Narasimha Rao Govt. may weather storm

From Our Special Correspondent

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On the eve of the crucial voting on the motion of thanks to the President's address in the Lok Sabha, the Narasimha Rao Government faces another challenge which threatens the very survival of the party in power.

With the decision of the four-member AITC group and the Rajasthan Janata Dal to abstain from the voting process, the Rajat Janata Dal itself faces a possible realignment or a completely new formation. The Alliance Janata Dal (AID) has already decided to abate their automatic voting on the motion of thanks to the President's address in the Lok Sabha.

With the support of the BJD, the Alliance Janata Dal and the Malwa Congress, the government has managed to form a new government in Punjab. However, the Loksabha members from the three states, Punjab, Haryana and Chandigarh, have already decided to abstain from voting on the motion of thanks to the President's address in the Lok Sabha.

Focus on Opposition

As the strategy of the major opposition parties continues, the situation in the Lok Sabha is likely to deteriorate further. The BJP has already decided to abstain from voting on the motion of thanks to the President's address in the Lok Sabha. The Congress has also decided to abstain from voting on the motion of thanks to the President's address in the Lok Sabha.

Sangh parivar Announces Support

The Sangh parivar has announced its support to the motion of thanks to the President's address in the Lok Sabha. The RSS, VHP and VMU have already decided to support the motion of thanks to the President's address in the Lok Sabha.

Ajit Singh explains

The Prime Minister-designate, Dr. Manmohan Singh, has already announced his support to the motion of thanks to the President's address in the Lok Sabha. The Prime Minister-designate has also announced that the government would continue to work towards the welfare of the people.

Front Left Front continues to support the motion of thanks to the President's address in the Lok Sabha. The Front Left Front, comprising the CPI, CPI(M), RSP and others, has already decided to support the motion of thanks to the President's address in the Lok Sabha.

The motion of thanks to the President's address in the Lok Sabha is likely to be a critical test for the government and the opposition parties. The situation in the Lok Sabha is likely to deteriorate further as the opposition parties continue to express their reservations.
CHAPTER FOUR

DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE HINDU TEXT

4.0.0 The Hindu is one of the important English dailies in south India. Founded in the year 1878, the newspaper has the distinction of becoming one of the pioneer newspapers in the country during the nationalist movement. The paper is owned by Kasturi and Sons who have other commercial concerns also. The paper is published simultaneously in seven cities in south India and the combined circulation exceeds 4,18,058 copies. N.Ravi is presently the Editor of the daily. The paper is known for its 'non-polemical' writings though there are exceptions like the investigative reports on Bofors scandal wherein the former Prime Minister is reported to have been involved. The readers of The Hindu have been mostly the middle class whose affinity to the English language and culture is strong. The readers of the paper have always been the kind of people who have the distinct advantage of being the 'elite' of the society. Politically also the readers have generally been centrists. The subject positions of both the reader and the reporter determine the course of discourse.

There are several linguistic features that are significant in the text of The Hindu (hereafter 'the Hindu
Basically the text exhibits a certain uniqueness in terms of its style and political perceptions.

4.1.0 Lexico-Grammatical Analysis of the Hindu Text

Narasimha Rao Govt. May Weather Storm

Vocabulary:

'Narasimha Rao Govt.': The government is called Narasimha Rao Government and not Indian Government. This is the strategy called synecdoche or 'part for the whole' - the part in this case is the 'head' of the cabinet.

'weather' and 'storm': The two words, the former for the resistance to be offered by the Government and latter for the criticisms of the opposition. 'Storm', a word drawn from the lexicon of weather report, is used to reflect what happens in the Parliament. Notice here that a metaphor is being used to explain that Rao's Government can offer a good resistance to the onslaught of the opposition, which is presented as a 'natural disaster'. There could also be another interpretation: "weather the storm" may also connotate "riding out of the storm".
1. On the eve of the crucial voting on the motion of thanks to the President's address in the Lok Sabha, the Narasimha Rao Government appears to be in a comfortable position to tide over what has been billed as the first major political challenge which threatens the very survival of the regime.

Syntax:

A prepositional phrase occupies the theme position. The subject is in the rheme. The prepositional phrase determines the circumstantial element of time, space and manner. The subject is followed by a tentative verb 'appears'. The process involved is that of mental (since 'appears' has to do with mind) with senser and phenomenon as participants. (It could be argued that this is a case of relational attributive process since 'appears to be' sometimes be interpreted as a 'being' clause. However, I wish to take this as a mental process since the connotation is more of that of a mental activity, 'appearance' has to do with the perception.) The infinitive clauses give additional information.
about the event. Note the continuation of "sea" metaphor - 'tie over' in this sentence.

2. With the decision of the four member Ajit Singh group and five member Janata Party to abstain from the voting process, the National Front-Left Front combine and the Bharatiya Janata Party have no chance of carrying through their amendments on price situation.

