



RESEARCH PAPER

Role of Concordance of Lexicon and Collocations in Indian Newspaper Headlines on Pulwama Crisis: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to analyse critically media headlines of leading Indian e-papers during the crisis of Pulwama phase igniting from 14th of February to 31st of March 2019. The study has included five newspapers from India. The research has examined role of concordance of lexicon and collocations for angling news headlines. The research design is qualitative in approach. For the analysis of news headlines Fairclough's 3-D model (1992) is employed to expose ideological representation through semantic devices (concordance and collocations). Theoretical framework includes selected features of Paul Chilton's Model of Deictic Space Theory (2004) like, Proximization, and Wicczorek's (2013) Clusivity to analyse the text. The results give deeper understanding of indian journalistic discourse that shows Concordance of use of words like terrorist/s, attack, JeM, dangerous and phrases like punishing Pakistan, threats of surgical strike, reflects the trend to be so grave and lethal.

KEYWORDS Collocation, Concordance, Identities, Ideological Representation, Perceptions, Semantic Devices

Introduction

The purpose of this study is the critical analysis of media headlines of leading e-papers of India during the crisis of Pulwama phase from initial ignition of tensions from suicidal attack on CRPF convoy on 14th February 2019 to de-escalation of tensions with India dropped the name of Masood Azhar Chief of Jaish e Mohammad (JeM) on reflected in news on 2nd April. The study is significant because the Pulwama incident brought the two nuclear armed neighbouring countries on the brink of a full scale war.

Literature Review

The notions of Discourse, Critical, Power, and Ideology are core issues in CDA as it is precisely concerned with "language as social practice" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) and acknowledges discourse—language use in speech and writing—as a form of "social practice." Discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned—it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people (p. 258). Fairclough was greatly influenced by the Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) theory developed by Halliday (1985) after which he developed a three layer CDA framework. This framework aims to explore the "exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 4). Fairclough (1992, 1998) claims that language is used as social practice because it is an essential part of the various social actions and activities, variations and directions in the economic, political, ideological, and cultural areas of life as reflected in Fairclough (1989, 1995) 3-D model. For the analysis of headlines of newspapers work of Richardson (2007) on analyzing newspapers is noticeable. Concerning the importance of lexical choices and vocabularies in the media, he

stresses that “words transmit the mental images of society; they convey two sorts of meanings, connoted as well as denoted meanings. nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs carry connoted in addition to denoted meanings” Richardson (2007, p. 47). In view of Entman (1993) Framing is communicating, text or message, to stimulate certain facts of a perceived reality. Frames are developed to perceive reality only from the perspective of the writer. Framing has, limited sphere of influence to the local population or among in-group associates who also perceive reality in the same way. Impartial reader from outside the ring or another community with different frame may view the same reality differently For this aim in view, the theoretical tool employed for data analysis include van Dijk’s ‘Ideological square’ (1997, 2006) of alliances and similarities of ideas, based on ideological differences of the dominant and the dominated: it includes dichotomy of in-group positive representation and out-group negative representation. Chilton’s (2004) concept of in-group represented as IDC and out-group as ODC is based on Proximization as represented in his ‘Deictic Space Theory’. IDC reflects countries or communities in-side deictic center and ODC represents outside deictic center. Distancing is used to obtain various objectives including urge to take pre-emptive measures, to control or neutralize ideologically threatening states or communities.

Material and Methods

Data Set

The Indian newspapers selected for the study include: The Hindu, BBC India, Hindustan Times, India Today and Indian Express. Maximum available headlines and sub-headlines news pertaining to the selected period of time have been taken for analysis reflecting identical themes or issues.

Theoretical framework

The researcher has examined the headlines and the sub-headlines to point out hidden agenda or ideologies, pursued by the newspapers. Headlines and their syntactic and semantic configuration typically represent “others” as perpetrators and agents, as anonymous and criminal, whereas the police and victims are passivized and presented as suffering reflective of van Dijk’s (1997) ideological square. The main focus is the discursive strategies employed in constructing new national identities in which strategies of creating in-groups and out-groups by emphasizing differences between “us” and “them” play a key role, as well as strategies of internal homogenization, such as invoking “national unity and solidarity,” and of victimizing one’s own group while accusing the other of aggression. (Wodak R. and Brigitta Busch, P, 113,114). The 3-D model of Fairclough (1995) is also used to analyze data.

