9.1.0 In the last five chapters I attempted a description of five texts drawn from five different newspapers. The description was attempted at the levels of vocabulary, syntax and discourse. Hence the analysis was termed Lexio-Grammatical. The three grammatical functions of language as envisaged by Halliday, textual (message), ideational (representational) and interpersonal (exchange) were made use of to map the articulation of selected items in the discourse. Certain "significant" vocabulary items found in the sentences of each text were also examined from their social, economic and political perspectives. It is noted that though the news item selected from the five papers for doing the CDA is the same, each paper chooses to report it differently. Each newspaper deploys grammatical structures to highlight the events in its own way. This is revealed in the manner the textual, ideational and interpersonal choices are made by each newspaper while reporting the particular news item. The dominant textual mode has been unmarked in all the five texts we examined. A majority of the sentence structures in each of the texts are non-deviant and conform to the normal use of language. All the sentences in the
texts are declarative. In a way declarative sentences do not ask questions nor do they answer any question, but state facts as perceived. It is only in the experiential level that each text exhibits its own dominant process, which is indicative of the variations in the perception of the events. The ideology operates through dominant processes. In the five chapters I have tried to elucidate this aspect of CDA at every stage of description. In this chapter, I will take up the issue of relating the observed grammatical structures to the social structures and placing the news item in the social semiotics of the respective newspapers.

Saying that each newspaper exhibits certain unique lexico-grammatical patterns amounts to a truism. It is like saying that no two people can talk alike. But the main question is how we establish the inherent relationship between linguistic structures and social structures. If we could establish that there is a relationship between grammatical structures and social structures, we would also be establishing that the unique grammatical structures of each newspaper are the result of the different social structures prevalent in the society. It is also indeed true that there is no one to one relationship between grammatical structures and social structures. And also since linguistic structures have multiple significations, it is difficult to assign a particular ideological category to each linguistic item. Hence there is the danger of 'over reading' or
'misreading'. At this point it is good to recall what Fowler (1979, 1991) and Kress and Hodge (1979) say. They introduce the notion of 'transformations' to imply that the ideological usage is the external manifestation. But since any 'reading' is 'misreading' in any case, one can take this risk and the risk is worth taking in the context of understanding a particular discourse. Here I will take just nine grammatical structures which are found predominantly in the five texts and try to read the significations of each grammatical structure.

9.2.1 COORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION

Let me start with the major observation I made in the analysis of all the texts that a majority of the sentences are complex with a particular clause as the main (primary) and the rest of the clauses as subordinate (secondary & tertiary) clauses. Even within the subordinate clauses, it was observed, that there existed a hierarchy in the arrangement of the propositions. This hierarchical relationship was shown by using symbols as a, b, and g. The paratactic relationship in the coordinating sentences was shown in letters and numbers like a1, a2, a3, b1, b2, b3, etc. The observation that there exists a hierarchy and symmetry in the two kinds of sentences might appear to be naive, but if one thinks for a while, the serious ideological implication would be revealing. Now how do we explain the existence of such complex sentences in English language?
What are the assumptions that are made while we use complex sentences in English? Look at these examples:-

1. It is believed that the three-member Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) would also abstain at the time of voting though the same could not be confirmed from any authoritative sources in the party.

   The Hindu

2. There would be further uncertainty for the opposition if the Telugu Desam's 13 members are not present in strength and five members of Jharkhand Mukti are split over the vote.

