

**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL  
NEWS STORIES IN ENGLISH DAILIES**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Department of English Education  
In Partial Fulfillment for the Master of Education in English**

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## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that to the best of my knowledge this thesis is original; no part of it was earlier submitted for the candidature of research degree to any university.

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## **DEDICATION**

I want to dedicate this thesis to my maternal grandfather **Mr. Hiramani Neupane** and my parents, **Mr. Yam Kanta Chapagain** and **Mrs. Sabitra Chapagain**, who fought hard with adverse situations to bring up my academic career to this stage.

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**Himlal Chapagain**

2016

## ABSTRACT

The present study entitled **A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Political News Stories in English Dailies** was an attempt to identify and analyze the formal features of political news stories critically in terms of metaphor, modality and transitivity, to analyze discursive practices and ideological hegemony within political news stories from newspapers and to suggest some pedagogical implications on the basis of three dimensional CDA framework developed by Norman Fairclough (1992). To carry out this analytical descriptive corpus-based study, I purposively selected nine political news stories from three leading English dailies in Nepal viz. *The Rising Nepal*, *The Himalayan Times* and *The Kathmandu Post* by using non-random sampling procedure. The data were collected using observation checklists as the tools of data collection. It is found that the conceptual metaphors are used to highlight the relationship between Nepal and India and to present new government's actions positively. Most repeatedly used modal markers show new government's confidentiality towards socio-economic development in Nepal as well as rebuilding relationship with India and some high value modal markers are used to carry over the positive image of Indian rulers in Nepalese society. Excessive use of material processes shows new government as a real actor who is going to perform better actions for the sake of people. The voices of new government and Indian rulers are quoted most profoundly to highlight the political message vividly and to enhance the people's faith on them. The genres and discourses related to economic development and religions are accommodated to gain the emotional support of the people. Political leaders and the news writers have used different discursive practices such as presentation of glorious past and fear of future to control the people ideologically. Political actors like *Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal* (here after PM Dahal), *Deputy Prime Minister Bimalendra Nidhi* (here after DPM Nidhi) and even Indian rulers have shaped the news stories and their nature of production.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Every chapter consists of necessary headings and sub-headings. Chapter one introduces background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, delimitations of the study and operational definitions of the key terms. Chapter two consists of review of theoretical literature, implications of the review for the study, and conceptual framework of the research. Chapter three deals with methodology adopted to carry out the research. It consists of design of the study, population, sample and sampling strategy, research tools, sources of data, data collection procedures, and data analysis procedures. Chapter four consists of analysis of data and interpretation of results. Findings, conclusion and recommendations are presented in chapter five. The final part of the study consists of references and appendices.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  | <b>Page No.</b> |
|--|-----------------|
| <i>Declaration</i>   | <i>i</i>        |
| <i>Recommendation for Acceptance</i>   | <i>ii</i>       |
| <i>Recommendation for Evaluation</i>   | <i>iii</i>      |
| <i>Evaluation and Approval</i>   | <i>iv</i>       |
| <i>Dedication</i>  | <i>v</i>        |
| <i>Acknowledgements</i>  | <i>vi</i>       |
| <i>Abstract</i>  | <i>viii</i>     |
| <i>Table of contents</i>   | <i>x</i>        |
| <i>List of Tables</i>  | <i>xiii</i>     |
| <i>List of Figures</i>   | <i>xiv</i>      |
| <i>List of Abbreviations and Symbols</i>   | <i>xv</i>       |
| <br>   |                 |
| <b>CHAPTER - ONE: INTRODUCTION</b>   | <b>1-6</b>      |
| <br>   |                 |
| 1.1 Background of the Study  | 1               |
| 1.2 Statement of the Problem   | 3               |
| 1.3 Objectives of the Study  | 4               |
| 1.4 Research Questions   | 4               |
| 1.5 Significance of the Study  | 4               |
| 1.6 Limitations of the Study   | 5               |
| 1.7 Operational Definitions of the Key Terms   | 5               |
| <br>   |                 |
| <b>CHAPTER - TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED<br/>LITERATURE AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK 7-26</b> |                 |
| <br>   |                 |
| 2.1 Review of the Theoretical Literature   | 7               |
| 2.1.1 The Notion of News   | 7               |
| 2.1.2 Discourse  | 7               |
| 2.1.3 Discourse Analysis   | 8               |
| 2.1.4 Critical Discourse Analysis  | 9               |
| 2.1.4.1 CDA and Society  | 10              |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| 2.1.4.2 Power and Ideology                     | 10 |
| 2.1.4.3 Mind Control and Media Discourse       | 11 |
| 2.1.5 Fairclough's Model of Discourse Analysis | 12 |
| 2.1.4.1 Text Analysis                          | 13 |
| 2.1.4.2 Discourse Practices                    | 18 |
| 2.1.4.3 Social Practices                       | 20 |
| 2.2 Review of the Empirical Literature         | 22 |
| 2.3 Implications of the Review for the Study   | 25 |
| 2.4 Conceptual Framework                       | 25 |

## **CHAPTER - THREE: METHODS AND PROCEDURES**

### **OF THE STUDY 27-29**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| 3.1 Design of the Study                      | 27 |
| 3.2 Population, Sample and Sampling Strategy | 28 |
| 3.3 Research Tools                           | 28 |
| 3.4 Sources of Data                          | 28 |
| 3.5 Data Collection Procedures               | 29 |
| 3.6 Data Analysis Procedures                 | 29 |
| 3.7 Ethical Considerations                   | 29 |

## **CHAPTER - FOUR: ANALYSIS AND**

### **INTERPRETATION OF DATA 30-53**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| 4.1 Analysis of Data and Interpretation of Results | 30 |
| 4.1.1 Analysis of Formal Features                  | 31 |
| 4.1.1.1 Analysis of Metaphor                       | 31 |
| 4.1.1.2 Analysis of Modality                       | 34 |
| 4.1.1.3 Analysis of Transitivity                   | 38 |
| 4.1.2 Analysis of Discursive Practices             | 40 |
| 4.1.2.1 Analysis of Intertextuality                | 41 |
| 4.1.2.2 Analysis of Interdiscursivity              | 46 |
| 4.1.3 Analysis of Ideological Hegemony             | 49 |

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| <b>CHAPTER - FIVE:FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND<br/>RECOMMENDATIONS</b> | <b>54-58</b> |
| 5.1 Findings   | 54           |
| 5.2 Conclusion   | 56           |
| 5.3 Recommendations  | 57           |
| 5.3.1 Policy Related   | 57           |
| 5.3.2 Practice Related   | 57           |
| 5.3.3 Further Research Related                                     | 58           |

## **REFERENCES**

## **APPENDICES**

## LIST OF TABLES

|                                   | <b>Page No</b> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| Table 1: Values in Modality       | 16             |
| Table 2: Analysis of Metaphor     | 33             |
| Table 3: Analysis of Modality     | 34             |
| Table 4: Analysis of Transitivity | 38             |

## LIST OF FIGURES

|  | <b>Page No.</b> |
|--|-----------------|
| Figure 1:Fairclough's Three Dimensional Model for Critical Discourse<br>Analysis, 1992, p. 73  | 12              |
| Figure 2:Conceptual Framework (A Critical Discourse Analysis of the<br>Political News Stories) | 25              |

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

|        |                                    |
|--------|------------------------------------|
| CDA    | Critical Discourse Analysis        |
| TKP    | The Kathmandu Post                 |
| THT    | The Himalayan Times                |
| TRN    | The Rising Nepal                   |
| i.e.   | That is                            |
| T.U.   | Tribhuvan University               |
| APA    | American Psychological Association |
| CMT    | Conceptual Metaphor Theory         |
| PM     | Prime Minister                     |
| DPM    | Deputy Prime Minister              |
| Viz    | Namely                             |
| Aug.   | August                             |
| M. Ed. | Masters of Education               |
| M.A.   | Masters of Arts                    |
| Et al. | And others                         |

# CHAPTER - ONE

## INTRODUCTION

This study is about **A Critical Discourse Analysis of Political News Stories in English Dailies**. This chapter consists of background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, limitations of the study and operational definitions of the key terms.

### 1.1 Background of the Study

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of text which aims to reveal the abuse of power promoted by those texts, by analyzing linguistic/ semiotic details in the larger socio-political contexts in which those texts circulate. CDA emerged from ‘critical linguistics’ developed at the University of East Anglia in the 1970s, and the term is now often interchangeable with CDA. Sociolinguistics was paying little attention to social hierarchy and power. According to Van Dijk (1993), critical discourse was first developed by the ‘Manchester School of Linguistics’ of which Norman Fairclough was the most prominent figure.

Van Dijk (1993, p.283) says, “CDA is explicitly concerned with investigating how language is used to construct and maintain power relation in society.” CDA deals with the explanation of how discourse is shaped by socio- cultural practices. Similarly, Fairclough (1989, p. 109) defines CDA as “A type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the socio political context.”

Over the past decades, many researchers have uncovered that the power of mass media is undeniable. The mass media as the dominant part of the dominant groups or elites supplies social power over its recipients via text and talk. So, it is a powerful tool for the elite group in particular, to affect and

control not only the communicative actions but also the minds of their recipients. Fowler (1991 as cited in Biebuyck, 2014) defines news not necessarily as a reflection of reality but as a product shaped by political, economic and cultural forces. Members of elite groups like politicians, journalists, scholars, judges and businessmen use news stories to convey knowledge, change attitude and influence the opinions.

Newspapers have become an essential part of modern life. The modern people start their day by reading over the news with a cup of tea. Equally unimaginable is a morning without the daily newspaper for some people. Newspapers are called 'the mirrors of the world and live textbooks'. They reflect and report the trends and happening from all parts of the world. Usually, they cover every aspects of life, national, international, local, social, cultural, political etc.

Ghannam (2011) says that news is a representation of the world in language that is considered to be neutral, unbiased, and a mediator. However, the certain elite ideologies are closely linked to power and domination and they are located in language. That is why; the role of the media is questioned to be free from ideological influence these days. The press should ideally provide a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events presented in a context which gives them meaning. The dominant sociopolitical scenario and commerciality do not let any media to be neutral and value free. So, the print media are also formed with certain economic and political ideology.

I have made an attempt to explore the opacity and the power of media through the study of newspapers in Nepal. Even if the newspapers in Nepal tend to take neutral stance by raising the awareness of social discrimination and domination, they are not free from the dominant socio-political ideology. Generally, people believe that the media are credible and trustworthy but people can hardly identify the hidden ideological position of media houses. The media houses in Nepal seem to be greatly influenced by those who are in

power. Similarly, they tend to mediate powerful voices of the political elites which functions more ideologically. That is why, the newspapers have become the site for the exercising socio-political power by elite institutions and groups. So, the study in this topic is expected to be relevant.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

CDA is one of the multidisciplinary approach which helps to understand the society as a whole. CDA is an analysis of the dialectical relationship between semiosis and other elements of social practices. Therefore, CDA focuses primarily on social problems and political issues rather than on current paradigms and fashions. Reflecting the current political and economic trends in Nepal, the mainstream newspapers express their political leaning towards a particular political party. They carry political ideologies which deny the expectation of the people to get neutral and unbiased news whether directly or indirectly.

Van Dijk (1993, p.243) says that “News products are basically selected according to the interest of political, military and business elites.” As Geis (1987 as cited in Biebuyck, 2014, p. 7) says, “Perhaps the most influential power of the news media is that it has the right to report what event is important at certain time and to choose whose voice to be heard about a particular issue.”According to Bell (1991), media discourse can be targeted as the research object in order to discover how media mask their ideological positions, embodied their attitudes and opinions, in the way they represent. Therefore, news discourse is not only the carrier of information of what is happening around the world but also the carrier of specific ideologies which functions in the print and broadcast media. In this context, CDA can be one of the prominent approaches to reveal the socio-political ideology and hegemony and the way media legitimize them. So, the study ‘A Critical Discourse Analysis of Political News Stories in English Dailies’ aims to uncover the opacity of the ideological imposition in the print media which will ultimately

increase the news readers' critical language awareness and may make them conscious not to take any news stories for granted.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the study were as follows:

- a) To identify and analyze the formal features of political news stories critically in terms of metaphor, modality and transitivity.
- b) To analyze the discursive practices and ideological hegemony within political news stories from newspapers, and
- c) To suggest some pedagogical implications.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

The research questions of my study were as follows:

- 1 How do the formal features like metaphor, modality and transitivity carry ideological value?
- 2 How are political ideologies produced and reproduced through different discursive practices?
- 3 How is ideological hegemony legitimized in the political news stories?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

There are some researches in the field of CDA of classroom discourse in the Department of English Education but there is no any research carried out in the critical discourse analysis of mediated political discourse. The reason behind carrying out this research is that I wanted to analyze how political and media elites mediate their ideology and present as if they are natural through news stories.

CDA takes a particular interest in the relationship between language and power. This research specifically considers more or less overt relations of power struggle and conflict. Newspaper language is also considered to be ideologically oriented which carries the power elites in its forefront. But the people cannot easily uncover that opacity. Political power elites control the mind of the powerless people. So, the critical discourse analysis research helps to reveal the hidden ideology behind every discourses. It focuses on group relations of power dominance and inequality and the ways these are reproduced and resisted by social group members through text and talk. So, this study is expected to be significant to the newspaper readers to uncover the underlying ideologies in the political news and help people to be aware about the dominance, power abuse and hegemony. Not only this, language teachers and students will be benefitted as it concerns how the power and ideology is exercised and communicated through language. I have expected that this study helps the news readers to increase their critical language awareness and take no news stories for granted. This study will be equally useful to the language trainers, linguists and the upcoming researchers.

### **1.6 Limitations of the Study**

The study was limited to three English dailies in Nepal viz. *The Kathmandu Post*, *The Rising Nepal* and *The Himalayan Times*. Nine political news stories published from 19<sup>th</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2016 were selected from three newspapers for the purpose of analysis. The political news stories selected for analysis were related to DPM Nidhi's recent visit to India. The analysis followed the three dimensional CDA model of Fairclough (1992).