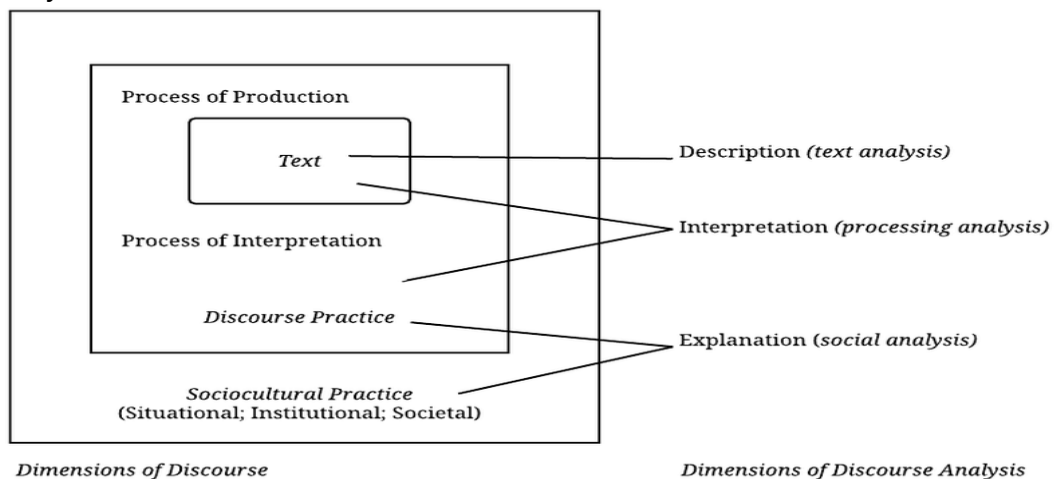


Figure1: Fairclough’s 3-D Framework (1995)

The first dimension of analysis studies the different linguistic expressions such as the selection of vocabulary, the use of metaphors, the various combination of words, grammatical structures such as the use of modality, passivize structures, and the use of transitive and intransitive expressions, cohesion as the utilization of different types of clauses and conjunctions and “text organization (e.g. episodic, turn-taking)” (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 448). Fairclough’s (1992/ 95) 3-D model (Description, Interpretation and Explanation) at both, headlines and the sub-headlines level has been employed in the research. The second dimension of Fairclough’s analytical framework known as Meso-level of analysis involves the theme of “text production, distribution, and consumption” and the investigation of their variability and the way it gets influenced by the social aspects (Fairclough 1992, p.78). With reference to the significance of headlines in media discourse, a closer look at the headlines indicates some shared viewpoints as the underlying thematic patterns which are compatible with Van Dijk’s (1998) ideological dichotomy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

Van Dijk’s (1997) Ideological square has been employed to unravel Self-Presentation” as good in actions taken to restrict, neutralize or stop any reactionary forces working against Indian hegemony and “Other-Presentation’ as bad, vicious or heinous and thus worthy of subduing, controlling by any means in this case Kashmiri freedom fighters and liberation organization, struggling against Indian hegemony termed as terrorists. Proximization of Chilton’s (2004) DST in-group has been used to expose undue support of western media in favour of Indian version of reality and distancing and discourage ‘Others’ / “Out-group members’ by non-cooperation, shunning, rejecting, stopping out-group. Still one step ahead is favouring to the level of legitimization of actions of In-Group Member. Clusivity of Wieczorek (2013) has helped in exposing Association/ disassociation favouring in-group member, in this case legitimization of use of force in Kashmir---controlling or neutralising terror attacks, maintaining peace and reducing tensions with US connivance / supports to India pre-emptive strike of Balakot across border in Pakistan. Role of collocation and concordance and lexical choices have been examined through Observation as descriptive tool.