   The Hindu

Compare the above with these:-

3. Their stand would be known only tomorrow morning but the Government has even now a majority of seven.

   The Hindustan Times

4. Mr. Chote Singh Yadav is a former Lohiate and is unlikely to go with the pressures to help the Congress.

   The Hindustan Times

Each of the above sentences above contain more than a single proposition. Now, look at the ways in which the propositions are made compatible with each other while joining them as single sentences. In sentences 2 and 3 above, the relationship between the propositions is symmetrical. The propositions are connected by coordinating conjuncts like 'and' and 'but'. In sentence 3, 'Government has even now a majority of seven' and 'Their would be known only tomorrow morning' are two different propositions. Note also the use of 'but' in sentence 3 which makes the first proposition inconsequential. Similarly in 4, Chote Singh's party
affiliation and what he might possibly do the next day are the two propositions. Thus the relationship between the propositions in the sentences is that of equals. But this is not the case in sentences 1 and 2. In 1, 'It is believed' forms the dominating proposition which is followed by a couple of propositions like 'the three-member BSP abstaining', 'the same thing could not be said ...' etc. In Sentence 2 also, the same kind of hierarchical arrangement of propositions could be seen. It is observed that sometimes the most consequential information (one which has immediate relevance) is relegated to the subordinate place, and the least consequential information (one which has no such immediate relevance) is given prominent position. Even in the order in which the main and the subordinate clauses are arranged, the places are changed according to the author's choices. In all these cases it has been noticed that the reporter/editor takes the key role to decide the importance of the proposition. When a reporter/editor of a newspaper chooses any one of these forms of bringing together the propositions in sentences, he/she is making an ideological choice to place one piece of information above the other. Thus he/she 'foregrounds' a particular piece of information for immediate comprehension of the reader and the reader consumes the propositions accordingly.

9.2.2 NOMINALIZATION

Another important observation is regarding nominalized groups. Fowler (1991, p.79) says: "English is a 'nominalizing'
Nominalization is a process of a sentence being converted into a nominal group. Some of the sentential components, like tense, modality, agents, etc., are deleted in the nominal group. Examples, 'four-member Ajit Group', 'the 532-member tenth Lok Sabha', 'the three-member Bahujan Samaj Party', etc. A nominalization compresses two verbal groups which could be spelt out in two simple sentences. As Fowler (1991) points out, "nominalization is a radical syntactic transformation of a clause which has extensive structural consequences, and offers substantial ideological opportunities" (p.80). He feels that nominalization is "inherently, potentially, mystificatory". It permits "habits of concealment, particularly in the areas of power-relations and writer's attitude" (p.80). As Hopper and Thompson (1984) point out, the state of affairs presented in a nominalization is not challengeable since it is presupposed. For example, in nominalized forms like 'The expelled Dal Leader', 'the socialist group in the Janata Dal', 'political untouchability of the BJP' etc., the presuppositions cannot be questioned. This can be noticed even in subordinating clauses (relative clauses) where events reported are supposed to be 'true', or 'presupposed'.

9.2.2 PERSONALIZATION

Personalization is another implication of nominalization. Galtung and Ruge (1973) refer to 'reference to persons' as
'personalization' which means that the news is centred round personalities and the news is evaluated in terms of its involvement with the kind of personalities in the event. Fowler (1991) uses the same term to reflect upon 'the media's infatuation with the Princess of Wales' (p.15). In all our five texts, the news event gathers importance because of the personalities involved in the event. In the news item we examined, right from the Prime Minister to the ordinary MP, all are connected with the event in one way or the other. As discussed in Chapter 3, it is not exactly for the intrinsic worth of the event that the news occupies a prominent position in the newspaper, since the outcome of such an exercise is a foregone conclusion, but because of the institutions and the important personalities involved in the event. This is reflected in our texts also. The social actor positions of each participant in the texts are either Narasimha Rao, or opposition leaders or the parties or an institution like Parliament. Consider at the headlines of each newspaper:-

Narasimha Rao Govt. may weather storm

-The Hindu

Narasimha Rao Govt. set to sail today
Ajit Singh group, SJP to abstain from vote

-The Telegraph

... Congress confident of victory

-The Times of India
In all the headlines, it is quite clear, the positioning of the social subjects are either Congress(I), Small parties, Government (meaning Congress(I) Government), Opposition parties etc. As we discussed in an earlier chapter, social subjects are the products of social practices. Hence it is but natural that their names find more prominence in the texts.

9.2.4 MODES OF SPEECH

The texts exhibit a mixture of direct and indirect modes of reporting. How does one report what someone else has said? Verbatim reporting is not possible in the news reportage. At the same time, the indirect mode of reporting involves inevitably certain ideological interpolations into news texts that are created by the reporter. Take for example the following seven sentences taken from the Hindustan text. These seven sentences form the report of what Mr. Ajit Singh said about the motion of confidence.
1. Mr. Ajit Singh said here today that his party would abstain from tomorrow's voting on the motion of thanks.