### **1.7 Operational Definitions of the Key Terms**

Some of the key terms most frequently used in the research are defined operationally in this section.

**Discourse** - Discourse is simply defined as the stretch of speaking or writing which possess contextual meaning. Here in this study, mediated political discourse is studied.

**Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)** - CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.

**Political news** - News related to the state, government, the body politic, public administration and policy-making are known as political news. Here, news related to political parties and the political leaders have been given major focus.

## **CHAPTER - TWO**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

This section includes review of related theoretical literature and conceptual framework of the study.

#### **2.1 Review of Related Theoretical Literature**

Review of theoretical literature provides an insight to researcher related to a number of aspects that have direct or indirect bearing in the research topic. It serves as a basis for developing a theoretical framework which helps to investigate the problem that the researcher wishes to explore. The most important function of the literature is to ensure that the researcher reads widely around the subject area in which they carry out research study.

##### **2.1.1 The Notion of News**

According to Reah (2002, p.3) news is, “Information about recent event that are of interest to a sufficiently large group.” However, this definition still seems to be not satisfactory because anything happening everywhere around the world can also be identified as a recent event. Therefore, everything can be news. However in real life, there are only some recent events being reported (Duanprakhon, 2012). According to Van Dijk (1988), the notion of news is ambiguous as it refers to both personal information sharing and news broadcasted through mass media. Radio, television, and newspaper are different forms of mass media from which people can consume news. In this study, only the news published in newspapers is studied.

##### **2.1.2 Discourse**

The emergence of the term ‘discourse’ in the field of language is contributed by the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure through his masterpiece ‘Course de

linguistique generale 1916' (Locke, 2005). By this influential work, he used the terms 'langue' and 'parole' which refers to 'language use' and 'performance' respectively. Later, langue had been modified into discourse. So, discourse is any piece of text, either spoken or written, which is meaningful in itself and has cultural as well as ideological underpinnings.

Discourse is simply defined as the stretch of speaking or writing which possess contextual meaning. It is linguistic communication seen as a transaction between speaker and hearer as an interpersonal activity whose form is determined by social purpose. Defining discourse Crystal (2003 as cited in Locke, 2005, p.5) says, "It is a behavioral unit which has a pre-theoretical status in linguistics: it is a set of utterances which constitute any recognizable speech event, e.g. a conversation, a joke, a sermon." Discourse is a continuous stretch of language, larger than the sentence which is coherent and gives clear meaning in a particular context. Similarly, discourse is a practice not just of representing the world but signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning.

### **2.1.3 Discourse Analysis**

There are many definitions of discourse analysis in literature. Discourse is defined as connected texts as opposed to isolated sentences. Thus discourse analysis refers to a study of large linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts. Discourse analysis, in this sense is the analysis of language in use (Brown & Yule, 1983, as cited in Zhang, 2014). Zhang (2014) further states that a discourse analyst does not only describe the textural features of the texts but also deals with the relationship between discourse and reality. A comprehensive process of discourse analysis should include not only texts, but the social and institutional contexts in which they are produced.

A discourse is a particular way of talking and understanding about the world (or an aspect of the world) (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2010). A discourse can simply emerge through a talk or discussion based on cultural and political context of

an individual or an organization to produce an intended meaning. A discourse is also an attempt to fix a web of meanings within a particular domain (Jorgensen & Phillips,2010). Therefore, an emergence of discourse can be seen as an exercise of power (Howarth&Stavrakakis 2000 as cited in Poudel&Aase, 2015). The formation and production of discourse is determined by social group such as in politics, medicine, social welfare, and academia. A single society might produce different discourses.

Discourse analysis contends that discourses are a form of social action that produce the social world including knowledge, identities, and social relations and thereby maintain specific social patterns (Jorgensen &Phillips,2010). A discourse conceives that knowledge is generated through social interactions. Knowledge produces different discursive practices in the society might be natural for someone and unnatural to others. CDA is the newest version of discourse analysis. Fairclough (1995 as cited in Poudel&Aase, 2015) defines it as establishing connection between the properties of texts, features of discourse practice (text production, consumption and distribution), and wider sociocultural practice.

#### **2.1.4 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

CDA is a type of discourse analysis that focuses on the way language exercises power in a society. CDA scholars believe that language does have power both in written and spoken discourse. “It is an academic field that is concerned with the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society” (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 5). CDA is a rapidly developing area of language study. It regards discourse as a form of social practice and takes consideration of the context of language use to be crucial to discourse.Fairclough (1993 as cited in Locke, 2005) defines CDA as a multidisciplinary approach which systematically explore often opaque relationships of casualty and determination between texts and social practices mediated by discourse practices. CDA is considered as a strong

methodology against the prejudiced dominant ideology. According to Kress and Hodge (1993 as cited in Ahmad, Moghaddam, & Hamid, 2013), language is an instrument of control as well as communication. CDA studies strongly claim that language is a very powerful instrument in the reproduction of minorities' suppression, distortion of reality, political disputes, construction of ideologies, linguistic misinterpretation, and some others (Ahmad et al., 2013). CDA enhances the concept of justice and equality which helps the language users to judge the prejudiced discourse and oppose unequal distribution of power.

#### **2.1.4.1 CDA and Society**

Discourse is situated in the society so; it carries the social phenomenon through text or talk. Discourse is the carrier of elite ideology and the power. Language is neither neutral nor a social and abstract concept which without society. Van Dijk (1993) contends that crucial for critical discourse analysts is the explicit awareness of their role in society. So, they should work to expose the value laden social discourses.

Major concerns of the critical discourse analysts are social problems which are usually multidisciplinary. More specifically, CDA focuses on how discourse structures enact, legitimate and reproduce power relation and dominance in society. Discourse is a form of social action. Van Dijk (1988) says that the discourse studies deal social domination and inequality which are theoretically and analytically quite diverse because it does not have any unitary theoretical framework. This study primarily focuses on media discourse that occurs in newspaper stories related to politics. The research will be oriented towards the power relations and ideological works in mediated political discourse.

#### **2.1.4.2 Power and Ideology**

CDA is a multidisciplinary approach because social practices and use of language is not uniform and one way. The power elites use different discursive and social structures to reproduce social dominance, whether they are part of a

conversation of news report or other genres and contexts (Van Dijk, 1998). So, the dialectical CDA research is deployed to uncover how the power elites communicate power and ideology through language.

As an essential concept in CDA, Fowler (1985 as cited in Taiwo, 2007) defines power as the ability of people and institutions to control the behaviors and material lives of others. In CDA, power means a kind of control, which is a process of manipulating others' thinking with the use of language. Generally, power can be categorized whether coercive power or consent power. The dominant actors in the society viz. politicians, journalists, and authors use consent power which is the persuasive use of language to control the mind of the audiences or the readers. According to Gramsci (1971), power of dominant groups may be integrated in laws, rules, norms, habits and even a quite general consensus which eventually take the form of hegemony.

The dominant ideology in society are reproduced, enacted and legitimized through different discursive practices to dominate the less powerful people. Media are also one of the most powerful institutions in our society. They are expected to be value-free and convey trustworthy messages but they carry the dominant ideology. It is very difficult to identify certain ideological basis of media as they promote elite ideology through different discursive practices. So, this study is centered to the ideological coverage of political news.

#### **2.1.4.3 Mind Control and Media Discourse**

Generally, media discourse is taken as a trustworthy, neutral, and credible source of taking information. However, the ideological leaning of the media is unquestionable as they are more commercial and political. Media discourse, its power and mind control are related to each other in the CDA research. Media is a powerful social institution to reproduce the dominant ideological discourses and controls the mind of the people which ultimately reproduces dominance and hegemony.

Power elites in the society not only control the communicative actions, but indirectly also the minds of the recipients. Van Dijk (1998) further states that news reports, political propaganda, advertising, religious sermons, corporate directives or scholarly articles not only convey knowledge and information but also play role to affect opinions and change attitudes of recipients. CDA research focuses on the analysis of discursive as well as non-discursive practices and abuse of power by power elites. It examines the patterns of access and control over contexts, genres, text and talk, as well as the discursive strategies of mind control.

### 2.1.5 Fairclough's Model of Discourse Analysis

Fairclough's (1992) analysis of discourse is based on three stepwise procedures such as description, interpretation, and explanation. The Figure 1 clarifies the process:

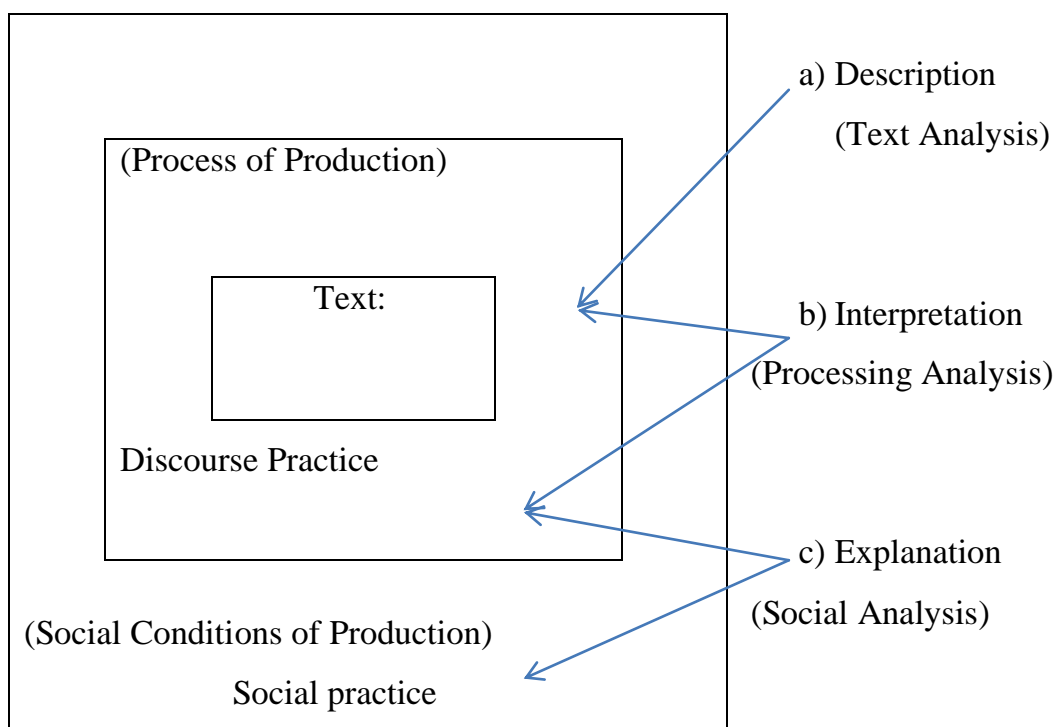


Figure 1: Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis (1992, p. 73)

One of the most renowned critical discourse analysts, Norman Fairclough presented a three-dimensional model of CDA in his work 'Language and Power' which was published in 1989. This model is supposed to be an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse, for it views 'language as a form of social practice' (Fairclough, 1989). It mainly focuses on the ways social and political dominance is exercised in discourse by 'text and talk'. Fairclough identifies three dimensions to CDA which are the base for this study. These three dimensions have been described below:

### **2.1.5.1 Text Analysis**

Critical discourse analysis of written and spoken texts operates in two ways namely, critically and constructively. Texts are located in key social institutions that is, families, schools, churches, work places, mass media or government. According to Locke (1996 as cited in Mogashoa, 2014), human subjects use texts to make sense of their world and to construct social actions and relations. The text analysis represents the discourse as any object of analysis, including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts. Fairclough (1992) has proposed different aspects of text analysis but I have analyzed the text in terms of metaphor, modality, and transitivity.

#### **a) Metaphor**

Metaphor is not a matter of language but of thought. The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). A metaphor is mapping of ways of thinking about some source semantic domain to target semantic domain (Ana, 1997). The source domains are those things we as human can easily think about, the part of our physical world which are handy and familiar. The target domains are most frequently abstract ones, hidden from our senses or unknown to us. For example:

*She is a flower of my garden.*

(Here, women is *target* and flower is *source* domain)

Lakoff and Johnson through '*Metaphors We Live By*' (1980) presented Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) in which they stated that metaphor is not only a linguistic phenomenon, but also an essential tool with which we come to understand the world. As stated in Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 46), here are some examples of conceptual metaphors:

What he said left a bad taste in *my mouth*.

I just can't *swallow* that claim.

That's *food* for thought.

The expressions in italics do not refer to *food* in this context but are used to describe the more abstract topic of ideas. In each items, one can see that an abstract, more complex and fuzzy concept or idea is structured in terms of a concrete, more familiar, simple and physical concept of food.

Metaphor has the ability to highlight some aspects of a concept while at the same time hiding others (Lakoff& Johnson, 1980). It is thus a powerful tool for creating subtly persuasive messages serving ideological purposes in the press (Ana, 1997). Changes in metaphorical conceptions may change the social order or images of power relations, but these changes may on the other hand occur also due to changes in the society. Metaphors can both maintain common images of society and change the image when we use new metaphors.

Furthermore, Van Dijk (1993 as cited in Maatta, 2011) points out that power relations and domination are not simply 'imposed' rather they are 'jointly produced' meaning that the dominated groups are persuaded that the domination is legitimate and somehow 'natural'.

So the study of metaphor in this research aims to reveal the ideological expression in metaphors and to uncover how media promote power and hegemony through metaphor.

## **b) Modality**

Newspaper articles are commonly devoid of any authorial presence as they normally attempt to provide the aura of objectivity (McCabe & Heilman, 2007 as cited in Khalid, 2013). Bearing this in mind, this study aims to examine the traces of authorial subjectivity in political news articles published in English dailies in Nepal. Fowler (1991, as cited in Khalid, 2013) described modality as attitude or comment which may be from the source of the text, and used by the speaker or writer explicitly or implicitly. In other words, it is a writer or speaker's attitude or comment about the truth of an event. The analysis of modality in news discourse is necessary because no news reports can be free from attitudes or comments.