Results and Discussion

Analysis of Thematic Concordance in Indian News Headlines

The consistent concordance of words and phrases in Indian news headlines indicates intentional narrative building for framing. The choice of words in the news headlines is a strategic tool for shaping the audience’s mental image referred to here as framing. The headlines are grouped under 12 thematic topics. Below is given Figure 02 which reflects thematic concordance of news headlines of the selected Indian newspapers:

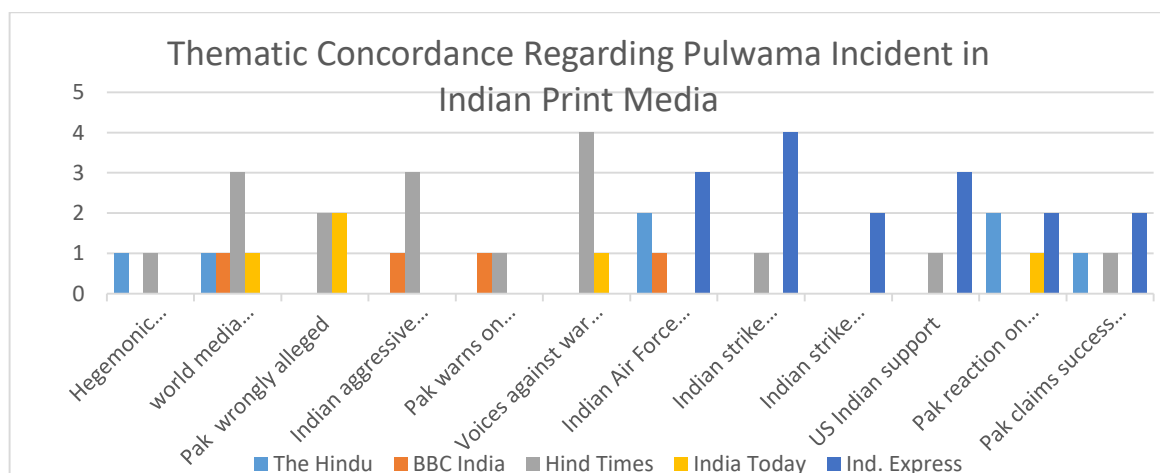


Figure: 02 Name????

Analysis of Thematic Concordance

The prominent bars of concurrence from 3 to 4 news items in the Indian papers represent topics like: world media reaction; Indian aggressive designs; voices against war hysteria; Indian air force aggression; Indian strike condemned; Indian strike unsuccessful; US support for the Indian government; Pak reaction on Indian dossiers; and Pak claims success of narrative. Out of the 6 news topics only 3 (second, fourth and seventh) are pro-Indian while the remaining 4 are going against the home policy. The news themes expose failure of Indian narrative. The United States, being strategic ally associated and sided with India to the extent of legitimizing Indian strike by not raising voice against Indian aggression and blamed Pakistan but the tables were turned luckily for Pakistan by forceful response of PAF and timely reactions of the PM of Pakistan, ISPR and the FO. As for war hysteria provoked by media for the Indian strike, Indian government had to face sane voices from within the state from public as well as the opposition.

Analysis of Lexical Choices

The topical text analysis of Indian News headlines n sub-headlines as grouped thematically despite a little variance in dates of their publication is enumerated and analysed hereunder. It must be noted that the Headlines are given in **bold** letters while sub-headlines in *italics*. Topics of Indian Headline are grouped as follow: Bloody sorrowful Attack, World media on Pulwama, 3-Pak alleged for attack, 4-Indian aggressive designs, Pak warns on misadventure, Voices against war hysteria, Indian Air Force aggression, Indian Strike a failure, Indian strike condemned, US Indian support, Pak reaction on Indian dossiers and Pak claims success of narrative. The news are analyzed topic-wise.

Theme 1- Hegemonic reporting of the incident:

The first headline of Indian daily Hindustan Times on 15th Feb says 'Kashmir's Bloodiest Day-- *Kashmir's bloodiest day intelligence alerts warned of a possible terror attack*'. With reference to choice of lexicon we find here use of apostrophe with a non-living 'Kashmir's' heightens the effect as if done with a person or a living entity. Secondly modifier 'bloodiest' with day signifies the tragedy of Kashmir not of any Indian. It is not a deadly for Kashmiris but for the Indian occupation forces, transferred epithet. The word 'intelligence' is used for 'intelligence agencies'. The news shows 'alert' regarding possible attack by JeM was issued but was ignored / neglected by the authorities. So the 'warning' proved a foredooming and the 'feared incident' had occurred. The headline does not mention anyone neither the doer nor the targeted. In another edition Hindustan Times on the same date, gives a slightly different headline with a few more details in the sub-headline. Using all caps it says, **44 DEAD IN VALLEY'S BLOODIEST DAY---*Car with explosives hits convoy on Jammu-Srinagar highway; JEM claims responsibility, Govt. vows action.*** The sub-headline gives the details without mentioning Kashmiri young man, a freedom fighter or a terrorist. The concurrence of word 'bloodiest day' and instead of 'Kashmir's' the word 'valley' with apostrophe is used in the headline. Number of deaths is given at the every onset yet identity of victims who died is missing. The sub-headline also overlooks the details of who died and who attacked. The two parts of the sub appear in the end but is marked by its significant. The paper includes the mention of JeM for accepting responsibility and promised reaction by the government. The headline says, 'Pulwama Attack 2019, everything about J&K terror attack on CRPF by terrorist Adil Ahmed Dar, Jaish-e-Mohammad ---*A suicide bombing attack on a CRPF convoy in Pulwama region of Jammu and Kashmir killed 40 CRPF paramilitary troopers on February 14, 2019. Jaish-e-Mohammad had claimed responsibility for the attack.*' The word 'rampage' is madly attack. But headline tells that curfew was imposed. It signals Kashmir was not an easy going for Indians. The fourth one also uses the word rampage and curfew; the headline '30 vehicles torched in Jammu rampage, curfew imposed' by Hindustan Times does not touch the topic of identity of the suicide bomber in the lead, it confines headline to give details of loss of vehicles, concurrence of word 'rampage' and imposition of

curfew in the region by the government. Another news by Hindustan Times on 26th '2 Anantnag men missing' reports car used in the crash identified by the National Investigation Agency (NIA) as belonging to a missing person Sajjad Bhat of district Anantnag of Jammu and Kashmir. Headlines likewise; 'United front at all-party meeting' -- *Today, we stand united in solidarity with our security forces in fighting terrorism and in defending the unity and integrity of India with reference to ALL-PARTY MEET RESOLUTION 17th Feb* by Hindustan Times, reflected Indian government's ambitions against Pakistan. Mention of lexicon like *unity, security, fighting, defending* and *solidarity* give the impression of heightened tensions. India going beyond talks started actions. On 17th Feb. headlines of Hindustan Times surprised the public with news, 'Pulwama: Sidhu asked to leave Kapil Sharma show'. It is in line with ideology at number I mentioned in 5.2, that 'Kashmir is integral part of India those who raise voice against it are aides of the enemy and must be treated like non-patriotic.' Indian government removed Punjab local bodies minister Navjot Singh Sidhu from a popular comedy show for supporting supposedly Pakistani narrative. The headline. Another action by Indian government appeared in headline of Hindustan Times on 22nd Feb 2019 which said, 'India to stop its share of water flowing into Pak'. Water flowing into Pakistan come from Kashmir and not from India. Moreover, it is Pakistan's share under 'Indus Water Treaty' between the two states.

Theme 2-World media on Pulwama

On 15th PM Modi while paying tribute to the dead soldiers had said as BBC quoted 'India will completely isolate Pakistan'. Here in this news item 'isolation of Pakistan is meant 'diplomatic'. The second headline on the issue has been published on 17th February in the paper India Today claiming, '58 nations condemn Pulwama terror attack, US names Pakistan' and adds a sub-headline *India continues with its diplomatic offensive on day-two of its engagement with the envoys of several nations and regional blocs to garner support against Pakistan.* Diplomatic offensive means attack at diplomatic level. It was India as a move of 'game plan' to isolate Pakistan diplomatically but naming 58 nations whereas only US appeared there to name or blame Pakistan or to stand on Indian side.

Theme 3-Pakistan alleged for attack

On Feb 15, Hindustan Times had another headline in its edition, 'Suicide bomber, 22, lived 10km from spot' validating the stance of Pakistan that the plan of attack was conceived and executed from within Indian occupied Kashmir and thus Pakistan was in no way involved. As already discussed instead of correcting order of the house PM of India Narendra Modi had issued statement that 'Terrorists will pay for Pulwama attack' the blame being put on Pakistan words of the headline 'delivers warning to Pak' reflect the direction of the warning. Sub-headline *'Political programs of PM Modi and other BJP leaders including party president Amit Shah have been cancelled in the wake of Pulwama terror attack'* shows how much tension had grown inside India to cancel the routine scheduled activities like meeting with BJP party President Amit Shah; 'Hindustan Times'. Indian public must back the government thus a statement from a Bollywood actress is included as lead news on February 16, by India Today, says, 'Janhvi Kapoor slams Pakistan daily for calling Pulwama terror attack a fight for freedom'. The statement points to the difference of frames how Pakistan and India look at an incident: *'fight for freedom'* and *'terror attack'*. No statement from UK had come up to support India but the BBC India being in association with India sides with India beyond measures in its headlines on 15 February 2019 says; 'Pulwama attack: India will 'completely isolate' Pakistan---*India has said it will ensure the "complete isolation" of Pakistan after a suicide bomber killed 46 paramilitary police in Indian-administered Kashmir.* Use of caption 'Pulwama attack' with colons it says India will completely isolate Pakistan. With reference to India alleging Pakistan for Pulwama attack, Saudi government condemned the terror attack just like US but 'Saudi condemns terror but silent on Pak's role' but 'silent' means not supporting against Pakistan. For Saudi Arabia if India is 'inclusive' Pakistan is not 'exclusive' from angle of 'Clusivity theory' Wiczorek