2. He made it clear that his party could not vote for an amendment moved by the BJP.

3. He also said that he did not think that this was a time for a fresh election.

4. Besides "destabilization at this juncture will lead to economic chaos".

5. Mr. Singh said that his party (Janata Dal-A) disagreed with the Government on several issues like allotment for rural sector, the treatment meted out to small-scale industries, etc.

6. He accused Mr. V.P. Singh of trying to bring down the Government with the help of BJP.

7. He said that this would bring down Mr. Singh's credibility.

In sentences 1, 3 and 7 above, the reporter tries to give an impression that he/she is just changing the mode of speech from the direct to the indirect. We are made to believe that it is just a grammatical change. The explicit motivation, of course, is that verbatim reporting is not possible throughout. Besides, since the reporter cannot report all that Mr. Singh says for want of space, he/she has to be selective. This inevitable choice that the reporter has to make, as we argued earlier, offers an opportunity for news manipulation. In sentences 2 and 6 above, the reporter's presence is explicit. 'He made it clear' and 'He accused' are the two subjective impressions of the reporter which are carried on to the readers. Since the reports should sound
authentic, and that too when something important is being said, the reporter resorts to direct reporting as one can find in sentence 5. Thus the reporter controls the words of the original speaker without overtly showing to be doing so.

9.2.5 PASSIVISATION

Agentless passive construction has been one of the important considerations in Critical Linguistics. The passive with a deleted actor is a significant usage in most of the journalistic writings. For example, in sentence 4 of the Hindu text, 'It is believed that...', the answer to a question 'It is believed by whom?' is not available. Even in a sentence like 'The price situation, inflation and public distribution system are understood to have been the main points which came up for discussion' (the Hindu text, sentence 22), the agent is absent - 'Who has understood that way?'. In another sentence, 'Mr Deve Gowda is in Bangalore and it is to be seen whether he will be present.'(the Hindu text, sentence 32). Who is the seer here? This creates an illusion that a thorough neutrality is maintained in the sentence. But, as noted earlier, a particular truth is hidden from the purview of the readers.

9.2.6 NEGATION

Negatives are used quite sparingly in the five texts we examined. Negative propositions can evoke or reject
corresponding positive propositions. Even with a simple negative, the positive must be understood so that the reader knows what is actually negated. In other words, both the reporter and the reader must know the positive form in order to comprehend the negative. When the negation is coupled with modality, the interpretation consists of reversing successive operations, so that the reader recreates the original process and reaches the original proposition in its positive form. Kress and Hodge (1979) explain this process by making use of Chomskayan paradigm of transformations. However, the main issue is why people use negatives. For example, in a sentence like '...it would not like to vote along with BJP to bring down the Government', why not use the affirmative form of 'it would not like to'? It appears that the negative process involves the denial of the positive. For instance using a proposition like 'vote against the amendment' instead of 'it would not like to vote along with...' does not serve the purpose of not liking to do something. There is a difference between the expression of negation and the expression of affirmation. For instance, a word like 'hate' cannot be equivalent to 'do not like' since 'do not like' does not entail necessarily 'hate'. In other words, One need not necessarily 'hate' a person if he has chosen 'not to like' him/her.
9.2.7 APPOSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

O'Toole (1993) says "apposition is a curious kind of grammatical structure... or non-structure." (p.36) Here the propositions are related to each other paratactically without resorting to a conjunction, a preposition, nor a linking clause to establish the connection between two nominal groups. According to O'Toole, embedding 'reflects, along with the stress on precise facts and figures, the obsession journalists have with factual accuracy' (p.37). I wish to add further that the use of appositive construction is very helpful for journalists to sound authentic. But the authenticity is only partial. Take for instance a construction like 'the five-member Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM), its own [National Front's] constituent' (sentence 9, Hindu). Here no doubt the structure 'its own constituent' is the truth but this truth after being juxtaposed with the nominal group gives wrong signals about the inability of National Front in mobilizing 'its own constituent' and as a contrast the ruling party has been able to mobilize not only its own but also other party MPs. Thus while giving a piece of precise information, the reporter is also making a value judgement.