Within critical discourse analysis, modality is understood as encompassing much more than simply the occurrence of overt modal auxiliaries such as may, might, can, could, will, would, shall, should, must, and ought. Rather, modality concerns the writers' (or speakers') attitude toward and/or confidence in the proposition being presented (Lillian, 2008). Modality may be expressed through certain types of main verbs, as well as through adjectives, adverbs, and certain nominalizations. Fowler (1985 as cited in Lillian, 2008, p. 2) provides a brief list to illustrate these categories of modals.

Modality is signified in a range of linguistic forms: centrally, the modal auxiliary verbs may, shall, must, need, and others; sentence adverbs such as probably, certainly, regrettably; adjectives such as necessary, unfortunate, certain. Some verbs, and many nominalizations, are essentially modal: permit, predict, and prove; obligation, likelihood, desirability, authority.

For the explicit analysis of modality in this research, I have deployed four criteria as presented by Halliday and Matthiessen, (2004, p. 147); *Probability* is

indicated by the words like; possibly, probably, certainly which are equivalent to ‘either yes or no’ that is ‘may be yes’, ‘may be no’ with different degree of likelihood attached. Similarly, *usuality* can be presented through the expressions like; sometimes, usually, always which are equivalent to ‘both yes and no’ that is sometimes ‘yes’, sometimes ‘no’ with different degree of oftenness attached. *Obligation* can be expressed by using the words and phrases like; allowed to, supposed to, required to, that are used to show the command in the discourse. Finally, *inclination* can be expressed by using phrases like: willing to, anxious to, determined to, which are some familiar expressions to express the inclination or offer of the speaker or writer.

I have identified model verbs, auxiliaries, and model adverbs to analyze modal markers the news writers have used with which level of affinity towards the political actors and their action. So, I followed format developed based on Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 128) as shown in Table 1 for this purpose.

**Table: 1 Values in Modality**

|             | High  | Median                        | Low                            |
|-------------|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Probability | Certainly, Will                             | Probably, Would,<br>Likely to | Can, May, Might, Could         |
| Usuality    | Always, Never                               | Usually                       | Sometimes, Occasionally        |
| Obligation  | Must, Ought to                              | Should, Supposed to           | Rarely, Has to, Have to, is to |
| Inclination | Allowed to,<br>Determined to,<br>Anxious to | Required to, Keen to,         | Willing to                     |

So, I have worked to reveal politicians’ and news writers’ ideological affinity through news stories. More especially, the attempt is made to explore the level of new writers’ ideological connection with political groups.

### **c) Transitivity**

Transitivity is related to how actors and their actions are represented in the discourse. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) contend that based on process, participant and circumstance, transitivity describes how different phenomena are taking place in the real world. In any event, there can be three elements involved: the process, the participants and the circumstances. Thus, transitivity specifies the different types of processes that are recognized in the language, and the structures by which they are expressed. Here in this research, I have studied three main processes which are described below:

#### **a) Material Processes**

Material processes are related to the processes of doing and happening. These correspond to the traditional division of clauses into transitive and intransitive types. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), there are two participants involved: an actor who does something to some entity and a Goal which is affected by this action or event. An example would be '*The lion caught the tourist*', in which *the lion* is an actor and *the tourist* is a goal.

#### **b) Mental Processes**

Mental processes consist of processes of sensing. As stated by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), the participants in mental processes are: Sensor and phenomenon (that which is sensed). There are four main subtypes of mental processes. Perception involves phenomena such as seeing and hearing, emotion phenomena of liking and fearing, cognition phenomena like thinking, knowing and understanding, and desideration those of wanting.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), in mental processes one participant is always 'human-like', i.e. 'endowed with consciousness'. Pronominally this participant is expressed by 'he' or 'she', not by 'it'.

### **c) Relational Processes**

According to Halliday and Matthiessen(2004),these processes are processes of ‘being’ and are essentially related to what ‘is’. Hence, while material clauses describe ‘outer experience’ of the real world and mental clauses describe ‘inner experience’ of consciousness but relational clauses express these both in the forms of ‘doing’ (Halliday&Matthiessen, 2004). Here, ‘being’ always happens in relation to something else and is generally expressed by existential clauses.

#### **2.1.5.2 Discourse Practices**

According to Fairclough (1992), discourses practices are related to three major aspects of text production, distribution and consumption. A text is produced in situational as well as intertextualcontext. Situational context deals with time and place of text production whereasintertextual context is related to the producers and receivers of the discourse.This study is centered to the analysis of intertextuality and interdiscursivity.

#### **a) Intertextuality**

The concept ofintertextualityemphasizes how multiple voices are transformed and reused while producing new text. It is a term coined by Julia Kristeva in the late 1960s to capture the ways in which texts and ways of talking refer to and build on other texts and discourses(Momani, Badarnehi&Migdadi, 2010). In this way, a text is constructed as a mixture of earlier texts. That is, every text is made up of parts of prior texts which are used to build a new text.

For example:

*Their only motive is to disturb social peace and boost their bargaining power for extortion for private schools. They were operating a criminal racket in the grab of a political party, AIGP Thapa said.(THT, 21<sup>st</sup>, September)*

In the above example, new information is clearly stated by using quotation marks. Intertextual presentation has added more trustworthiness in the news. News writers cite different voices directly and indirectly to create the validity of their news but they adjoin different intertexts to promote the elite ideology strongly. In the context of Nepal, the media support certain political value, so, they work to develop more trustworthiness towards their readers through the maximum use of intertextuality.

### **b) Interdiscursivity**

Fairclough (2004) defines interdiscursivity as the mixing of diverse genres, discourses, or styles associated with institutional and social meanings in a single text. Analysis of the interdiscursivity of a text is analysis of the particular mix of genres and discourses. This level of analysis mediates between linguistic analysis of a text and various forms of social analysis of social events and practices (Fairclough, 2004). Especially, the media and the political discourse makers use different genres to authenticate their use of language and strengthen their voice.

Interdiscursivity occurs when different discourses and genres are articulated together in a communicative event. According to Jorgensen and Phillips (2010. p.73), “Creative discursive practices in which discourse types are combined in new and complex ways in new ‘interdiscursive mixes’ are both a sign of, and a driving force in, discursive and thereby socio-cultural change.” For example; in Nepalese context political leaders blame other leaders by saying *he is the modern day Rawan*. Here, the discourse producer has used religious discourse along with political discourse to persuade the audience and create negative impact over opposition. Media discourse represents such interdiscursivity in the political news article in the same way.

### **2.1.5.3 Social Practices**

The third dimension of discourse could be described as ‘power behind discourse’ or as ‘social practices’ functioning behind the entire process and exercising the power relations in discourse. Among the three dimensions of Fairclough’s(1992) model, each dimension requires a different type of analysis. In this dimension, I have studied how elite political ideologies are presented and communicated in the news stories. Not only this, it has focused on how the images of the political actors are presented in the news stories and legitimized the ideological hegemony.

#### **a) Ideological Hegemony**

Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation. According to Fairclough (1995, p.43), “Language is a material form of ideology, and language is invested by ideology.”As stated byMalkmkjaer (1991as cited in Taiwo, 2007), language is not just a transparent medium of communication about the objective world but a constantly operative part of the social process. CDA, therefore, analyses discourse to find the hidden meanings.

Johnstone (2008, as cited in Duanprakhon, 2012) defines ideologies as systems of beliefs. That is, ideologies can be defined as a special form of social beliefs and values among social groups which form the basis of different social practices. In media, there is no ideological neutrality, transparency or ‘innocence’. As a result, in order to create media messages, news reporters, editors, and feature writers are likely to work on social values or conceptions of the world and symbolic systems (Taiwo, 2007). Therefore, it is believed that media (i.e., newspapers in this thesis) reflect their ideologies through their use of language in the news stories. These ideologies of news writers can also create their discursive practices as the ‘common sense’ and naturalized them which are known as the ‘hegemony’.

The concept of 'hegemony' is central to the version of Marxism associated with Antonio Gramsci (Gramsci, 1971 as cited in Fairclough, 2004). In CDA, politics is seen as a struggle for hegemony, a particular way of conceptualizing power which depends upon achieving consent. Language constitutes ideology and is constituted by dominant ideology. So, the ideological domination and the opacity of relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. Ideological power is the product of wider social consensus which naturalizes and legitimizes the dominance which ultimately turns into hegemony. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999 as cited in Todoli, Labarta & Dolon, 2006, p. 26) define hegemony as:

Relations of domination based upon consent rather than coercion, involving the naturalization of practices and their social relations as well as relations between practices, as matters of common sense –hence the concept of hegemony emphasizes the importance of ideology in achieving and maintaining relations of domination.

Ruling class dominates and controls the ideological 'sectors' of society, culture, religion, education, and the media in a manner that allows it to disseminate their values that reinforce its position. So, general claim of the critical discourse analysts is that the media are the site of exercising mainstream ideology and establish the status quo of the dominant groups. So, I have attempted to analyze the mediated political discourse and the hegemonic political news stories in Nepalese English dailies.

## 2.2 Review of Empirical Literature

Though fewer researches have been conducted in this field in the context of Nepal, I have gone through some of the related literature. The review of some of the related literatures is as follows.

Subedi (2011) carried a research on ‘Critical Analysis of Spoken Discourse: A Case of the Film Twilight’. The main objective of this research was to analyze the spoken discourse critically in terms of power relations and linguistic features. He utilized only the secondary sources of data. The data for the study were collected judgmentally, analyzed systematically by selecting English film ‘Twilight. The spoken interaction then was recorded in the computer and transcribed in orthographic form with the additional contextual features as far as possible. So, it was totally based on the subjective judgments of the researchers. He came to the conclusion that power relations are inevitable features of any functional use of language; interaction is mostly controlled by the elders; the spoken discourse is mostly informal, colloquial, interactional and even impolite; and metaphorical expressions are pertinent in spoken discourse.

Duanprakhon (2012) conducted a research on ‘Critical Discourse Analysis of News Headlines: A Case of Youth Crime in Thailand.’ The main objectives of her research were to discover the discursive features of youth crime news headlines and to investigate the ideologies reflected in the headlines of the news practitioners who produce the news headlines. She has collected 97 headlines from three leading newspapers in Thailand (i.e. Thairath, Daily News and Khom Chad Luek) from Jan 1<sup>st</sup> to Dec, 31<sup>st</sup> 2012. She used Fairclough’s CDA framework and van Dijk’s SCA framework to analyze the data. She found that the newspapers give due priority to the some violent crimes committed by the youths and the use of ‘guns’ is represented repeatedly but the violence caused by guns is relatively low. The newspapers used words like ‘to shoot’ which give violent meaning and represent youths negatively. However,

the fact is that most of the Thai youths commit crimes due to the 'drugs' and the personal dissatisfaction. So, the newspapers impose their discursive practices even against the reality.

Bhatta (2013) conducted a survey research on 'Critical Analysis of Classroom Discourse'. The objective of this study was to analyze the classroom discourse critically in terms of interactional control, politeness and power. He used both primary and secondary sources of data. Teachers and students teaching and learning at secondary level of three private schools of Kathmandu district were the primary sources of data. He recorded nine conversations, three from each school. He used observation and audio recording as the research tools. He found that teacher dominance had reflected in turn taking systems, in exchanging structures, topic control and overall structures of discourse. The use of direct and commanding type of language in the teacher's speech was observed whereas hedging, more politeness and less directness were observed in the student's speech. The teacher dominance was found desirable. Power was shown by teacher's overlaps, questions, commands and the ways they addressed their students.

Zhang (2014) conducted a research on 'A Critical Discourse Analysis of Political News Reports'. The main objective of this research was to analyze the linguistic features, news production and social context of American media critically in relation to Iraq war. He collected the news stories from 'New York Times' which is a leading newspaper in America. The news reports were analyzed by Fairclough's three dimension framework and Halliday's functional grammar. He found that language and ideology is mutually determined. The language in news discourse is by no means neutral. American media try to justify the importance of war in Iraq and boost the morale of American army. The reports help to criticize Saddam, win support and finally justify the war.

Biebuyck (2014) conducted a CDA research on 'Crime News Reports in Belgian and British Quality Newspapers: a Critical Discourse Analysis of

Racial Bias.’ The objectives of his research were to uncover the ideological stances of newspapers as a form of racism and to analyze the vocabulary, grammar and textual structures of newspaper reports related to ethnic cases. For the purpose of data collection, he selected two British newspapers (i.e. the Telegraph and The Guardian) and two Belgian newspapers (i.e. De Morgen and De Standaard). The corpus for this study includes 48 news reports published between 1 Dec, 2013 and 31 Mar, 2014. The news reports were analyzed by Fairclough’s three dimension framework. He found that the British Newspapers take ideological stances while reporting a crime committed by out-group offenders. The British and Belgian conservative newspapers create polarization through the use of pronouns or sub-ordinate clauses. The Guardian tends to focus on racial bias, with particular focus on Muslim offenders.

Iqbal, Danish and Tahir (2014) have conducted a research on ‘Exploitation of Women in Beauty Products of “Fair and Lovely”’: A Critical Discourse Analysis Study’. The major objective of the research was to analyze the language used in fairness cream ‘Fair & lovely’ and the strategies used by product advertisers to influence and exploit the women. Researcher attempted to analyze five advertisements of fair & lovely having a large number of viewers. This analysis is based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model of discourse analysis which focuses on the representing and dominating ‘Ideology’ of beauty in women through advertisement of both print media and mass media. The finding of this study shows that advertisers use different lexical and discursive strategies to convince the female consumers and impose their ideology. Especially, the advertisements of Fair & lovely has made use of nouns instead of verbs and scientific evidences, emotive words, code switching, celebrity endorsement, disjunctive tone pattern and other so many features.