(2013). The lead, 'PRINCE VISIT Joint statement stresses on need to create atmosphere for India-Pak dialogue' of Hindustan Times dated 21 Feb supports the Saudi view that Pakistan is not out-group member and thus cannot be disassociated or distanced in view of DST theory of Chilton (2004). Herein 'Prince' refers to Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad bin Suleiman.

Theme 4-Indian aggressive designs

The political narrative of India gradually turning into war narrative is reflected from the following news headline as appeared on February 19, in the daily Indian Express, 'Pulwama terror attack: Punishing Pakistan — the options India has'. Repeating the same catch word 'Pulwama terror attack' the paper reflects that India is now required to come to coercive diplomacy with only option left to punish in some powerful way. In view of the direction of events US President Trump had used words like 'dangerous' and 'big' as reported under the 7th topic herein. BBC also reports in a similar way in its headline on 19th February, 'Pulwama attack: What are Modi's options?' *Death of around 40 paramilitary men in Pulwama attack had pressure from Indian public not to let go Pakistan without any tangible action.* On 22nd Feb 2019 Hindustan Times says in headline, 'Congress, BJP begin war of words on Pulwama attack' and sub-headline says 'Prime Minister did not call off film shoot on February 14, says opposition party; BJP hits back saying the Congress stands exposed'. War of words as expressed by the paper reflected that there was controversy of views from opposition party Congress and the ruling Bahartia Janata Party (BJP) in India. Indian government and media airing political narrative of provocation while opposition parties raising questions over the legitimacy of the incident. On 23 February HT says 'India to stop share of water' with reference to a statement by PM Modi. India could not unilaterally stop water in view of the Indus Water Treaty but this was the type of hysteria Modi was pursuing and promoting among the Indians. The same paper also prints a news 'Sidhu asked to leave Kapil Sharma Show' government demanding Navjot Singh Sidhu the cricket star, politician and host, to leave Kapil Sharma Show for supporting Pakistani narrative.

Theme 5-State Terrorism

The news on the topic are few but reflect the phenomenon of on-going Kashmiri freedom struggle. Hindustan Times on 17 Feb takes headline, 'ARMY MAJOR KILLED IN NOWSHERA' only 3 days after the Pulwama incident killing a major and injuring a soldier in an IED blast along the Line of Control (LOC) in sector in Rajouri of Jammu and Kashmir. Similarly, as reported by BBC India February 18, 'Pulwama attack: Nine killed in Kashmir gun battle---Nine people, including four Indian soldiers and a policeman, have been killed in Indian-administered Kashmir during a gun battle, police say' casualties are reported from both sides. In the situation like this how could India blame Pakistan for involvement in any such incident like Pulwama? India appears to kill two birds with one stone. Increase atrocities on Kashmiris to silence them and blame Pakistan to find an excuse for an attack. In the given news words choice of 'militants' for the 'freedom fighters' is instance of Indian frame 1 as mentioned in Section 5.1.