9.2.8 TRANSITIVITY

One of the primary functions of Language is that it empowers human beings to build a mental picture of reality and to make
sense of what is going on around them such as someone doing something, having a feeling of something, something happening, being, etc. These processes are organised in clauses and transitivity specifies the different types of processes and the structures by which they are expressed.

A detailed analysis of the transitivity structures in the five texts has revealed that the dominant transitivity pattern in each text is different. In the Hindu text, the verbal process which entails a presentation of speech event (either from the reporter's perspective or from the participants' perspective) is the dominant transitivity pattern. Note that only one participant is involved in the action here and the affected are the readers. When the reporter chooses to present a particular event through verbal process, he/she is choosing to report what someone said rather than himself/herself saying anything. However, the reporter exercises a certain control over the matter to be reported as well as the mode of reporting -- that is, where to quote and where to interpret. Here the reporter's own ideological bias is most likely to influence the narrative. In the Hindustan text, a majority of the clauses exhibit the intensive attributive process. By implication the transitivity patterns in the text denote that the process is oriented towards attributing qualities to the participants. In the Times text, a majority of the clauses exhibit the verbal process as in the case of the Hindu text. In the Telegraph text, we find both intensive
attributive process and verbal process in a large number of clauses. In the Statesman, a majority of clauses exhibit the material process which involves reporting of concrete actions where the participant relationships with the concrete action are ideologically motivated.

There are other processes like mental, abstract material, and existential in the five texts we examined. Ideological possibilities of these processes are explained when we analysed them in the previous chapters. One point that is to be made here is that ideology largely determines the transitivity patterns. The five texts which draw their ideologies both institutionally and individually express them (their ideologies) in the transitivity patterns.

9.2.9 MODALITY & MOOD

The use of modals like 'may', 'can', 'could', 'will', 'would', 'should' etc., in the five texts was analysed in the interpersonal component section of the last five chapters. We noted that the modality expresses the reporter's attitude towards personalities, events, actions, circumstances, etc. Modals offer an excellent scope for the reporter to represent the reality in the way he/she perceives it. It is in the reporter's perception of the news event and the reporting of the same where the ideological possibilities are found. A modal like 'may' may adds a tentative texture to the discourse. While usually the
reporters tend to report events as 'categorical truth'—'facts' without median modal operators like 'may', 'might', 'can' 'could', we have found the reporters using modals to indicate the probability of the forthcoming event. This may be because of the delicate nature of the issue wherein all the powerful politicians are involved. It is for the same reason that though the Press had realised that everything might go well for the ruling party, and since opposition stalwarts are also equally powerful, the papers had to be careful in their evaluation. In fact the process of news gathering and news production is a clumsy affair. Particularly in a report like the one we examined, the reporter has to cull out information from a number of sources. But modality forms help the reporter to cover up the clumsiness in the reporting and make the report look transparent.

Mood structure is also affected by modality. The reporter's judgements of probabilities involved in what he/she says eventually affect the exchange structure. We have noted that almost all sentences in the texts we examined have declarative sentences. This is in consonance with the newspaper register which primarily presents a set of statements or arguments. The tentativeness of the statements and arguments are increased by the modal structure. For instance, in "Abstentions may save Cong-I", the headline of the Statesman text, the mood structure is affected by the modal 'may'—that is, the statement is made ad hoc by the use of the modal which otherwise could have given the
statement some definiteness. To neutralize this, the reporter/the news editor adds another line- "Small parties to support". The tentativeness gets cancelled by the fact the 'small parties' are supportive. Thus by a combination of mood and modal structure newspapers achieve the right kind of ideological slant that they meant to favour.

9.3.0 THE FIVE PAPERS IN COMPARISON

Analyses of the five texts at the discoursal, rather at the suprasentential level, was taken up separately in the last five chapters. In this section, I make an effort to generalize some of the major trends found in the news reports.

