects could find a place in the selected Dawn editorials written on related theme stands as a question mark to the legitimacy of the argument and the ideological positioning of the editor regarding the intertextual references. The analysis of the selected intertextual references seems to suggest anti-CPEC ideology of the newspaper.

2. Intertextual Reference to Calls for Greater Transparency
   "Given these frequent changes, ...support and generation licences." (Appendix 1)
Calls for greater transparency are being referred to this intertextual reference whereby the external source is being ngaged through **naming the speech act** and that is '**calls'**. The source of these calls again is being obfuscated.

According to Fairclough(2001) **obfuscation** of the **agent** is **ideologically motivated**. The use of **generic sources**, is identified by Stenvall (2008a,b) as instances of **authorial alignment.** The **anonymous outside voice** being quoted in this reference thereby is an instance of authorial alignment for the voice which is further certified through the proceeding comments of the author in the same sentence calling them '**so pertinent'**. **Adverbial grader 'so'** is used to further strengthen the **authorial endorsement** of the calls for transparency. The use of the **upgrading graduation resource** to call these calls so relevant also serves as a projected indicator of the '**so'** much lacking transparency.

Presupposition which is obviously apparent here to frame the reader's mind is that CPEC does not entail enough transparency. **Negative appreciation** of the CPEC deals is visible.

Positive appreciation for the calls for transparency is surfacing through the use of the words '**so pertinent'** thereby implicitly evaluating the critics of CPEC voicing these calls as having **positive tenacity** and **veracity** for raising relevant objections.

Negative judgement for the CPEC planners as having **negative capacity** for having no foresight is obvious.

Contradiction again is visible that what is the link of calls for transparency with the planning of the project. Transparency normally is related to money matters and justified dispersal of project contracts to the eligible investors. Since the objection being made is on poor planning

Given these frequent changes, it is becoming clear that foresight and planning were missing

thereby the **presupposition** surfacing to the fore is that contracts are being suspected as not been transparently distributed to the investors and been given away through favoritism or nepotism. As a result the ineligible investors who got the contacts were the poor planners and could not plan properly.

But beginning with the **epistemic adverbial comment adjunct 'clearly'** and using the modal **expression 'ought to have been'** the next line appearing after this reference is

Clearly the impact of imported coal on the external account of the country <u>ought to have been</u> studied <u>long before the projects were approved</u>, granted an upfront tariff, and issued letters of support and generation licences.

thereby a turn back to the main stake holders of CPEC is taken as the ones who were supposed to do the planning and study the impact ***long before the projects were approved*** hence suggesting it was done close to the issuance of contracts. The flaw of poor planning thus goes back to the main stake holders of CPEC and is removed thereby from the investors to whom the contracts were issued. So with the final conclusion for the poor planning being the result of the poor planning of the main stake holders and not because of the (ineligible) investors receiving the contracts, the narrative of the 'calls for transparency' becomes all the more irrelevant and surfaces **intertextual confusions** and **contradictions**. As poor planning of the ineligible investors given the contracts unjustifiably or the embezzlement in money matters can be nominated as transparency related matters but the poor planning on the part of the main stake holder can be related to non -professionalism, lack of seriousness or dedication but not to the problems in transparency. A back and forth ,turning and twisting movement in the argument is again visible in the editorial. Amidst all these contradictions and confusions the editorial is a **sum** of **negative appreciation** for CPEC and **negative evaluation** of CPEC planers e.g.

frequent *changes, foresight and planning* ***were missing , why calls for greater transparency***

The adjectival 'frequent' modifying the word 'changes', the term 'were missing' and 'calls for transparency' negatively evaluate not only CPEC planning as not standing on solid grounds thereby requiring frequent changes, but also the reliability of the CPEC. Anti-CPEC ideology is again surfacing through the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources.