Theme 6-Pak warns on misadventure

In view of the intentions of the Indian Government, Pakistan also took counter measures, called back her envoy.

ad reported in headline, 'PAKISTAN CALLS BACK ITS INDIA ENVOY' of Hindustan Times on 19th Feb, declared that Pakistan was not involved as reported in headline of India Today dated February 22, 2019 'Kashmiris, not Pakistanis, behind Pulwama attack: Pakistan's rail minister'. The news stating designation using small letters exhibits biased reporting the catch word 'Pulwama attack' is also by Indian media as the statement was criticized for using word 'Pulwama incident' as against 'Pulwama attack' best suited to

Indian narrative frame. BBC India on 19th February in a headline says, 'Pulwama attack: Pakistan warns India against military action' and adds a sub-headline saying, '*Pakistan has warned it will retaliate if India takes military action against it after a militant attack on Indian forces in Indian-administered Kashmir.*' Referring to Pulwama using concurrently the catch word '*Pulwama attack*' reports Pakistan's warning against any military action from Indian side in the wake of Pulwama attack. BBC India refers to Prime Minister Imran Khan Speech on television calling upon India to provide evidence to support its claims that Pakistan was involved

Theme 7-Voices against war hysteria

Hindustan Times on 23 Feb 2019 puts in headline, 'SC says prevent attacks against Kashmiri people' *Centre, states, union territories directed to ensure safety*'. The Indian Supreme Court directed all states and union territories to ensure that Kashmiris, particularly students, feel secure, amid reports from several parts of the country that they were being targeted over the February 14 terror attack in Pulwama. The Supreme Court here refers to the Chief Justice. It is an example of transferred epithet. Kashmiris being under the control of India, the Chief Justice made realize the Government of India to act for the protection and safety of her citizens. Hindustan Times puts in its headline another comment of President Trump on 24th Feb says, 'Trump terms India, Pakistan situation 'dangerous'. The word 'dangerous' usually forecasts 'terrible' repercussions in future. Trumps' comment only depicts the phase of tensions between the two states: India and Pakistan.

Theme 8-Indian Strike a failure

26th February 2019 BBC India headline says, 'Balakot: Indian air strikes target militants in Pakistan--*India says it launched air strikes against militants in Pakistani territory, in a major escalation of tensions between the two countries.* A headline following a sub-headline. The catchword is Balakot in the beginning with a colon. 'Indian air' here means Indian Air Force which had attacked with missiles but off ran dropping payload on seeing PAF response fighters in the vicinity. It was an attack during night of 26th February. The next news of Indian Express also reported the news with headline 'IAF air strike on JeM terror camp in Balakot, Pakistan' at 13:56 (IST) on 26th mentioning destruction of terror camp in top commanders and Fedayeen were killed as the story went. The paper were issued details of the news without any conformation which reflects how non-serious the media can be in India. Another paper The Hindu in its headline says, 'India bombs Jaish camp in Pakistan's Balakot' and adds a sub-headline, *12 IAF Mirage-2000 fighter jets unleash five one-tonne payloads; 200-325 militants had moved there from LoC sites after Pulwama attack*' at 01:26 pm February 26 uploads the news. Diction of the headline as '12 IAF Mirage-2000 fighter jets, unleash, five one-tonne for 'one-ton', 200-325 militants, LoC site, Pulwama attack' are highly resounding and Homeric in style. Indian Express on February 27 repeats the news using headline and sub as follows; 'India strikes terror, deep in Pakistan: Next step, diplomatic outreach---*The strike also tests Pakistan's retaliatory response as New Delhi shifts its focus to a renewed diplomatic outreach to the global community to persuade and convince Islamabad to avoid any step that may precipitate escalation.*' The sentiments of fear after the attack are reflected here as Indian government intends to move world community to resist Pakistan. Need of 'diplomatic outreach' is required to India after launching an offensive. In fact by that noon Pakistan had given a befitting response. Indian Express at 13:06 (IST) on 27 Feb. building narrative politically as a successful strike continues reporting in its headline, 'IAF surgical strike Balakot, Pakistan: Get the highlights on reactions from India and Pakistan following an air strike on JeM terror camp' and adds a sub, '*BSE loses 200 points, investor sentiment takes a hit: Report*'. It tells that after Pakistan Air Force airstrike in the Indian air space in Jammu and Kashmir, business index has fallen over 200 points in the stock exchange. It was actually a response in tit for tat. BBC on 26th morning said, 'Balakot: Indian air strikes target militants in Pakistan' and adds a sub-headline '*India says it launched air strikes against militants in Pakistani territory, in a major escalation of tensions between*