It was observed that all the five newspapers were disposed positively towards the ruling party. All the papers expected that the ruling party will not have any major problem in the Parliament. Their expectations, of course, came true. But there are ideological reasons for the different ways in which each paper came to the conclusion. It was observed that the Hindu text consisted of 41 sentences arranged in 25 paragraphs, the Hindustan text 37 in 17, the Times 27 in 27, the Telegraph 31 in 18 and finally the Statesman 57 in 22. This observation prompts a question: why do the texts have varying number of sentences to report almost the same thing. In other words, if all the newspapers have to come to the same conclusion and if all of them get the same input, why do they differ so much even in terms of
volume? While stylistic differences are bound to occur in newspapers, variations in terms of number of sentences and the content that each text carries is something to be thought about. It is also to be noted that each newspaper tries to come to the same conclusion through a particular perspective only. If the Hindu text projects the views of the centrist and regional parties, the Statesman text comes to almost the same conclusion by packing the text with the views of various parties and evaluates the situation by taking into consideration the arithmetics of the voting pattern. In the Telegraph text, the same conclusion is arrived at without any positive or negative attitude towards the social subjects in the discourse. The subject positions in all the texts except the Statesman are occupied by the political personalities and parties. For the Statesman, the event and the reasons for the event are more important than the political personalities. It has also been observed that the contextual and the intertextual clues that are available in the texts do place the report in a particular perspective. As it was pointed out earlier, Mr. Ajit Singh's statement 'elections would fuel inflation' makes better sense in the Telegraph text since the view of Mr. Singh is prompted by a question from press persons. Each newspaper differs from the others in giving the details of the event. All newspapers are selective in offering both contextual and intertextual details and it is here that we find the ideology operating. In a way all
the newspaper reports are partial and no newspaper can claim to be completely comprehensive. But each newspaper achieves some amount of comprehensiveness if only to make the readers be aware of various developments. In this sense, the Times text seems to be least comprehensive and the Statesman text most comprehensive. The other texts, Hindu, Hindustan, and Telegraph, are located in between. It also seems to be a fact that the news is not made comprehensive by the amount of information given. In fact the Times text has more information about Mr. Advani’s speech and Mr. Hanumantha Rao’s appeal to the opposition parties. The Hindustan text also gives some other information which is not found in other four newspapers. But as we noticed the Statesman text achieves greater comprehensiveness, because the material is presented from a particular perspective. The point that emerges out of this observation is that newspapers must necessarily have a perspective if the paper has to be readable. Besides thematic coherence is one of the important considerations for comprehensiveness. In the Telegraph text, despite the fact that no stand is overtly taken, the news report is not only intelligible but also gives an impression of comprehensiveness (in fact, this could be the stand of the paper).

9.4.0 EXPLANATIONS

So far I tried to bring out the salient grammatical features and their relationship with some of the social structures. I also tried to interpret the text at the discoursal level. These
stages were descriptive and interpretative wherein the features of the texts were closely examined and interpreted. There is nothing new in this kind of enumeration. In fact many critical linguists have pointed out the relationship between the grammatical structures and social features more succintly in their analyses. But the questions that are much more important and relevent are:- Why certain social structures (in relation to grammatical structures as found in the texts) exist in the way they are? What are the social, economic, political and cultural compulsions which force the social structures to remain as they are? What would be the effect of the news on the readers in the socio-economic context in which they are placed?

In a vast country like India where a majority of the people are illiterates, journalism reaches only a microscopic minority. English newspapers have a much more limited readership since English newspaper reading is an urban middle class addiction. The social positioning of the middle class is also that of the privileged. In India where the underprivileged in terms of social, economic and political positions are far more in number than the privileged, it becomes imperative for the privileged institutions like the Press to mediate, reproduce and even create dominant ideological values. English journalism in India, like English education, is involved in this process of creating dominant values for the consumption of the people. It is hard to believe that the values of the microscopic urban middle class
elite have always been in a commanding position. In this sense Manmohan Singh's budget though political in nature is sociologically very important. The middle class clamour for consumer goods has a pronounced socio-economic and cultural value. No amount of socialist preachings can stop the consumer imperialism of the west. The fascination for TVs, Washing Machines, Stereo Amplifiers, Maruti Cars and such other gadgets continues to exist. Manmohan Singh's budget is after all a projection of a consumer dream for a western kind of life. Thus if the newspapers take the side of the ruling party, it cannot be surprising.