### **2.3 Implications of the Review for the Study**

Literature review is one of the essential tasks to conduct any research. According to Kumar (2009, p. 30), “The literature review is an integral part of entire research process and makes a valuable contribution to almost every operational steps.” To carry out this research I also reviewed theoretical as well as empirical literature related to my research topic. The literature review includes books, articles, reports, different web sites, dissertations and theses.

For my study, the review of literature helped me in a number of ways. First of all, it has supported me to find out the knowledge gap of my study. On the other hand, it helped me to select the most appropriate CDA framework for my research. More specifically, the literature review has broadened my knowledge bases in the CDA. The review of empirical studies supported me to concretize ideas. Appropriate methodology gives a clear vision to a researcher. I have employed survey research design to collect the representative sample of the data because it is not possible to collect and analyze a huge amount of data. And Fairclough’s three dimensional model(1992) has helped me to organize and to analyze data according to the objectives of the study.

### **2.4 Conceptual Framework**

The conceptual framework grows out of the theoretical framework which relates to the specific research problem. According to Kumar (2009, p.37), “The conceptual framework stems from the theoretical framework and concentrates usually on one section of the theoretical framework which becomes the basis of the study.” Theoretical framework consists of the theories in which the study is embedded whereas conceptual framework describes the way or process to conduct the actual research. Here, actual research refers to methodology in general. The conceptual framework to conduct my study is shown in Figure 2:

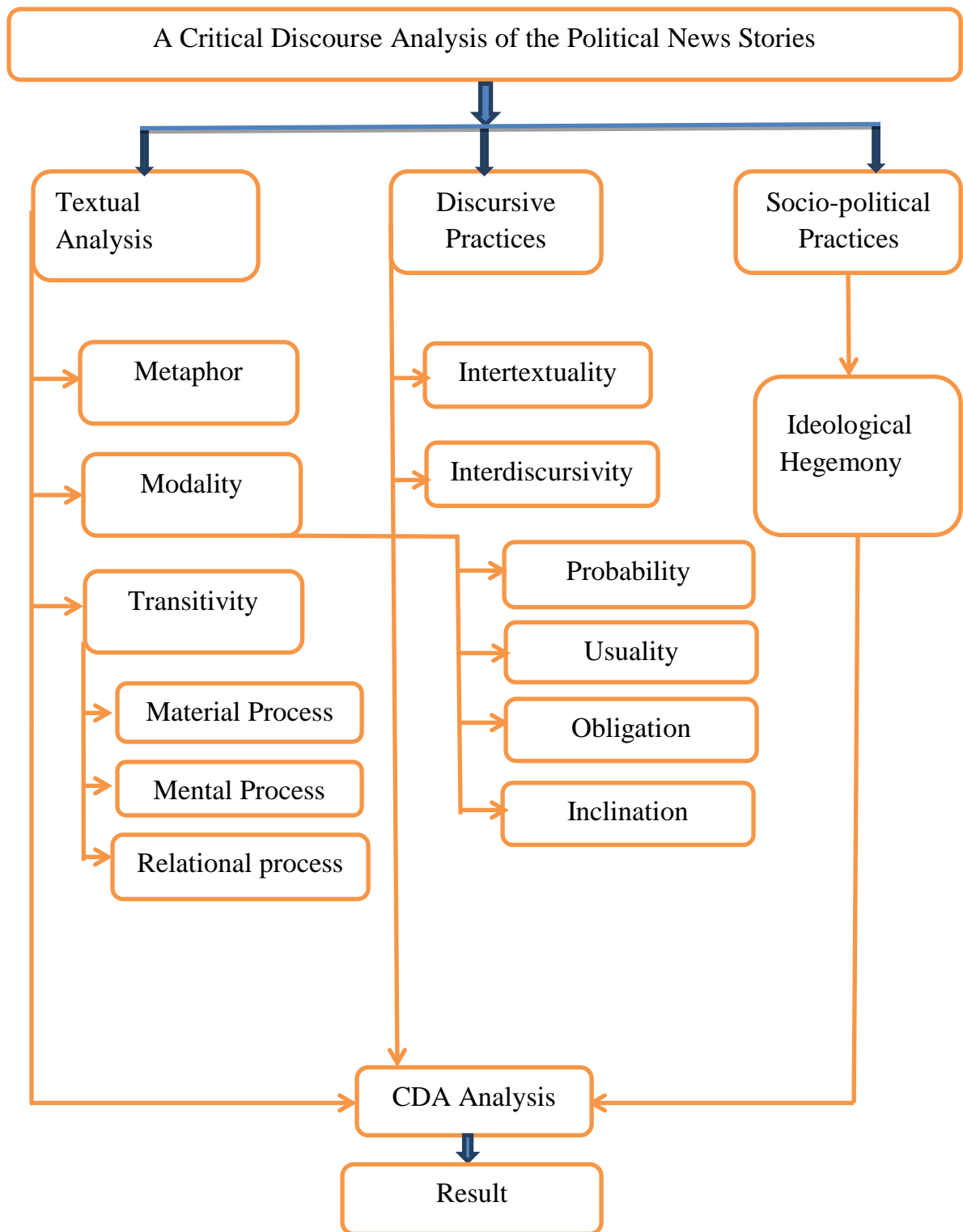


Figure 2: Conceptual Framework (A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Political News Stories)

## **CHAPTER - THREE**

### **METHODS AND PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY**

To achieve the desired goals of my study, the following methodological procedures were employed:

#### **3.1 Design of the Study**

A research design is an overall plan and a framework which guides the researcher to complete the study. There is no single blueprint for planning research. Research design is governed by the notion of 'fitness for purpose'. The purposes of the research determine the methodology and design of the research (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). For example, if the purpose of the research is to map the field, or to make generalizable comments then a survey approach might be applicable.

To quote Kerlinger (1986, as cited in Kumar, 2009), a research design is a plan, structure or strategy of research which a researcher will do from writing the hypothesis and their operational implications to the final analysis of data.

Survey research design has been used to conduct this study. Survey research design is a type of research design, which is used to obtain a snapshot of conditions, attitudes and event at a single point of time. Putting it in another way, we can use such design to get factual information regarding various subjects. It is non-manipulative study in the sense that the researcher does not control the situation. Therefore, it is also known as natural study. According to Cohen et al. (2007), survey gathers data at a particular point in time with the intention of describing the nature of existing conditions, or identifying students against which existing conditions can be compared or determining the relationship that exists between specific event.

Survey is the most commonly used method of investigation in Educational research which can be carried out either by a group of researchers or by an

individual. The finding of survey is generalizable and applicable to the whole group. In this research, data were collected only at a single point of time aiming to obtain overview of political news stories. So, I have used survey research design to collect representative data from three newspapers. Here, analytical and descriptive method was employed to carry out my research. Data were collected using observation checklist as a research tool and described and interpreted using descriptive approach.

### **3.2 Population, Sample and Sampling Strategy**

All the political news stories from English dailies were the population of this study and the sample of the study was nine political news stories from three leading English dailies (i.e. *The Kathmandu Post*, *The Rising Nepal* and *The Himalayan Times*). For the collection of secondary data, I used non-random purposive sampling. I purposively selected nine political news stories from three English dailies for the purpose of analysis. The news stories published from 19<sup>th</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2016 were included in the analysis.

### **3.3 Research Tools**

Observation checklist was the main tool of data collection. Political news stories were collected and information was gathered using checklists as per the objectives under different headings for the purpose of analysis.

### **3.4 Sources of Data**

Only secondary sources of data were used in this study. Data were collected from three English dailies (i.e. *The Kathmandu Post*, *The Rising Nepal* and *The Himalayan Times*). Some of the electronic books, research papers, journals and websites were also reviewed. Some of the books are Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Fairclough (1989), Fairclough (1992), Van Dijk (1993), Van Dijk (1998), Halliday and Matthysen (2004), and Jorgensen and Phillips (2010).

### **3.5 Data Collection Procedures**

For the successful completion of this study, I have adopted stepwise procedures. First of all, I purposively selected three leading English dailies in Nepal (i.e. *The Kathmandu Post*, *The Rising Nepal* and *The Himalayan Times*) to collect data. Then, I collected nine political news stories related to the DPM Nidhi's recent visit to India. Finally, I analyzed the discourse of news stories based on the framework developed by Fairclough (1992).

### **3.6 Data Analysis Procedures**

The systematically collected data were analyzed, interpreted, and presented qualitatively with the help of framework propounded by Fairclough (1992) in order to find out the power relations that are practiced in the news stories.

### **3.7 Ethical Considerations**

Even if no human beings are involved in this study as it is qualitative and based on secondary sources of data, I have followed ethical norms of research. Especially, the plagiarism has avoided citing the sources of information clearly based on the APA format of citation and referencing. Similarly, collected data, evidence, findings and conclusions are presented honestly with no reduplication. More specially, every step of the research has been conducted under the regular supervision of **Mrs. Madhu Neupane, Lecturer, Central Department of English Education, T.U.** and final approval has been assigned by the guidance committee.

## CHAPTER- FOUR

### ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

#### 4.1 Analysis of Data and Interpretation of Results

This section deals with the analysis and interpretation of data collected from secondary sources. The main objectives of the research were to identify and analyze the formal features of political news stories critically in terms of metaphor, modality and transitivity, to analyze discursive practices and ideological hegemony within political news stories from newspapers and to suggest some pedagogical implications on the basis of three dimensional CDA framework developed by Norman Fairclough (1992). The focus of this research is that dominant politicians impose their ideologies through media and the media language promotes them. So, the study has been surrounded around these two discourse practitioners. I have collected nine political news stories from three leading English dailies in Nepal viz. *The Kathmandu Post*, *The Himalayan Times*, and *The Rising Nepal*. The news stories are related to DPMNidhi's recent visit to India. I have analyzed the data based on the three dimensional framework developed by Fairclough (1992). More specially, I have analyzed the data to answer the following questions:

1. How do those formal features like metaphor, modality and transitivity carry ideological value?
2. How are political ideologies produced, reproduced and legitimized through different discursive practices?
3. How is ideological hegemony legitimized in the political news stories?

##### 4.1.1 Analysis of Formal Features

I have analyzed the formal features of news stories in terms of metaphor, modality and transitivity. The analysis focuses on how these formal features helps the news writers and political actors to carry their ideological stance.

#### **4.1.1.1 Analysis of Metaphor**

A metaphor is a representation of one kind of thing in terms of another. Metaphor as a linguistic and conceptual phenomenon has been implicated as a strategic tool of persuasion that predisposes one understanding of reality over others. In this study, conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) has been adopted in the analysis of mediated political discourse with particular emphasis on conventional metaphor used in the selected news stories from TRN, THT and TKP.

We can see how the uses of metaphor highlight one aspect and hide another. However, they are not always easy to detect, especially the conceptual metaphors which are used as everyday language. If we follow examples in Table 2, the relationship between Nepal and India has been characterized with the help of metaphor *bonds* which is compared to chain or rope. But inhuman blockade that was operationalized by Indian government is not presented. The use of metaphor *speeding up* is used as more concrete concept compared to the speed of vehicles to refer to development works. But many projects occupied by different companies are still to be started. Finally, *wake up* has been used to focus the rise of new government explicitly. The formation of new government, developing relations with India and running the development projects are emphasized through those metaphors. The use of metaphors has presented the government activities very positively.

Political instability in Nepal is a long run phenomenon. Every newly formed government is expected to govern a substantial period of time; however it is not the case. So, the metaphor *heading* is used to emphasize the positive role of government to settle the political ups and downs. Political development is nominalized as if it can walk so; it is heading towards positive direction. We

know that media supports certain political ideology and they highlight it using conceptual metaphor. As in the example below, use of metaphor *frosty* portrays how bad relationship between Nepal and India was during blockade in Ind-Nepal boarder. Through this, the new government is presented as an agent to improve relation between two countries.

The most repeated metaphor is *laying* which is compared with constructing basics of physical things but it is used to highlight the role of DPM Nidhi to prepare the environment for PM Dahal's visit to India. Another metaphor *on board* corresponds to the consensus among political parties in Nepal. First, this metaphor has centralized the government as a means for consensus among political parties and secondly, the indirect interference of the Indian politics in Nepalese politics, media and other aspects is visible. It is because DPM Nidhi visited India as a special envoy of PM Dahal and he briefed about the political turmoil in Nepal and ways to check them with Indian political leaders. Even in such cases, DPM Nidhi's visit to India has been lighted in Nepalese press. Finally, Indian cooperation in Nepal is presented as it can be measured as physical objects using the metaphor *scaling up*.

The use of the expression *new heights* is metaphorical in the sense that the relationship between Nepal and India has very special importance and newly formed government is an agent to reform relation between two countries. Again a similar metaphor *engagement* is used to highlight the relationship between Nepal and India. Engagement is generally used in the context of marriage in Nepalese society but the news writer in this news has emphasized in such way that Nepal and India are going to marry. Most interestingly, the metaphor *shopping* has represented India as a big market for Nepal where Nepal can get anything what it likes. Especially, Nepalese political leaders visit Indian political market frequently to pay for their interests in internal matters of Nepal. It shows the legitimized chains of Indian ideological base in the field of media and politics in Nepal.