the two countries. The Indian Express said on early morning of 26th February, 'IAF air strike on JeM terror camp in Balakot, Pakistan' at 13:56 (IST). The Hindu on February 26th at 01:26 pm says, 'India bombs Jaish camp in Pakistan's Balakot' and adds a sub-headline, *12 IAF Mirage-2000 fighter jets unleash five one-tonne payloads; 200-325 militants had moved there from LoC sites after Pulwama attack*. Indian Express on 27th uses 'India strikes terror, deep in Pakistan' and adds with colon 'Next step, diplomatic outreach' and says in sub-headline, *'The strike also tests Pakistan's retaliatory response as New Delhi shifts its focus to a renewed diplomatic outreach to the global community to persuade and convince Islamabad to avoid any step that may precipitate escalation.'* India checked Pakistan's retaliatory response as the headline reports. But it does not mention the embarrassment Indian air force had to face on 26th as well as 27th. Pakistan also had the opportunity to check Indian Air Force capabilities or lacking. Indian Express on the same day takes the issue in headline saying, 'IAF surgical strike Balakot, Pakistan: Get the highlights on reactions from India and Pakistan following an air strike on JeM terror camp' and adds a sub, *'BSE loses 200 points, investor sentiment takes a hit: Report'*. The paper talks of strike and reactions from both sides but avoids to mention PAF strike results or those of retaliation being out of Indian political narrative frame. The preemptive offensive 'strike' was well planned to destroy its targets but did not bear the desired results. Pakistan reflected resilience in her retaliatory strike and proved that PAF had capability to target sensitive areas even in daylight. So Indian Express on 27th February at 12:52 (IST) says in headline, 'Pakistan claims it undertook airstrikes across LoC'. The paper only refers to 'Pakistan's claim' without giving details of the incident as they had been reporting since midnight about 'IAF Strike'.

Theme 9- Indian strike condemned

'China reacts to India's Preemptive strike' writing preemptive with single 'e' on 26th at 14:23(IST) Indian Express. in reaction China had expressed hoped that 'the two countries will maintain "restraint" and "do more to improve bilateral relations."' It's a news headlines that goes against Indian government's ambition to diplomatically alienate Pakistan. Another news headline is on a tweeted 'comment of Omer Abdullah, 'Omar Abdullah tweets 'War is never an ideal option to resolve disputes'14:05 (IST)26th feb Indian Express. Indian Express however, includes a headline, 'Pakistan claims it undertook airstrikes across LoC' on 27th at 12:58 (IST) expressing Pakistan's version that it considers Indian strike as unsuccessful. In another news headline Indian Express on 11:39 (IST) the same day says, 'Pakistan violates Indian airspace in J&K's Rajouri, security tightened: Reports'. Thus, the headline of Hindustan times of 5th March says, 'Oppn chorus grows for proof of air strike in Pak'. 'Oppn' stands for opposition. Spar means fight; here it is fight of words or clash of opinion and point of view. But it is serious one and raises doubts about the authenticity of the facts as reported in news. India Today on March 7, 2019 again reports in headline 'Centre, Opposition spar over Pulwama and its aftermath' and adds a sub-headline, *'On Wednesday, Digvijaya retweeted a video link, which showed Uttar Pradesh's deputy chief minister Keshav Prasad Maurya, calling the February 14 Pulwama terror attack, in which 40 CRPF personnel were martyred, an "accident".'* Indians had started realizing the impact of false reporting and questioned the validity of reports. Uttar Pradesh's Deputy Chief Minister Keshav Prasad Maurya, calling the February 14 Pulwama terror attack, in which 40 CRPF personnel were martyred, an "accident". It was not less than acceptance of Pakistan media version calling Pulwama attack as incident or accident. But the lesson was learnt too late. It is difficult to go against government version while living and serving within the same state, so are viewed critically.

Theme 10- US support to India

It is expected from US to issue such a comment as reflected in the headline on 27th Feb. of Indian Express 'US asks Pakistan to take 'meaningful action' against terrorist groups'. Pakistan is being blamed for keeping the terrorist groups like JeM by the US as it required Pakistan to take measures against the terrorist camps in Pakistan. Another news headline

on the same topic appears in Indian express on February 28, 'IAF air strike Highlights: US asks Pakistan to act against terrorist groups operating on its soil'. By referring to IAF airstrike in the opening with a colon the paper miss places the catch phrase. Instead the US calls upon Pakistan to 'act against terrorist groups on its soil 'with reference to Pulwama attack by JeM as has been alleged by India. US is definitely taking stance with India in here but to the extent of the blame.