Vocabulary:

'four member Ajit Singh Group' and 'five member Janata Party': the Ajit Group contains only four members of parliament, and the Janata Party has five members (as opposed to Congress-I group which contains 260 MPs.). Though for practical reasons the two groups are useful to the Congress party right now, these groups are just splinter groups with people of no consequence in the present politics. However, in the number game of democratic politics, even 'the splinter groups' (see below) carry weight. Since the support of these two groups is in a way assured by their 'refusal' to vote, there is no cause for any worry for the government and hence the statement in the rhematic position.

Syntax:

The prepositional phrase occupies the theme position. The prepositional phrase could be taken as a minor clause with an infinitive verb. The phrase has the function of determining the
circumstantial element of manner. The process involved is abstract material (as the sentence involves doing something without any material objects) with actor and goal as specified participants. The negative polarity of the finite temporal verbal operator along with the subjects determine the mood of the sentence.

3. Given the arithmetic in the 532-member 10th Lok Sabha, it is the splinter groups which hold the key for survival of the Government and the decision of the two major groups commanding nine members to throw their lot behind the Government is enough to ward off any threat.

Vocabulary:

'splinter groups': Has the denotation of groups which have become 'independent' by breaking away from a larger organisation. These groups cannot form a government on their own, but can help or destroy the ruling party at moments of crisis like this when the ruling party is not numerically strong.

'survival': A state of continuing existence in not very happy circumstances.

'commanding': Because of voting, every MP becomes important for both the ruling and the opposition parties. This also reflects the opportunistic politics that are played by the politicians.
'throw their lot': To choose and accept its fate with others. This has the implication that the group is going to stand by the Congress (who were till recently their enemies).

'to ward off': The effort to prevent some unpleasant thing affecting you or harming you. The danger is foreseen and they have to stand together.

'threat': An indication that an undesirable event or catastrophe may occur.

Syntax:
The prepositional phrase acts as the theme of the sentence and acts also as a circumstantial element of manner. The descriptive nominal group establishes the numerical strength of the parliament. The cleft sentence construction (thematic equative) actually fronts 'the splinter groups' as the topic and also puts the focus on the topic. The A1 clause has a possessive attributive as process. The coordinating conjunction that follows connects the A1 clause to the A2 clause. A2 contains a highly descriptive nominal group which is also the theme. The process involved is that of intensive attributive with carrier and attribute as participants. Since the subject and the finite in both the clauses are unmarked, the mood elements determine the sentence as a declarative.
4. 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.

**Syntax:**

The theme of the sentence is the a clause which exhibits a mental process participant (senser). The two clauses that the a clause have are related to each other hypotactically. But it is only the first clause (Ba) which follows the a clause which has the hypotactic relationship with it. The clause that follows the Ba clause which may be called the BB clause has no relationship with the a clause. The Ba clause has a nominal group which is numerically descriptive. The process involved is material since 'abstaining at the time of voting' is rather a physical activity. It is to be noted here that this could also be taken as behavioural process since 'abstain' is a conscious act of 'doing something'. There is a thin line dividing material process and behavioural process. I would rather prefer to take this as material process since 'abstaining' is primarily an act of doing something either consciously or unconsciously. It is not a behaviour like 'coughing', 'dreaming' etc. It is a concrete act with or without the involvement of the mind. The median modal operator in the clause 'would', is indicative of the level of probability of the action. The circumstantial element of time is revealed in the prepositional clause that follows the verbal
group. However, the *aa* clause has a hypotactic relationship with the *ba* clause. The process involved is that of mental with the senser and the phenomenon as participants. The circumstantial element is determined by the manner which is stated in the prepositional phrase.

At the interpersonal level, the sentence exhibits the narrator's interference in the discourse. The *a* clause which has a deictic marker, 'It', does not have any reference. It is in a way an empty word participating in the passivization of the sentence, 'It is believed'- the agentive 'by' is suppressed. The effect is one of generalization: 'People believe'. How authentic or unauthentic is the belief? Note that 'belief' does not entail any truth.

5. Ironically, as the strategy of the major splinter groups unfolded, the suspense was no longer on the survival of the government but on the ability of the opposition to muster its full strength.

Vocabulary:

'strategy': A word which is used to express the capability of fighting a war or conducting a game - the skill that is needed for fighting a battle - here it is used as a skill of achieving a purpose.
'major splinter groups': Compare this nominal group with that of 
the group in sentence 3. It is interesting to note that even in 
the 'splinter groups' there could be major and minor types.

'unfolded': A thing which reveals itself gradually to the 
mind/vision. Note the dramatic significance in this usage.

'the suspense': Refers to a sense of anxious expectancy or 
uncertainty which usually develops while waiting for a decision 
or outcome, keeping the state of uncertainty for some time. 
Again this contributes to the dramatic significance of the 
discourse.

'ability': Denotes to the skill or power of sufficient quantity 
to deal with something. Goes along with the connotation of war or 
game.

'muster its full strength': Refers to something meant to 
gather together its full strength, to become a full strength. The usage 
is in tune with the earlier vocabulary items which signify a war 
situation. Note the aspect of physicality associated with the 
word 'muster'.