**Table 2: Analysis of Metaphor**

| News-paper | Conceptual Metaphor  |
|------------|--|
| TRN        | Indian PM is committed to strengthening these traditional <i>bonds</i> of friendship and kinship with the people of Nepal. (21 <sup>st</sup> , Aug)  |
|            | Nidhi also raised the issues with the special importance that it was necessary to explore new areas of support, apart from <i>speeding up</i> joint ventures like postal roads... (21 <sup>st</sup> , Aug) |
| THT        | ...subsequent boarder blockade had resulted in <i>frosty</i> relations between Kathmandu and Delhi. (20 <sup>th</sup> , Aug)   |
|            | ...sought continuation and further <i>scaling up</i> of India's corporation in Nepal... (21 <sup>st</sup> , Aug)   |
| TKP        | After the high level visits, the relations between two countries will reach <i>new heights</i> ... (21 <sup>st</sup> , Aug)  |
|            | .....Modi and some high level political <i>engagements</i> in the Indian capital (22 <sup>nd</sup> , Aug)  |
|            | <i>Shopping</i> list comprises signing of one mega project, aid for post-quake reconstruction, Pancheshwor (22 <sup>nd</sup> , Aug)  |

The use of conceptual metaphor is a matter of thought and socio-political context of reality. The metaphor conceptualizes the world as if the study of reality is just study of physical world. So, this study has urged that metaphor used in the news stories have raised greater questions about what extend the news writer carry political ideology. It is the matter of fact that news is not only reported but the conceptual political expressions are highlighted using more physical concepts. It is found that news stories decorated with the metaphor of 'relationship between two countries' and new government as 'action oriented' are more emphasized. It has shown that new government is the only means for developing consensus among agitating parties in Nepal and rebuilding relationship with neighbor. So, it can be said that the newspaper are

not biased free rather it can be said that they are ideology laden and carry mainstream ideology.

#### 4.1.1.2 Analysis of Modality

The politicians always try to rule over others and control the mind and attitude of the people. So, use of modality in politics as well as in media helps to present the authorial subjectivity of the proposition. The news writers not only report the information but also provide their own attitude towards the events through using certain modal indicators. The modality analysis in this study focused on analyzing the writers’ as well as politicians’ treatment of the proposition they made in news stories via the study of the use of modality markers as tools of authorial stance. This study has identified the modal auxiliaries, modal adverbials, and reporting verbs found in the news stories and analyzed their value whether high, median or low based on Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). Table 3 shows the analysis of modality.

**Table 3: Analysis of Modality**

|             | High           | Median               | Low   |
|-------------|----------------|----------------------|-------|
| Probability | will, probably | would, likely to     | Might |
| Usuality    | Always         |                      |       |
| Obligation  | Should         |                      |       |
| Inclination | committed to   | willing to, eager to |       |

Modality used in the selected news stories of TRN, THT and TKP are analyzed through different textual strategies such as modal auxiliaries, modal adverbs, and reporting verbs. As shown in the example below, the speaker has used the high scale usuality modal marker ‘always’ to express the high degree of oftenness of the matter in the proposition. The Indian leaders’ positive intention towards Nepal is highlighted. For example:

- *Mukherjee said India always wants peace, stability and development in Nepal.*(TRN, 20<sup>th</sup> Aug)

The use of modal auxiliary will expresses the high probability on entire proposition and the excessive affinity of DPM Nidhi with the events which are going to happen in the near future. It also has presented the strong point of view of the writer towards what DPM said and what he is going to do. For instance:

- *DPM Nidhi said that his visit will be oriented towards realizing high level visits between Nepal and India.*(TRN, 19<sup>th</sup> Aug)

In the same way, the author used the modal will to present a high probability of PM Dahal's visit to India and sign projects between Nepal and India. The author has used his subjective judgment towards the proposition and promoted the government hiding him in the discourse. This is the most repeated model used in nine news stories which presents the high level of probability and the confidentiality of the language user and present him/her more positively in the mass. For instance:

- *It is expected that a major project will be signed between Nepal and India during PM Dahal's visit.* (TKP, 22<sup>nd</sup> Aug)

The modal would has functioned as an authorial tool of positioning. Here the author is seen as engaging the readers dialogically by inserting his personal assessment in the proposition. For example:

- *He expressed his confidence that the visit would be successful in further bolstering ties between two countries.*(TRN, 19<sup>th</sup> Aug)

The use of modal would portrays the writer's estimation of median scale likelihood of events. The author presents the median affinity with the readers. In the example below, the proposition made by Modi is shown using 'would' which means his stance of median probability to support Nepal. Modi's median

confidentiality to assist new government is to create positive influence on people. For example:

- *Indian PM Modi said on Saturday that government would fully support the priorities of government of Nepal...(TKP, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)*

The writer has used the model *likely to* to express the median scale probability of the probable events. So far as we cite the attitude of the author, DPM Nidhi is going to discuss Nepalese political problems in Nepal which tries to create positive impact on readers. It represents the confidentiality of the author towards the proposition and conveys positive political vibes on public.

- *DPM Nidhi is also likely to brief about the challenges facing the implementation of the new national statute... (TRN, 19<sup>th</sup> Aug)*

The reporting verb *committed to* has presented the high level inclination of the India PM in supporting Nepal. It has spoken the positive voice of Indian PM towards Nepal hiding their political interests. Even if they offer intervention through Nepalese politicians and media in Nepal, their image in Nepalese society has been presented positively. For example:

- *The PM said that India was fully committed to supporting the government and people of Nepal.(THT, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)*

The author has presented the speaker's median scale inclination to amend the constitution to address the demands of agitating forces and Modi's intention to support Nepal by using the model *willing to* and *eager to*. This is the writer's treatment to the proposition to present the language user more positively. New government is highlighted as the action government who are the center for the consensus. As we stated earlier, Indian leaders are presented as if they are so positive and willing to support Nepal. For example:

- ...the new government in Nepal is willing to amend the constitution to address the demands raised by Madhesi and Janajati groups. (TKP, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)
- ...Modi stated that he is eager to welcome PM Dahal...(TKP, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)

Through the use of modal should, Modi's estimation of necessity or obligation to ensure effective implementation of constitution in Nepal is highly emphasized. It shows how Indian mainstream politics command Nepalese politics. This is the imposition of power and dominance in Nepal's internal matters. Interestingly, Indian leaders order what Nepal's PM should do and should not do. For instance:

- Modi reiterated that the remaining issues should be resolved to ensure effective implementation of constitution. (THT, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)
- It is learnt that the Indian side has proposed that Dahalshould schedule his official visit to India from September 15 to 17.(TKP, 19<sup>th</sup> Aug)

The writer's estimation of weak likelihood of proposition is presented through might where speaker's action is not quite sure to occur. When the author gives less priority to the proposition, they use weak modal markers. For instance:

- Mahato said adding that stakeholders might need to hold dialogue at both the taskforce and leadership level.(THT, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)

Finally, the analysis of the modal markers has shown that the author has used some modal marker like committed to to represent the Indian commitment and the inclination to support Nepal but it has some ideological meaning. So called Indian support and assistance in Nepal is motivated by ideological domination. And the government's actions are lead in the news using the modal markers like will, likely to which presents the high affinity of the new government's confidentiality towards developing good relationship with India and accelerating socio-economic and political development in Nepal. They present

the actions of the government with high possibility which aims to develop positive impression in the mass.

#### 4.1.1.3 Analysis of Transitivity

The area of transitivity encompasses the relationships between the processes (i.e. verbs) and the participants (i.e. subjects and objects) where participants are to be understood as the linguistic representation of non-human, inanimate and even abstract entities, as well as human beings. Transitivity analysis includes identifying who is set as agent (doer), as goal (who is acted upon), and the process (doing). This type of analysis helps to reveal a good deal of the intricate system of hegemony and domination in society as expressed in political news stories. Analysis political news stories based on major three processes are presented below in Table 4:

**Table 4: Analysis of Transitivity**

| Processes type ↓     | TRN | THT | TKP | Frequency of occurrences (Total) |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|----------------------------------|
| Material processes   | 13  | 14  | 22  | 49                               |
| Mental processes     | 0   | 3   | 0   | -                                |
| Relational processes | 4   | 5   | 4   | 13                               |
| Total                | 17  | 22  | 26  | 62                               |

As shown in the table above, most frequently used processes are material processes which have portrayed the activities of DPM Nidhi. What DPM and India have done and will do for people of Nepal in future is highly focused. According to the material processes found in the news stories, most of the actors are ‘DPM Nidhi’ and ‘He’ that enable us to realize that DPM Nidhi and the newly formed government are action leaders who are working to develop good relations with India and want to do their best to provide a kind of peace, development and stability in Nepal. For example:

- *Nidhi also raised the issues with special importance that it was necessary to explore new areas of support... (TRN, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)*

Material process, as a process of doing, is a good choice in the address to demonstrate what the DPM Nidhi and the government have done on behalf of people of Nepal, what they are doing and what they will do in different aspects of affairs within the country and abroad. Similarly, it can also arouse the people's confidence toward the DPM and his government and to get their support in policies or measures in the upcoming days. On the other hand, material processes have highlighted the actions of Indian leaders as well. The news stories have explained what India has done and what they will do in Nepal. For example,

- *Nidhi informed Swaraj about Dahal government's plans to amend the constitution to address the demands of Madhes-based parties.(THT, 20<sup>th</sup> Aug)*
- *Indian PM Narendra Modi today advised Nepal's DPM Nidhi to bring all agitating forces on board by addressing their concerns...(THT, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)*

It can thus be deduced that these numbers presented in the table are mainly concerned with describing actions and events, as the number of the material process is the highest. Action is always reflected to the DPM's role to bridge the relationship between Nepal and India. More importantly, the repeated use of the agents like 'DPM Nidhi' and 'He' have over emphasized the role of new government in bringing agitating parties in consensus and rebuilding relationship with India which seemed to be dismissed after the blockade in Indo-Nepal boarder. For example:

- *He will seek India's positive support to end such political conundrum...(TKP, 19<sup>th</sup> Aug)*

- *Nidhi, who has been holding high level bilateral talks in the Indian capital, is also tasked with the laying ground work for PM Dahal's visit...*(TKP, 19<sup>th</sup> Aug)

As we have seen in the table 4 above, there is very less use of mental and relational processes. However some relational processes have been used here to represent the joint development projects between Nepal and india which has focused the priorities of the new government towards development in Nepal. For example:

- *A polytechnic in Chitwan under Indian assistance is also one of projects that PM Dahal will discuss during the visit.*(TKP, 22<sup>nd</sup> Aug)

There are very less uses of mental and relational processes whereas material processes are highly used which shows that the author has presented the government and the DPM Nidhi as an actor. From transitivity analysis, we can see material process, a process of doing, has been used most in all nine news stories. From this process, the author has shown what the government has achieved, what they are doing and what they will do. And also we can see that with applying transitivity, news stories are trying to arouse the Nepalese people's confidence toward the DPM Nidhi, the Indian rulers and new government in the following days.

#### **4.1.2 Analysis of Discursive Practices**

An analysis of discourse in this section is related to how political ideologies are produced, reproduced and legitimized through different discursive practices. A discursive practice contains a discourse and a genre. A discourse can be a neo-liberal discourse, political discourse, and economic discourse whereas a genre is a particular way of using language in a specific context (Poudel&Aase, 2015). The relationship between text and social practice is mediated by discursive practices. Language is social and contextual phenomenon which shapes and is shaped by discursive practices. A social institution consists of

different discursive practices and orders of discourses. Here, the discursive practices of news stories have been analyzed. They constitute complex orders of discourses which account for different discourses and genres. Two major processes of discourse practices namely ‘intertextuality’ and ‘interdiscursivity’ have been analyzed below:

#### **4.1.2.1 Analysis of Intertextuality**

This is the concept of Kristeva in which every text is composed of prior text. Any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations and any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The author uses both direct reporting (using quotation marks) and indirect reporting (without quotation marks) to recontextualize the prior texts. Intertextuality in nine news stories has been presented below:

The news writers have managed to use excessive number of indirect reporting in the news stories. We know that intertextuality carries the voices of the dominant actors and promote their ideology indirectly. Generally, the authors highly promoted the ideological power through recontextualization of the texts. For example:

Text 1

*Speaking with the media persons at the Tribhuvan International Airport before his departure, DPM Nidhi said that his visit will be oriented towards realizing high level visits between Nepal and India. “The main objective of my visit to India is to extend an invitation to Indian President for a visit to Nepal and place request on the behalf of the government of Nepal to fix the date for the same,” Nidhi said. Similarly, the DPM shared that during his visit discussions will be held on the invitation extended by Indian Prime Minister to Prime Minister Dahal for a visit to India. He expressed his confidence that the visit would be*

*successful in further bolstering ties between the two countries. (TRN, 19<sup>th</sup> Aug)*

The author has used ‘direct discourse representation’ in which parts of other oral texts are incorporated into a printed text and explicitly marked off with devices such as quotation marks and reporting clauses. Not in all the cases the voices of the DPM Nidhi are incorporated directly, he is represented in the news more inexplicitly without quotation marks. Since the blockade was operationalized in the Indo-Nepal boarder in the wake of the promulgation of the new constitution in Nepal, the relationship between two countries was not looking good. So, DPM is presented as the means for establishing good relationship with India. On the other hand, it seems as if new government in Nepal spreads fear in such a way that if we do not visit India just after its formation, the relation between two countries will not remain good and we cannot develop our country anymore. Moreover, highlighting the voices of new government, previous government is picturized negatively.

Text 2

*The high level meeting DPM Nidhi had on Friday received appreciations of Nepal government’s efforts to amend constitution and address the demands of the Madhesi political parties, added Nidhi’s secretary Bikram. (TRN, 20<sup>th</sup> Aug)*

Since we study the intertextuality in the aforementioned texts, the voice of the newly formed government is overwhelmingly focused. The sources are clearly attributed. Sending DPM Nidhi as a special envoy of PM Dahal is communicated as it is for mutual relationship between two countries but Nepalese political leaders call on Indian leaders and take blessings from them which are over focused. What Indian President says to appreciate new government’s steps to amend the constitution has got special emphasis on stories. Sources of the voice are clear and personal with high status specified.

So, media has crucial role to bring Indian interference in Nepal but it is never felt to have the imposition of the power.

#### Text 3

*The Indian Prime Minister congratulated BimalendraNidhi on assuming office as the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Home Affairs of Nepal. The Indian Prime Minister conveyed his greetings and best wishes to the new Government of Nepal led by Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal. (TRN, 21<sup>st</sup>, Aug)*

Most surprisingly, the author in the text 3 has included the voice of the Indian PM as vertical intertextuality who has congratulated Nepalese leaders for the formation of new government. It has shed light on how much Indian blessings matter in Nepalese politics and the media coverage.