Theme 11-Pak reaction on Indian dossiers

This topic takes news headlines related to exchange of dossiers to and from Pakistan. Hindustan Times on Mar 5, 2019 presents the statement of PM of Pakistan Imran Khan, "One who resolves K-issue deserves Nobel, says Imran" answering public calls on TV show query that Nobel Peace Prize should be given to Imran Khan, refuted saying he is "not worthy" of the award and that it should be given to the person who resolves the Kashmir issue. Indian Express on 27th March takes up the headline 'Pakistan shares preliminary findings on Pulwama attack, seeks more evidence and adds to it a sub-headline, *'Pakistan also sought "more information" from India on the involvement of the JeM in Pulwama terror attack and the presence of camps of the UN-proscribed terror outfit in the country.'* The news story says that a month after Indian government had submitted a dossier to Islamabad containing information on Jaish-e-Mohammad's link to the Pulwama attack in Kashmir. The 'Preliminary' means initial and 'findings' means results of investigations. It also mentioned the Pulwama tragedy as "incident" in its statement. Furthermore, Pakistan required India to provide tangible proofs of JeM involvement of 'presence of camps of the UN-proscribed terror outfit'. India Today on March 27, also placed headline, 'Pakistan shares info on Pulwama attack, calls it 'incident' not terror attack' and a sub-headline, *'Pakistan's Foreign Ministry said it has shared preliminary findings on the Pulwama attack with India. However, the press statement calls the Pulwama terror attack "an incident" and not a terror attack.'* It expresses concern over the issue of quoting the event as an 'incident' instead of an attack as Indian's had taken it. The clash of frames is evident in this sub-headline more than anywhere else. Indian Express, also takes headline of the same news the next day on March 28, 'Pulwama attack: Pakistan seeks more evidence from India'. The catch word '*Pulwama attack*' is used here to connote it with Pulwama incident of 14th February 2019. The Hindu also took the same event as headline and reported with same words, 'Pulwama attack: Pakistan seeks 'more evidence' from India on Jaish involvement' the style remains the same for using the catch phrase 'Pulwama attack'. The headline presents addition of putting inverted commas around the phrase 'more evidence' and adding the name of 'Jaish'. The dossier of 'preliminary findings' was handed over to the Indian High Commissioner at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Islamabad. News was taken from news agency Press Trust of India. After sharing of dossiers next phase initiated as analyzed in the topic.

Theme 12-Pak narrative successful

Newspaper the Hindu on 28th takes up the headline, 'Pulwama attack: Pakistan says no terror camps exist in 22 locations shared by India'. A day after it "shared" "preliminary findings" of its investigation into the February 14, Pakistan responded that it had examined 22 "pin locations" shared by India and declared that there were found no terror camps as per their investigations. The next headline 'Pakistan believes that post-Pulwama situation has worked to its advantage, or is at least a stalemate' on April 2, 2019 by Indian Express is an evident acceptance of failure to prove their political and diplomatic narrative. The sub-headline *'Like all wars, the current hostility between the two countries has also strengthened right-wing and status-quo oriented political forces. It has boosted the popularity of Imran Khan and his generals. Like India, the crisis has brought the nation together'* appears to be not on Pakistani media than on any Indian paper. The paper adds that India-Pakistan relations are at the nastiest since 1947. The 'right wing' means the supporters of just settlement and 'status-quo' means to maintain things at present status. It 'boosted' means promoted/increased. Like means 'likewise'.

Conclusion

Angling and manoeuvring in the form of concordance and collocation and misrepresentations of facts can help to build up narrative but presentation of real facts is the real ingredient to achieve success. Concordance of use of words like terrorist/s, attack, JeM, dangerous and phrases like punishing Pakistan, threats of surgical strike, reflects the trend to be so grave and lethal. As to reporting of news, balance is missing and there are consistent instances of evident ideological framing by both the countries reflective of their national interests. India lost the game of political narrative building not because of resources or lack of resources to get information but owing to pampered reporting where only source of information remained government and her concocted stories. Indian ideological basis on Kashmir proved shallow as were her media frames. Indian media showed to public what and how they wanted to see. Even the government was driven by the mass hysteria. Tragic incident of Pulwama claiming so many lives and destruction of ammunition had occurred in Indian occupied Kashmir, therefore, it's but natural for Indian media to reflect concern but playing games with public through media to undermine a sovereign independent nuclear state like Pakistan was erroneous.

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