3.Intertextual Reference to Private Power and Infrastructure Board

"The <u>change of mind</u> ....<u>enthusiasm further.</u>" (Appendix 1)

Intertextual reference to ***Private Power and Infrastructure Board (PPIB)*** is found in the last paragraph. The Private Power and Infrastructure Board (PPIB) is a government body created in 1994 as "One Window Facilitator" to promote private sector participation in the power sector of Pakistan. PPIB executes Implementation Agreement (IA) with Project Sponsors and issues sovereign guarantees and facilitates investors in establishing private power projects and related infrastructure, on behalf of Government of Pakistan. It functions to implement the power policies for the establishment of power projects through private sector investment and award projects, prepare all necessary or appropriate documentation, execute any of such documentation with private power companies, their sponsors and lenders etc. It also recommends and facilitates in the development of power policies and coordinates with the Provincial Governments, Local Governments, Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K) and regulatory bodies in implementation of the power policies. It also coordinates and facilitates the sponsors in obtaining consents and licences from various agencies of the Federal Government, provincial governments, local governments and AJ& K to draft, negotiate and enter into security package documents or agreements and guarantee the contractual obligations of entities under the power policies. It also performs any other function or exercises any other power as may be entrusted by the Federal Government (Private Power , n.d.). Since the PPIB is a government body any criticism on PPIB or its performance means a criticism on government itself.All the criticism regarding the changes in the power plans and CPEC project licenses is associated to PPIB in in this intertextual reference. Negative appreciation for the PPIB comes to the forth with a number of linguistic items as follows

1.Change of Mind , 2.Never a good idea ,3.Changing it mind, 4. Sends a signal to the investors

The negative outcome of the alleged flaws in PPIB are shown as follows

1.   ***sends a signal to investors that Pakistan*** <u>***remains***</u> ***a high-risk country***
2.   ***dampens investor enthusiasm*** <u>***further***</u>

The linguistic analysis of the negative outcomes of the government activities shows two important presuppositions

1.   through the word remains with ***'a high-risk country'*** suggesting that Pakistan is already a high risk country and the signal sent to investors through PPIB is just the continuation and perpetuation of the same image. This suggests a negative appreciation for Pakistan on the part of the newspaper and suggests the journalism of conflict in place with anti-state ideology surfacing.

2.   Through the use of the word adverbial 'further' with the terms ***dampens investor enthusiasm*** an anti-state presupposition comes to the forefront that investors' enthusiasm regarding investment in Pakistan is already dampened and PPIB actions are furthering it.

Negative appreciation and negative judgement regarding PPIB and government again abound in the intertextual reference.

Looking at the editorial as a whole it is found that the tool of repetition of negative vocabulary with the same meaning is visible which suggests the repetition being used for the sake of repetition and criticism for the sake a criticism just to upscale the impact of negativity attached with CPEC. A genuine criticism does not require redundancy of this level. Given below are the examples of repetitions in this editorial.

"Constant Changes", "The Changes", "Midcourse Alterations", "Change of Mind", "Frequent Changes", "Changing its mind in the middle of project" ,"Foresight and planning", "Impact on External Forces", "The impact of imported coal on external aacount" etc.

These repetitions suggest the same drum being beaten again and again without any new substance added to support it. Anti -Nationalist and Anti-Government ideology seems surfacing through the intertextual analysis of the linguistic resources.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, embodying manipulative selection and citation of power projects consuming a number of linguistic tools like, obfuscation of project specifics and sources, nominalization, generic intertextual engagement, negative presuppositions, repetition, upscalling graduation forces, disaster vocabulary, negative appreciation, and negative judgement etc. in a discriminatory, manipulative and contradictory way, to launch anti-CPEC, and anti-government ideology. Responding to research question number three, it is seen that, in this editorial the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources for the readers is that at social level it tends to urge the readers distrust the efficacy of CPEC and misguide the readers regarding the CPEC projects by presenting a manipulative account of the projects' failures in a contradictory and confusing way to air uncertainty and doubt surrounding CPEC projects .