#### Text 4

*With the formation of a new government in Nepal, political developments are heading towards positive directions as the new dispensation is trying to accommodate all the section” a source quoted Swaraj as saying in the meeting. Nidhi informed Swaraj about Dahal government’s plan to amend the constitution to address the demands of Madhesh based parties. “One of the major priorities of the government is addressing agitating parties to ensure acceptability of the new constitution(THT, 20<sup>th</sup> Aug)*

As it is presented in the text 4, Indian Minister for External Affairs SushmaSwaraj’s voice has been quoted directly and indirectly. Obviously, the voices of Indian leaders get frontline priority in the media in Nepal. DPM Nidhi has briefed about the amendment of the constitution with Indian leaders and expected their support. Generally, it is taken as a tradition but it is looking anideological imposition whether directly or indirectly. Most importantly, media helps to legitimize it.

## Text 5

*Nidhi assured the Indian PM that implementation of the constitution by accommodating the aspirations of all people was the Nepal government's top priority, said a press release issued by the embassy of Nepal in New Delhi. "The Indian President assured that the Government of India would fully support the priorities of the new Government of Nepal and expressed hope that the new government would be able to steer the country towards greater peace, stability and institutionalization of democracy" read the release (THT, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)*

The author has recontextualized different texts in the news stories. As stated above in the text 5, the voice of Indian PM has been reported indirectly using various sources. We can simply state that some images of 'Us and Them' is seen in the text above. The Indian rulers are the sources of suggestions and advice and Nepalese leaders are eager to listen to them.

## Text 6

*CPN-MC leader Narayan Kaji Shrestha, who was today named chief of the Committee to Assist the Government, said the government would hold formal and informal talks with all the stakeholders in an attempt to forge consensus on issues of constitutional amendment. Shrestha said the government would hold dialogue with the UDMF first and the Nepali Congress before holding dialogue with the CPN-UML. (THT, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)*

Different discursive practices have been used to make language more effective in influencing the decisions taken by the government. One of these practices is intertextuality, whereby different voices are mixed or combined in a mediated political text. One of the representatives has reported what government is going to develop consensus with agitating parties. Government is presented as an active agent. And even the representative voice of agitating parties have been

reported directly to show as if they are also in the mainstream of the national consensus. However, the voices of oppositional parties have been hidden. This is just one of the discursive practices of the news writers to present the government positively.

#### Text 7

*Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi said on Saturday that his government would fully support the priorities of the government of Nepal and expressed hope that the new dispensation in Kathmandu would be able to steer the country towards greater peace. During a meeting in New Delhi on Saturday afternoon DPM and Home Minister Bimalendra Nidhi briefed Modi about developments in Nepal and handed over PM Pushpakamal Dahal's "special message" that the new government in Nepal is willing to amend the constitution to address the demands raised by the Madhesi and Janajati group. (TKP, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)*

Here, the writer has clearly attributed his/her sources to key people such as the Indian PM Narendra Modi, and PM Dahal and DPM Bimalendra Nidhi who has played, is playing and will be playing important roles in sustaining new government in Nepal. They are personal, identified, and specific. They refer to sources with high status. At the same time, implicit intertextual sources are used to support the theme as well.

The text 7 has communicated the quotations of the Indian PM Modi and DPM Nidhi. Modi is presented as the captain and care taker of the Nepalese government. It is not only happening first time but looks like a culture. Indian PM expressed his best wishes which has been quoted directly as he is the emancipator of Nepalese politics. And DPM Nidhi's briefing is the one of that proof. More especially, the use of scare quotes in "special message" means more ideological. Government of Nepal is going to amend constitution but why it is sent as a special message to Indian leaders. Fairclough (1992) has stated that use of scare quotes is more ideological.

In short, these texts have used a number of external sources to establish a kind of public discourse, from which the writer attempts to keep a distance. The writer has positioned himself or herself outside this public discourse as its presenter, not as a participant within it. In this text, the writer seems to be ‘the author’ or ‘the animator’ of the text rather than ‘the principal’ of the text. The writer has introduced topics by drawing on various sources and makes propositions at the end, fulfilling the social purpose of expositions in the particular social context. However, the author has on his hand whose voice is to be highlighted. Obviously, two major agents government of Nepal and the Indian rulers’ voices are recontextualized in the new settings. They are presented as an emancipator of the people in Nepal.

#### **4.1.2.2 Analysis of Interdiscursivity**

Jorgensen and Philips (2010) say that interdiscursivity occurs when different discourses and genres are articulated together in a communicative event. As this study is related to the mediated political discourse, media discourse is studied on the shadow of political discourse. Political discourse is supposed to be persuasive and democratic leaders are expected to be honest with the audience and present facts as they are. Rather, they resort to different discursive strategies to be more effective and influential and powerful media houses back their strategies. So, study of interdiscursivity will work out to identify and analyze the mixing of discourses and genres in the news stories.

##### **Text 1**

*Stating that the relations between Nepal and India were not merely between the two Governments, but between the people of both countries, the Indian Prime Minister reiterated that India is committed to strengthening those traditional bonds of friendship and kinship with the people of Nepal. (TRN, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)*

Mixing genres and discourses and combining different voices within a segment of political discourse aims to interface with society and produce favorable effects on the public. Due to the blockade in Indo-Nepal border after the promulgation of constitution in Nepal had produced the taste of bitter relationship between two countries. In such a case, rulers from both the countries have used historical discourse which would be expected to create positive impact on people. The overall, underlying theme of the Indian PM's voice is to inspire and empower Nepalese people by the strength from our glorious past. The authors have attributed the Indian PM's proposition very implicitly.

#### Text 2

*The Prime Minister said that India is fully committed to support the government and the people of Nepal in the post-earthquake reconstruction efforts. Meanwhile, RSS adds – the government's focus is on social and economic developments of Nepal, DPM Nidhi was quoted as saying. (TRN, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)*

Again the Indian PM has been reported in the same way that he is a prominent agent to support Nepal. He has used the historical discourse in such a way that he could be attached emotionally with the people of Nepal because earthquake victims are not still settled well in Nepal. And new government is reported as an active agent to support those people. This is one of the influential discursive strategies to control the people and impose hegemony.

#### Text 3

*Nidhi conveyed PM Dahal's message to Swaraj that Nepal wants to restore the bilateral relations of the kind the two countries enjoyed in 2014 when Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Nepal. (THT, 20<sup>th</sup> Aug)*

When the Indian PM Modi visited Nepal in 2014, he addressed the law makers in the parliament by using Nepali language at least about ten minutes. He announced many areas of Indian assistance in Nepal which made him popular in Nepalese society. So, by using historical discourse, Indian government is highlighted positively.

Text 4

*Nidhi also invited Modi to tour Janakpur, Lumbini and Muktinath.*  
(TKP, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)

Everyone can imagine the influence of religious discourse in the Nepalese society. Here, the Indian PM is presented as if we are equal in terms of religion. So that, the invitation sent to the Indian PM to visit religious places in Nepal has very powerful discursive strategy to influence Nepalese people and develop positive image.

Political actors usually resort to different discursive strategies to be more effective and influential in justifying actions that might seem unacceptable. One of these strategies is combining influential discourse, such as religious and historical, with political discourse to legitimize actions. Political leaders and the news writers use different discursive practices such as presentation of glorious past and fear of future to control the people ideologically. The blockade of 2015 in the Indo-Nepal border was seen inexcusable. Realizing the power of religion and some positive history highlighted by politicians and news writers, the Nepalese people might accept it more positively. On the other hand, DPM Nidhi's India visit is connected with the economic development in Nepal. So, people can hardly realize the power struggle and the ideological hegemony in the news discourse.

#### **4.1.3 Analysis of Ideological Hegemony**

The third dimension is the analysis of socio-political practice of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis of the media which is a macro-level analysis based on the notion that socio-political contexts outside the media actually effect on how the existing discourse in the media. As this study is the analysis of mediated political discourse, the main focus is on how the political actors shape the media discourse and how media discourses communicate their ideology. Nine different political news stories are analyzed in terms of formal features and discourse practices in the previous sections and now the focus is turned towards the larger socio-political contexts of these two dimensions. On this level of interpretation, the focus was on how MR (Member's Resources) were used as constituents for 'processing discourse' (Fairclough, 1992). Here the focus is to investigate the discourse practice by looking at how MR are shaped by social structures, as well as how they shape discourses, and thus change or sustain social structures.

This level of analysis focuses on both discursive as well as non-discursive practices that help to legitimize their ideological hegemony through news stories. The analysis of nine news stories has identified some crucial MRs whose beliefs, values and assumptions are communicated with sense of power imposition. Firstly, DPM Nidhi as one of the representatives of the newly formed government is a vital character to shape discursive practices in the news stories. Secondly, other dominant actors presented in those news stories were Indian rulers like PM Modi, President, and other high level officials.

This section of socio-political analysis concerns how political ideology is produced, reproduced and legitimized in the news stories which ultimately turns into hegemony.

The media and the political elites try to achieve coherent society through different mechanisms like naturalization, inculcation and commonality (Janks, 1997). The mechanism of naturalization which describes social practices as universally followed and necessarily accepted. If we follow the 'Text 1', so

called advice regarding the constitution amendment given by Indian PM is presented as it is good wishes of a neighbour. But the advice in the form of order from Indian PM is looking discursive hegemony and the interference in the internal matters of Nepal. More importantly, this is quoted in the headlines of the news stories with due priority.

#### Text 1

*Modi reiterated that the remaining issues should be resolved to ensure effective implementation of constitution and peace, stability and institutionalization of democracy in Nepal, an official who accompanied Nidhi told The Himalayan Times. (THT, 20<sup>th</sup> Aug)*

The mechanism of inculcation may be seen as exercising hidden ‘power behind discourse’ in order to naturalize interested practices to facilitate the exercise and maintenance of power. In the text 2 and 3, the use of discourse of economy and development as well as religious discourse has tried to add more importance of DPM Nidhi’s visit to India. It aims to spread two discursive messages; a) New government is working to speed up economic development and develop mutual relationship with India, b) India is highly positive to support Nepal. However, Indian interference is welcomed in Nepal using different discursive and non-discursive practices.

#### Text 2

*Nidhi also briefed Modi about Dahal government’s focus on development projects and understand the need of the ongoing joint undertakings, particularly the Postal Road, cross-border railway and Pancheshwor Multipurpose Project as well as identifying new areas of cooperation, according to the embassy statement. (TKP, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)*

### Text 3

*Nidhi also invited Modi to tour Janakpur, Lumbini and Muktinath.*

(TKP, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug)

The third way to gain commonality is the mechanism of communication. The MRs shows their affinity with the audience in such a way that they have no such difference. Indian PM is requested for a religious visit to Nepal which tries to show that we have similar beliefs and aspirations. This is a kind of non-discursive hegemony. In the text 4 Modi has stated that there is good relationship between the people of Nepal and India. The MR through religious discourse has sought so called commonalities but the organization of orders of discourses is ideological. This is a way of seeking consent through “We are on the same boat” so, you have to support us. Using such genres, political leaders and media practitioners impose the institutionalized system of beliefs.

### Text 4

*Stating that the relations between Nepal and India were not merely between the two Governments, but between the people of both countries, the Indian Prime Minister reiterated that India is committed to strengthening these traditional bonds of friendship and kinship with the people of Nepal. (TRN, 20<sup>th</sup> Aug)*

Exemplifying the total success of hegemonic control in nine political news stories, various discursive strategies have been employed by politicians and are reproduced by news writers. One of the most commonsense that we people have in mind is that in the wake of the formation of the new government, Nepalese rulers visit India and brief about the Nepalese political and socio-economic conditions of Nepal with Indian rulers. It is taken as everyday practice rather than ideological practices because it has been done since long. So, the visit of DPM Nidhi is defined as one of the regular businesses in media. However, Nepalese politicians seek Indian favour more than anyone of the neighboring countries. So, in the name of mutual foreign policy, the

governments of Nepal give extra importance to India which is ultimately turns into external interference in Nepal. Indian rulers are extremely highlighted in Nepalese media which socialize them in Nepalese social spheres.

Political actors are in the lime light of the media discourse. They cover the front pages in the newspapers and their actions are emphasized as if they are going to transform society overnight.

The use of emotive expressions in the political discourses is common to get the attention of public. In another way, it can be said that political discourses compose emotional appeal in the text and talk. The PM and DPM claimed that the country is facing some serious political, economic and social challenges. But they also repeatedly tell that they are ready to handle those problems. This is a kind of emotional appeal to the people so that they can sustain their power through ideology and hegemony. The news writer has used the metaphor 'frosty' in the text 5 to appeal the people emotionally that the relation between two countries is not good so; DPM Nidhi's visit to India is relevant.

Text 5

*...subsequent border blockade had resulted in frosty relations between Kathmandu and Delhi. (THT, 20<sup>th</sup> Aug)*

Media uses various non-discursive strategies to legitimize the ideological representation in the public. One of them is use of picture along with news stories. One of such pictures was published amid news (TKP, 20<sup>th</sup> Aug) in which DPM Nidhi and Indian PM is shaking hands with beautiful smile on their faces. It is obvious that it has left positive impression on people in Nepal. People are communicated the news in such a way that Indian government has nothing political interest in Nepal rather they want to support Nepal selflessly which is hegemonic in fact.

The government believes that its policies and plans are the best for all the members of the society. So, the members of government seek to attain and maintain popular support and political power so that the government can

sustain and policies can be implemented with minimal resistance. To do so, every new government in Nepal cannot afford to neglect Indian rulers including powerful media houses. Indeed, the government seeks political, socio-economic support from Indian government. Eventually, it is found that media reports and the stories are highly influenced by political power elites and their ideologies to persuade people that government policies and actions are the most natural and commonsensical courses of action.