It was noted that the five newspapers are published from the four metropolitan cities in India—The Statesman and The Hindustan Times from Delhi, The Telegraph from Calcutta, The Times of India from Bombay, and The Hindu from Madras. We mentioned that the readers of these newspapers are the English educated urban middle class. So the newspapers have to keep the audience in mind when they are covering the news of the country. In a context like this, English newspapers, irrespective of their geographical nature (within India) and their economic management continue to be a middle class phenomenon. The middle class reporters are in no way different from the readers. They also belong to the same socio-economic class of the readers. So there is a tacit understanding between readers and reporters. Both are supportive of the system which perpetrates domination.
When it comes to the exertion of power, newspapers probably do not demonstrate the same kind of power structure that is prevalent in other interactive discourses where the speaker and the hearer relationship is well established. It could be said that a newspaper has a one-way traffic. The readers' response is a purely private thing and therefore has no effect. The reporters thus construct an 'ideal' reader in their own mind and address their report to him/her. The actual reader must reconstruct himself/herself into this 'ideal' position while reading the news.

But how do the newspapers exercise power? It seems to be the case that reporters have power over the readers in the sense that the reporters have a choice, (a) to select the event to be reported and (b) to represent the news in their own way. Who is actually exercising power here? Could we say that it is the reporter who reports the event? But as we know the institution of Press with its own Editorial policies largely decides the reporting. In that case the reporter is mediating the institutional representation of news through his/her writing. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, if an event has to become newsworthy, there are many factors to be taken into consideration. It is not for the intrinsic worth that a news item becomes prominent. The prominence of a particular event is dependent mainly on political factors. Even in the reporting of the Budget, it was realised that the perspective of the newspaper was dominant in the
discourse. However, we have to examine whether the newspaper discourse really 'manipulates' the readers' responses. It is rather a difficult question. How do we say that this news item 'manipulates' readers' views? It seems to me that 'manipulation' is not done overtly as it is done in the case of political or religious propaganda. 'Manipulation' is a much subtler process in this particular event. We noticed in the Statesman text, there is a suggestion that all parties must support Narasimha Rao Government. The grammatical structures chosen by the reporter facilitate him/her in making the point. Besides, the reader, who is a middle class elite, prefers to be influenced by the newspaper quite willingly. There are people in South India who 'prescribe' reading of The Hindu for their children for not only learning good English but also for the values projected by the paper.

The national budget of 1991 came as a boon to the middle class elite since this class in this country always yearned for globalization of Economy as they are influenced by the urbanised west. The newspaper industry is predominantly managed by the capitalist class. Besides, these newspaper owners have their own other business interests. Sometimes the business policies of the newspaper are reflected in the news reportage. Thus since Manmohan Singh's budget is also very beneficial to the newspaper owners, the papers have to support the budget, though
implicitly, by asking the parties to vote against the amendments mooted by the opposition.

9.5.0 CONCLUSIONS: TOWARDS A SOCIAL SEMIOTICS OF THE NEWSPAPER

In this study, for the reasons stated in chapter 3, I had to content myself by selecting only one prominent news item in the five newspapers. Analysis and interpretation of the item in five newspapers has taken so much of space and time. It is not possible here to treat all the news items in the papers in the same way so that the exact operation of ideology of each newspaper could be understood. However, our analysis, I think, is sufficiently revealing.

The news item that was selected is part of the total sign system offered by the newspaper. The sign system is not just linguistic but visual also. I did not attempt to analyse the role of visual signs in the newspaper since I was more concerned with the linguistic part. A social semiotic study involves analysis of all the sign systems available in the discourse like photographs, pictures, cartoons, etc. By analysing the linguistic signs in the discourse, we have touched upon the power relations and the ideology behind the production and comprehension of news. We have also recognised that use of Language is not a neutral activity and studying the grammar of a Language in isolation without connecting the Language and its
'use' in Society is a useless exercise. Further analysis in terms of the types that are used in printing the news item, location of news item in the paper, the lay out of the paper and so on will certainly yield more comprehensive results. In the Indian context asymmetrical relations of power and its related issues are more conspicuous because of vast disparities in education, employment and socio-economic conditions. A genuine concern for the rest of the community should enable the researchers to make use of the theoretical insights to reflect upon what is happening around. A dissemination of such a reflection would help the community to recognise and decondition themselves to the social practices. This kind of study is only a first step towards that end.