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

Answering research question number one, in this editorial intertextual references were found at 3 places. No direct quotes found. Indirect voices through anonymous sources found. Here are the details:

1.**Intertextual Reference to knocked off Energy Projects of CPEC** found with no direct quotation. Anonymous reports were indirectly quoted. Intertextual contradictions and manipulations found. Tool of obfuscation used. Negative judgement and obfuscation of CPEC power projects and planners abound. **2.Intertextual Reference to Calls for Greater Transparency found** without any direct quotation. Intertextual engagement with outside source found through naming of the speech act 'calls'. Obfuscation of the agent, through the tool of nominalization found. Intertextual contradiction visible and negative evaluation for CPEC and its planners found.**3.Intertextual Reference to Private Power and Infrastructure Board found** without any direct or indirect quotation found. Negative appreciation for government and PPIB found with multiple anti-state presuppositions getting generated.

VI.   CONCLUSION

The study concluded that intertextual resources do play very significant role in ideology building in opinion sections of the newspapers. The study found out many instances of intertextual manipulations ; ellipses, transformations , anonymous intertextual engagements, authorial alignment, authorial distancing, contradictions, negative appraisals/positive appraisals, discriminatory use of linguistic resources, counterexpectancy, declaratives, modalities and graduation forces etc. within and around the intertextual resources to frame the reader's mind in a particular direction as decided by the newspaper. A total of 10 intertextual references were located in the newspapers. Out of these 10 references only one reference was found in the shape of direct quotation. Rest of the intertextual references were in the shape of indirect voices/events being added. The linguistic analysis of the editorial of Daily Times under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to drift the reader away from CPEC, perpetuate the projected provincial issue, and generate anti-CPEC, pro-India and anti-Army mindset. The analysis showed the ideological and manipulative use of intertextual resources by Daily Times to inculcate anti-CPEC, and anti-Nationalist ideology.

The linguistic analysis of the editorial of Dawn under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to confuse the readers at social level regarding the authentication, substantiation and effectiveness of CPEC projects, generate anti-CPEC, anti-government mindset. The analysis showed the manipulative use of intertextual resources referring to CPEC projects in a misleading way to propagandize anti-CPEC, and anti-government ideology.

Daily Times , and Dawn make ample use of intertextual manipulations in a number of different ways as given in the detailed analysis . A less informed reader with lesser access to the other resources might become an easy victim of the ideological moves of these intertextual recourses.

VII.   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE READER

The linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources highlights the importance of the following points to be considered by the readers to improve their critical reading skills.
1.Redaers should catch intertextual and intratextual contradictions ,intertextual manipulations, intertextual transformations and intertextual ellipses in the text they read at all the possible levels. **2.**Readers should cross check the crucial intertextual data shared with them by consulting the primary sources. **3.**Readers should locate the discriminatory use of linguistic resources within the intertextual refences and the surrounding text used by the writer to position him/herself regarding the reference. This may illuminate them on the ideological underpinnings of the text if any. **4.** Readers should focus on the Counterexpectancy resources and surrounding text of the intertextual refence to see how the writer positions him/herself regarding that intertextual source to peep into the ideological motives of the editor if any. **5.**Readers should check out whether in the used intertextual resources it's the journalism of conflict or journalism of peace in place. Whether the text is constructively moving to resolve the conflict or to further aggravate it. **6.**Readers should keep themselves updated on current affairs. This will help them identify, counter and escape the intertextual manipulations that can be easily done with the possible aid of ignorance. **7.** Readers should opt for attending the trainings on intertextual analysis at any easily available forum. **8.**Redaers should focus on enhancing their competence in the language they are reading in so that they can understand the different connotative shade of the vocabulary being used in the intertextual references. **9.**Readers should try to weigh the logic given in, through and around the intertextual references for weighing the reasoning strength of these references. **10.** Readers while reading opinion pages on some specific topic in one newspaper should consult other newspapers on the same topic. This will broaden the analysis scope to check out. **11.**Readers should analyze the attitude ,engagement and graduation resource used within and around the intertextual resources to evaluate, compare and contrast utilization of linguistic tools for different motives.

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