Ideology is used as soft power in the hands of the political leaders to dominate. Consensus based on soft ideology is more effective than that which is based solely on armed forces. So, there are three different agents who involve in power struggle in the news stories. They are the Indian rulers, new government of Nepal and news writer. They have employed different discursive strategies to control the people in Nepal.

## **CHAPTER - FIVE**

### **FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This chapter presents the findings, conclusion and recommendation of the study on the basis of the analysis and interpretation of collected data. The major objectives of the study were to identify and analyze the formal features of political news stories critically in terms of metaphor, modality, and transitivity and to analyze the discursive practices and ideological hegemony within political news stories from newspapers and to suggest some pedagogical implications. For this purpose, nine political news stories were collected, observation checklists were used to collect the data and data were analyzed based on the CDA framework developed by Norman Fairclough (1992).

#### **5.1 Findings**

After analyzing and interpreting the data, it can be concluded that power relations are the inevitable features of any mediated political discourses. The media are the common ground and the site for the power struggle in which political power holders keep control the language, the production and distribution of the message they deliver to the public. As a result, the media become crucial partner of power elites to collect popular consent from the public. Analysis of the news stories has revealed that media in Nepal not only represent Nepalese political power elites, they promote imported political ideology from India. Simply, it can be said that there is the chains of political power agents in the news stories. The Indian rulers are highly emphasized as ‘Giver’ and Nepal as ‘Taker’ which in fact is the ideological dominance which is only the one third of agents to impose dominance. Other two are the government of Nepal and the authors of the news stories. The government is represented as a true emancipator and a real actor in every news stories. The major findings of this study have been presented below based on three main themes:

### **a. Analysis of Formal features**

The conceptual metaphors like *bonds*, *frosty*, *engagements*, *speeding up* are used mostly to highlight two major aspects: the relationship between Nepal and India and to represent new government as an active actor. Similarly, most repeatedly used modal markers like *will*, *likely to*, shows the new government's confidentiality towards socio-economic development in Nepal and rebuilding relationship with India. And the high value modal marker *committed to* is used to carry over the positive image of Indian rulers in Nepalese society. With applying transitivity, mostly material processes, the news writers try to show what government achieved, what they are doing and what they will do in the future.

### **b. Analysis of Discursive Practices**

The voices of new government and Indian rulers are reported using direct, indirect as well as scare quotations to highlight the political message vividly and to enhance the people's faith on them. In the same way, genres and discourses related to the socio-economic as well as religious values are accommodated in the news stories in the form of emotional appeal.

### **c. Analysis of Ideological Hegemony**

News writers have given frontline priority to the news related to DPM Nidhi's India visit in the news stories. What Indian political actors said about Nepal and what new government has done and going to do is the front page news. Political leaders and the news writers have used different discursive practices such as presentation of glorious past and fear of future to control the people ideologically. Similarly, the Indian political actors' interest regarding the amendment of constitution in Nepal is presented as if they are the common interests of a neighbouring country. However, so called advice and suggestions in the form of order from Indian is a visible example of ideological hegemony. Most importantly, the political actors like PM Dahal and DPM Nidhi represent

new government and even Indian rulers have shaped the news stories and communicated their ideologies with strong point of view. Finally, use of discourse of economy, history and religion in the news stories aim to control the possible resistance from public telling that “We are on the same boat.”

## **5.2 Conclusion**

By analyzing these political news stories, it can be concluded that the politicians as well as news writers have used various linguistic features to communicate their ideological underpinnings. They have used discursive as well as non-discursive strategies to sustain their ideological influences.

Metaphor is used to highlight the actions of government and the Indian rulers in comparison to previous government. By using modality, the authors have used the new government’s high likelihood of actions. Analysis of transitivity explores that material processes are used in excessive amount which represent the government as an active agent and action government.

The Indian PM, President and DPM Nidhi are preciously quoted to strengthen the value of the text. The analysis demonstrates that the producers of the news stories have included the voices of the new government in Nepal and the Indian rulers and excluded others to suit their ideological purpose with the intention of giving biased interpretations of the real events and facts. Through the analysis of different voices, except news writer, new government’s voice as a prominent actor to set up good relationship with Indian counterparts is highlighted. The Indian rulers are presented as donors and Nepal as the receiver which tries to legitimize Indian ideological dominance in Nepal.

The current study found that there is link between the way the writers news stories report the speeches or voices of others in the news stories and their ideological objectives that show the relation between language, ideology and power in the new stories of TRN, THT and TKP.

This study shows that CDA is a useful tool to explore how ideologies are linked to language in the political news stories taking into assumption that language has a central position in the ideological and power process.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Every research studies have some implications and the recommendations based on the findings. CDA is emerging area of research in our educational scenario. So, on the basis of the study, some recommendations have been made.

#### **5.3.1 Policy Related**

CDA seems to be newly introduced in our curriculum as well as a new research area in our educational context. So, I could not find any policies and provisions regarding CDA and its implications in Nepal.

#### **5.3.2 Practice Related**

In practice level, I believe that the research study can be implied for different pedagogical purposes. Informed by the findings of the study, the teachers of English may take the formal features of the texts like metaphor, modality and transitivity with critical awareness as what ideological value they carry in consideration while teaching. They may be aware of appropriate choice of discourse for the students. Teachers as well as the students are expected to be supported in analyzing the language of textbooks and challenge the ideological hegemony. The students may develop critical habit towards different social issues related to race, class, gender and religion and take necessary actions. The study helps to use the CDA as a tool for critical language awareness which develops the language consciousness giving learners more control over their own use of language as well as greater understanding of how they are reflected in the language use of others. This study equips language users to recognize, challenge, and ultimately contribute to changing social inequalities inscribed in discourse practices, and thus be more responsible citizens. The news readers

can understand how power elites hide their ideology in the language and take nothing for granted.

### **5.3.2 Further Research Related**

CDA is not so much a direction, school, or specialization next to the many other ‘approaches’ in discourse studies. So, it does not have a unitary theoretical framework. CDA has been very popular among linguists and educationists these days. CDA believes that power relations are basic characteristics of functional use of language. So, CDA is the diversified area of study. Nothing can be taken for granted and without any ideological construction whether these are discursive or non-discursive practices. In order to understand any educational phenomenon, one needs to also look at the larger social, economic and political contexts within which that phenomenon is embedded, and seek out theories that connect there. We can conduct research on various fields where there is power struggle through language. According to Van Dijk (2006 as cited in Mogashoa, 2014), critical discourse analysis is primarily interested in and motivated by the endeavour to understand pressing social issues. So, we can conduct research on ‘Multimodal discourse analysis of advertisements of beauty products’, ‘A critical discourse analysis of ELT textbooks in private schools’, as well as ‘A critical discourse analysis of language used by Prachanda during election’.

Rogers (2005 as cited in Mogashoa, 2014)) states that critical theories are generally concerned with issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy, race, class, gender, religion, education, and sexual orientation construct, reproduce or transform social systems. That is why; CDA is very wide and covers diverse areas of study. There is little research conducted in the field of media discourse, political discourse, legal discourse, and educational discourse in our department of Education. So, new researchers may explore these fields of research by employing different CDA frameworks.

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## Appendix-I

### Observation Checklists for the Analysis of Metaphor

| Newspaper  | Date                 | Conceptual Metaphor   |
|--|----------------------|---|
| The Rising Nepal   | 21 <sup>st</sup> Aug | Indian PM is committed to strengthening these traditional <u>bonds</u> of friendship and kinship with the people of Nepal.  |
|  |                      | Nidhi also raised the issues with the special importance that it was necessary to explore new areas of support, apart from <u>speeding up</u> joint ventures like postal roads..... |
|  | 19 <sup>th</sup> Aug | ...high level visits between Nepal and India as well for political meetings in the <u>wake up</u> the formation of new government in the country.                                   |
| The Himalayan Times  | 20 <sup>th</sup> Aug | With the formation of new government in Nepal, political developments are <u>heading</u> towards positive directions.....   |
|  |                      | ...subsequent boarder blockade had resulted in <u>frosty</u> relations between Kathmandu and Delhi  |
|  | 21 <sup>st</sup> Aug | DPM and Home Minister BimalendraNidhi to bring all agitating forces <u>on board</u> by addressing....   |
|  |                      | ..strengthening these traditional <u>bonds</u> of friendship and kinship...   |
|  |                      | ...sought continuation and further <u>scaling up</u> of India's corporation in Nepal..  |
|  |                      | ..is also tasked with <u>laying</u> the groundwork for the PM Dahal's visit to Southern neighbor.   |
| After the high level visits, the relations between two countries will reach <u>new heights</u> ..          |                      |   |
| The Kathmandu Post   | 21 <sup>st</sup> Aug | ...is also tasked with <u>laying</u> the ground work for the PM Dahal's visit to Southern neighbor.   |
|  | 22 <sup>nd</sup> Aug | ...Modi and some high level political <u>engagements</u> in the Indian capital.   |
| <u>Shopping</u> list comprises signing of one mega project, aid for post-quake reconstruction, Pancheshwor |                      |   |

## Observation Checklists for the Analysis of Modality

### Appendix - II

#### The Rising Nepal

| Date                    | Use of Modal Markers   |
|-------------------------|--|
| 19 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | DPM Nidhi is also <i>likely to</i> brief about the challenges facing the implementation of the new national statute..... |
|                         | He expressed his confidence that the visit <i>would</i> be successful in further bolstering ties between two countries.  |
|                         | DPM Nidhi said that his visit <i>will</i> be oriented towards realizing high level visits between Nepal and India.       |
|                         | The DPM said that during his visit discussions <i>will be</i> held on the invitation extended by Indian PM...            |
| 20 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | Mukherjee said India <i>always</i> wants to peace, stability and development in Nepal.                                   |
| 21 <sup>st</sup><br>Aug | The Prime Minister said that India is <i>committed to</i> support the government and people of Nepal.                    |

### Appendix - III

#### The Himalayan Times

| Date                 | Use of Modal Markers   |
|----------------------|--|
| 21 <sup>st</sup> Aug | Modi reiterated that the remaining issues <i>should</i> be resolved to ensure effective implementation of constitution.                            |
|                      | The Indian PM assured that Government of India <i>would</i> fully support priorities of the new government of Nepal.                               |
|                      | ..the government <i>would</i> hold formal and informal talks with all stake holders...   |
|                      | The PM said that India was fully <i>committed to</i> supporting the government and people of Nepal.  |
|                      | Nidhi, who has reached the Indian capital on Thursday, is <i>likely to</i> meet leaders of major parties in India before returning home on Monday. |
|                      | ..we <i>will probably</i> hold dialogue with the UDMF again after talking with the UML...  |
|                      | Mahato said adding that stakeholders <i>might</i> need to hold dialogue at both the taskforce and leadership level.                                |

**Appendix - IV**  
**The Kathmandu Post**

| Date                    | Use of Modal Markers   |
|-------------------------|--|
| 19 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | Before leaving, Nidhi told media persons at TIA that he <u>would</u> extend President Bidhya Devi Bhandari's invitation to Indian counterpart... |
|                         | It is learnt that the Indian side has proposed that Dahal <u>should</u> schedule his official visit to India from September 15 to 17.            |
|                         | As the special emissary of PM Dahal, Nidhi <u>will</u> call on Indian President Pranab Mukherjee...  |
|                         | He <u>will</u> meet the leaders of various political parties...  |
|                         | He <u>will</u> seek Indian positive support to end such political conundrum...   |
| 21 <sup>st</sup><br>Aug | Indian PM Modi said on Saturday that government <u>would</u> fully support the priorities of government of Nepal...                              |
|                         | ...the new government in Nepal is <u>willing to</u> amend the constitution to address the demands raised by Madhesi and Janajati groups.         |
|                         | During Saturday's visit, Modi stated that he is <u>eager to</u> welcome PM Dahal...  |
|                         | India is <u>committed to</u> strengthening these traditional bonds of friendship and kinship with the people of Nepal.                           |
| 22 <sup>nd</sup><br>Aug | PM Dahal <u>will</u> return from India on September 17....   |
|                         | It is expected that a major project <u>will</u> be signed between Nepal and India during PM Dahal's visit.                                       |

## Observation Checklist for the Analysis of Transitivity

### Appendix – V The Rising Nepal

| Date                    | Process type →   | Material Process | Mental Process | Relational Process |
|-------------------------|--|------------------|----------------|--------------------|
|                         | Clauses ↓  |                  |                |                    |
| 20 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | DPM Nidhi paid a courtesy call on Indian President Pranab Mukherjee in New Delhi on Friday.                                  | ✓                |                |                    |
|                         | DPM Nidhi handed a letter of invitation sent by Nepal's President BidhyaBhandari.  | ✓                |                |                    |
|                         | The high level meeting Nidhi had on Friday received appreciations....  |                  |                | ✓                  |
|                         | DPM Nidhi's high level meetings with Indian officials focused on discussions about the likely visit of President Bhandari... | ✓                |                |                    |
|                         | The visiting DPM met with Indian Minister for Home Affairs Rajnath Singh...  | ✓                |                |                    |
|                         | He is scheduled to call on PM Modi..   | ✓                |                |                    |
|                         | He left here Thursday for New Delhi....  | ✓                |                |                    |
| 21 <sup>st</sup><br>Aug | BimalendraNidhi, DPM and HM of Nepal called on PM NarendraModi today.  | ✓                |                |                    |
|                         | The Indian PM congratulated Nidhi on assuming office as DPM and HM of Nepal.   | ✓                |                |                    |
|                         | The Indian PM also conveyed his greetings and best wishes to the new government of Nepal.                                    | ✓                |                |                    |
|                         | DPM Nidhi briefed the Indian PM  |                  |                |                    |

|                         |  |   |  |   |
|-------------------------|--|---|--|---|
|                         | about developments in Nepal.   | ✓ |  |   |
|                         | The government's focus is on social and economic developments of Nepal.  |   |  | ✓ |
|                         | Nidhi also raised the issues with special importance that it was necessary to explore new areas of support.... | ✓ |  | ✓ |
| 19 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | DPM and Minister for Home Affairs left here for Indian capital New Delhi...                                    | ✓ |  |   |
|                         | DPM Nidhi has set out for the southern neighbor as per the decision of Council of Ministers                    | ✓ |  |   |
|                         | DPM Nidhi is likely to brief about the challenges facing the implementation of new national statute...         |   |  | ✓ |
|                         | During his stay in New Delhi, DPM Nidhi will meet India's President, PM.....                                   | ✓ |  |   |

## Appendix - VI

### The Himalayan Times

| Date                    | Process type →   | Material Process | Mental Process | Relational Process |
|-------------------------|--|------------------|----------------|--------------------|
|                         | Clauses ↓  |                  |                |                    |
| 20 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | DPM Nidhi on Friday held talks with India's Minister for External Affairs Sushma Swaraj...                                     | ✓                |                |                    |
|                         | DPM Nidhi arrived in the Indian capital on Thursday as a special envoy of PM Dahal...  | ✓                |                |                    |
|                         | ....political developments are heading towards positive directions...  |                  |                | ✓                  |
|                         | Nidhi informed Swaraj about Dahal government's plans to amend the constitution to address the demands of Madhes-based parties. | ✓                |                |                    |
|                         | Nidhi's visit to Delhi on the heels of formation of a new government in Kathmandu is aimed at mending Nepal-India ties....     |                  |                | ✓                  |
|                         | Nidhi conveyed PM Dahal's message to Swaraj that Nepal wants to restore the bilateral relations..                              | ✓                | ✓              |                    |
|                         | Nidhi is also carrying PM Dahal's message that his government attaches great importance.....                                   |                  |                | ✓                  |
|                         | Nidhi also met Indian Home Minister Rajnath Singh on Friday.   | ✓                |                |                    |
|                         | Nidhi is scheduled to meet Indian prime Minister Modi on Saturday.   | ✓                |                |                    |

|             |  |   |   |   |
|-------------|--|---|---|---|
| 21st<br>Aug | Indian PM Narendra Modi today advised Nepal's DPM Nidhi to bring all agitating forces on board by addressing their concerns...     | ✓ |   |   |
|             | Nidhi assured the Indian PM that implementation of the constitution.....   |   | ✓ |   |
|             | Nidhi handed over PM Dahal's invitation to Modi to visit Nepal....   | ✓ |   |   |
|             | As an emissary, he also conveyed Dahal's message that new government's focus was to pursue socio-economic development.....         | ✓ |   | ✓ |
|             | He also stressed the need to identify new areas of cooperation .....   |   | ✓ | ✓ |
|             | The ruling CPN-Maoist Center wants to forge consensus on issues of constitutional.....   | ✓ |   |   |
|             | The agitating Federal Alliance and the United Democratic Madhesi Front want the constitution amended to address their demands..... | ✓ |   |   |

**Appendix - VII**  
**The Kathmandu Post**

| Date                    | Process type →  | Material<br>Process | Mental<br>Process | Relational<br>Process |
|-------------------------|---|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
|                         | ↓<br>Clauses  |                     |                   |                       |
| 19 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | DPM Nidhitoday reached New Delhi on a four day visit....  | ✓                   |                   |                       |
|                         | He was received by Charge d' Affaires, Embassy of Nepal in India Krishna Dhakal...                      | ✓                   |                   |                       |
|                         | Nidhi will lay ground for President Bhandari's visit to india.  | ✓                   |                   |                       |
|                         | As a special emissary of PM Dahal, Nidhi will call on Indian President....                              | ✓                   |                   |                       |
|                         | He is set to call on PM Modi and hold meeting...  | ✓                   |                   |                       |
|                         | He will also meet the leaders of various political parties....  | ✓                   |                   |                       |
|                         | He will seek India's positive support to end such political conundrum.....                              | ✓                   |                   |                       |
|                         | DPM and Minister for Home Affairs Nidhi briefed Modi about development in Nepal...                      | ✓                   |                   |                       |
|                         | Nidhi is in India as a special envoy of PM Dahal.   |                     |                   | ✓                     |
|                         | He also informed Modi about the talks new government has initiated with the Madhesi and Janajatiforces. | ✓                   |                   |                       |

|                         |   |   |  |   |
|-------------------------|---|---|--|---|
| 21 <sup>st</sup><br>Aug | Nidhi, who has been holding high level bilateral talks in the Indian capital, is also tasked with the laying ground work for PM Dahal's visit....     | ✓ |  |   |
|                         | Nidhi on Friday extended an invitation on behalf of President BidhyaBhandari to Indian President PranabMuherjee to visit Nepal.                       | ✓ |  |   |
|                         | The relations between Nepal and India are not marely between two governments but between the people of both countries.                                |   |  | ✓ |
|                         | After the delegation level meeting, Nidhi held a one to one meeting with Modi for about 15 minutes.   | ✓ |  |   |
|                         | Nidhi also invited Modi to tour Janakpur, Lumbini and Muktinath.  | ✓ |  |   |
|                         | He met Indian Minister for External Affairs SushmaSwaraj and Minister for Home Affairs Rjnath Singh on Friday.  | ✓ |  |   |
| 22 <sup>nd</sup><br>Aug | PM Dahal is set to embark on a three day official visit to India starting September 15.   | ✓ |  |   |
|                         | DPM and Minister for Home Affairs Nidhi, who is currently in New Delhi and indian officials, confirmed the date for Dahal's maiden foreign trip after | ✓ |  | ✓ |

|  |   |  |   |
|--|---|--|---|
| becoming the PM on August 3.   |   |  |   |
| Nidhi, who landed in Indian capital on Thursday as a special envoy of PM Dahal, held talks with Indian PM.....                       | ✓ |  |   |
| One of the main agendas of Nidhi's visit to India has been laying the groundwork for the PM Dahal's visit to the southern neighbour. | ✓ |  |   |
| Apart from that, PM Dahal has sent a long list of agreements he wants to sign during his visit.                                      | ✓ |  |   |
| DPM Nidhi had held discussions with Indian officials regarding the same.   | ✓ |  |   |
| A polytechnic in Chitwan under Indian assistance is also one of projects that PM Dahal will discuss during the visit.                | ✓ |  | ✓ |
| Indian PM Modi, during his visit in 2014, had pledged to accord high priority to Pancheshwor Project.                                | ✓ |  |   |

## Observation Checklists for the Analysis of Intertextuality

### Appendix - VIII

#### The Rising Nepal

| Date                    | Texts  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 19 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | <p>Speaking with the media persons at the Tribhuvan International Airport before his departure, DPM Nidhi said that his visit will be oriented towards realizing high level visits between Nepal and India. “The main objective of my visit to India is to extend an invitation to Indian President for a visit to Nepal and place request on the behalf of the government of Nepal to fix the date for the same,” Nidhi said. Similarly, the DPM shared that during his visit discussions will be held on the invitation extended by Indian Prime Minister to Prime Minister Dahal for a visit to India. He expressed his confidence that</p> |
| 20 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | <p>DPM Nidhi, who is visiting India as a special envoy of Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal, paid a courtesy call on the Indian President, said Nidhi’s personal secretary Bishwas Bikram.</p> <p>During the meeting, Indian President Mukherjee said India always wants to see peace, stability and development in Nepal.</p> <p>The high level meeting DPM Nidhi had on Friday received appreciations of Nepal government’s efforts to amend constitution and address the demands of the Madhesi political parties, added Nidhi’s secretary Bikram.</p>  |
| 21 <sup>st</sup><br>Aug | <p>The Indian Prime Minister congratulated Bimalendra Nidhi on assuming office as the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Home Affairs of Nepal. The Indian Prime Minister conveyed his greetings and best wishes to the new Government of Nepal led by Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal.</p> <p>Nidhi also raised the issues with special importance that it was necessary to explore new areas of support, apart from speeding up joint ventures like Postal Road, Inter Country Railway Service and Pacheshwor Multipurpose Project, said the New Delhi based embassy.</p>   |

## Appendix - IX

### The Himalayan Times

| Date                    | Texts  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 20 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | <p>“With the formation of a new government in Nepal, political developments are heading towards positive directions as the new dispensation is trying to accommodate all the section” a source quoted Swaraj as saying in the meeting. Nidhi informed Swaraj about Dahal government’s plan to amend the constitution to address the demands of Madhesh based parties. “One of the major priorities of the government is addressing agitating parties to ensure acceptability of the new constitution”</p>                                |
|                         | <p>Swaraj expressed full support to the government of Nepal in its efforts to hold elections, one of the most important aspects of the constitution implementation, on time as per the constitutional provisions.</p>  |
| 21 <sup>st</sup><br>Aug | <p>Modi reiterated that remaining issues should be resolved to ensure effective implementation of the constitution and peace, stability and institutionalization of democracy in Nepal, an official who accompanied Nidhi told The Himalayan Times. Modi sought to know about Nepal’s political developments following the promulgation of the constitution o September 20, 2015</p>   |
|                         | <p>Nidhi assured the Indian PM that implementation of the constitution by accommodating the aspirations of all people was the Nepal government’s top priority, said a press release issued by the embassy of Nepal in New Delhi. “The Indian President assured that the Government of India would fully support the priorities of the new Government of Nepal and expressed hope that the new government would be able to steer the country towards greater peace, stability and institutionalization of democracy” read the release</p> |
|                         | <p>CPN-MC leader Narayan KajiShrestah, who was today named chief of the Committee to Assist the Government, said the government</p>  |

|  |  |
|--|--|
|  | <p>would hold formal and informal talks with all the stakeholders in an attempt to forge consensus on issues of constitutional amendment. Shrestha said the government would hold dialogue with the UDMF first and the Nepali Congress before holding dialogue with the CPN-UML.</p>   |
|  | <p>TeraiMadhes Democratic Party Spokesperson SarvendranathSukla said he expected the government to form a taskforce in a week so that the constitution amendment bill could be tabled soon. Sukla said the taskforce would help forge consensus among the ruling parties. “Once the government and the UDMF bridge their gap, it would be easy for the taskforce to hold dialogue with the CPN-UML and other parties,” Sukla said.</p> |

**Appendix - X**  
**The Kathmandu Post**

| Date                    | Texts  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 19 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | Speaking at an interaction in Kathmandu yesterday had said both the countries were committed to making the upcoming high level exchanges between the two countries more substantive and faithful.  |
| 21 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | <p>Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi said on Saturday that his government would fully support the priorities of the government of Nepal and expressed hope that the new dispensation in Kathmandu would be able to steer the country towards greater peace. During a meeting in New Delhi on Saturday afternoon DPM and Home Minister Bimalendra Nidhi briefed Modi about developments in Nepal and handed over PM Pushpakamal Dahal's "special message" that the new government in Nepal is willing to amend the constitution to address the demands raised by the Madhesi and Janajati group.</p> <p>During Saturday's meeting, Modi stated that he "is eager to welcome PM Dahal and looking forward to early realization of the exchanges of visits at the presidents' level". "After the high-level visits, the relations between two countries will reach new heights," a delegation member, who was present in the meeting, quoted Modi as saying.</p> <p>Officials at India's Ministry of External Affairs said that PM Dahal has conveyed his desire to speed up development works in Nepal under Indian assistance rather than focusing on political and diplomatic matters and sought help from the Indian side for the same.</p> |

## Observation Checklists for the Analysis of Interdiscursivity

### Appendix - XI

#### The Rising Nepal

| Date                    | Texts   |
|-------------------------|---|
| 19 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | DPM Nidhi expressed his confidence that the visit would be successful in further bolstering ties between the two countries.   |
| 21 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | Stating that the relations between Nepal and India were not merely between the two Governments, but between the people of both countries, the Indian Prime Minister reiterated that India is committed to strengthening those traditional bonds of friendship and kinship with the people of Nepal. |
|                         | The Prime Minister said that India is fully committed to support the government and the people of Nepal in the post-earthquake reconstruction efforts. Meanwhile, RSS adds – the government’s focus is on social and economic developments of Nepal, DPM Nidhi was quoted as saying.                |

**Appendix - XII**  
**The Himalayan Times**

| Date                    | Texts  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 20 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | Nidhi's visit to Delhi on the heels of formation of the new government in Kathmandu is aimed at mending Nepal India ties that hit a new low following the promulgation of constitution in September last year. Protests in the Tarai amid Delhi's calls for "accommodating concerns of sections" and subsequent boarder blockade had resulted in frosty relations between Kathmandu and Delhi. |
|                         | Nidhi conveyed PM Dahal's message to Swaraj that Nepal wants to restore the bilateral relations of the kind the two countries enjoyed in 2014 when Indian Prime Minister NarendraModi visited Nepal.   |
| 21 <sup>th</sup><br>Aug | Nidhi underscored the need to expedite implementation of the ongoing joint venture projects particularly Hulakiroad, cross boarder railways, and the Pancheshwor Multipurpose Project. He also stressed the need to identify new areas of cooperation, read the embassy's release.   |
|                         | The agitating Federal Alliance and the United Democratic Madhesi Front want the constitution amended to address the demands, particularly, revision of provincial boundaries, citizenship issues, language issues and proportional inclusion.  |
|                         | CPN-MC leader Narayan KajiShrestah, who was today named chief of the Committee to Assist the Government, said the government would hold formal and informal talks with all the stakeholders in an attempt to forge consensus on issues of constitutional amendment.  |

**Appendix - XIII**  
**The Kathmandu Post**

| Date             | Texts   |
|------------------|---|
| 21 <sup>st</sup> | Nidhi also invited Modi to tour Janakpur, Lumbini and Muktinath.  |
| Aug              | Indian PM Modi, during his Nepal visit in 2014, had pledged to accord high priority to Pancheshwor Project. |

*Note: The observation checklists have followed Fairclough's CDA model  
(1992)*