Syntax:

The theme of the clause is the adverbial adjunct. The clause 
precedes the clause. The clause is a clause of 'proportion' 
(cf.Leech and Svartvik, 1986) wherein the circumstances of
equivalent tendencies are compared by the introduction of 'as'. The process involved in the clause is that of material since the 'unfolding of suspense' is an event, a happening brought about by actor/s. The α clause (which could be called correlative conjunction -- cf. Leech and Svartik, 1986) which follows the β clause, has the coordination of two structures which is made more emphatic by the introduction of 'no...but...'structure. The process involved is abstract material process since the participants are abstract actor/s and abstract goal/s. The adverbial 'Ironically' is the authorial point of view. The comment that the opposition may not be able to 'muster its full strength' forms the basis of the argument in the sentence. Look at the construction: 'no ... but...' again. It is in fact a balancing act. The whole sentence is moulded in a coordinated structure. However, the adverbial 'Ironically' tilts towards the authorial aspiration that the Government should not fall. The strange combination of complex and compound sentence to make it a compounded sentence is in tune with the total structure of the Hindu text. The neither-this-nor-that-attitude of The Hindu is very well reflected here. However, the uncertainty of the early part of the sentence is transferred onto a composite one. The inability of the opposition to convince itself about the dangers involved in the liberalization of Economy is also prominent here. 'The suspense no longer...' presupposes that there existed some suspense before. Hereafter the suspense would be of a different nature. Congress-I would survive the crisis 'somehow'. But
whether the opposition parties would be able to come together to fight the 'evils' of Governmental policies are significant points. Consider the text again. 'the ability of the opposition' - it is not the conviction that matters here but it is the 'ability' to 'muster' the strength that is primarily important. Ironically, this is the essence of numbers-game-democracy.

6. The focus of the attention tomorrow will be on how many of the 225 members of the Opposition would be present and participate in the voting process.

Syntax:

The subject is the nominal group functioning as the theme of the sentence along with the adverb 'tomorrow'. The mood is unmarked. The median modal operator, 'will', gives the hint about the possibility of the action. The process involved is mental since there is a cognition of what is going to happen the next day. The participants are the senser and the phenomenon. The circumstantial elements are both space, time and manner.

Number is a very important criterion in a parliamentary democracy. Most of the acts in Indian parliament are passed by what is often called a 'brute' majority. Hence the mention of the number of the opposition members, viz 225, is ideologically well within the framework of the Indian politics. The number
here (225) comes as a contrast to the number mentioned in sentence 3 namely 532. The point that opposition members are more in number is not at all mentioned. The distinct advantage of the opposition, particularly in the post Indira-Rajiv period, is not highlighted anywhere in the discourse.

'The focus of attention': We are not told whose focus of attention -- that of the MPs, of people of India, of the media persons or of all of them. Note how the nominal construction makes this lack of specificity possible and grammatically valid.

7. The vote on the motion is as much a prestige issue for the opposition as the ruling party given the build-up in the last four days.

Vocabulary:

'prestige issue': All the political parties firmly believe that they have a 'prestige' to keep up in the eyes of the people. Considering the kind of image that the politicians have built up in the post-independent era, it is rather difficult to accept that prestige is the real issue here. It is only to assert their own power, the power that is the result of having won in a constituency. It seems to be a fact that every political party is looked at with certain amount of scepticism. The party - words are always taken with a pinch of salt. It is also believed
that personal egos of each party - person is at stake in the discussions held at the parliament rather than the real issues that concern the common man.

Syntax:

The theme of the sentence is the nominal group which is also the subject. Hence unmarked and declarative. The process involved is that of intensive attributive with the carrier and the attribute as the participants. The relationship between the two nominal groups in the complement position is that of a paratactic nature. The verbal group which follows the complement acts as a postmodifier of the entire sentence.

8. All available indications are that while there may be abstentions from both the ruling and opposition sides, the former is definitely better prepared than the other.

Syntax:

The subject of the sentence is also the theme. Hence the theme is unmarked. The alpha clause exhibits the attributive relational function. There is of course a paratactic relationship between the three clauses. The use of the modal verb 'may', as a contrast to the other two auxiliary verbs in the alpha and gamma clauses, is indicative of the tentativeness of one important factor amidst the two eventualities. The nominal
group 'All available indications' is indicative of the journalistic game. Where were the indications available? What are those indications? Who made them available? These questions are answered by just a discourse marker 'For instance' in the next sentence.

9. For instance, till Sunday evening the National Front had not managed to establish contact with the five-member Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM), its own constituent.

Syntax:

'For instance' is the theme of the sentence. The theme is thus marked. The adverbial of time is followed by the nominal group. The finite element is constituted by the high modal operator 'had'. The subject 'the National Front' and the finite element join together to establish the mood of the sentence. At the ideational level, there could be some confusion in the processes involved -- since they involve both doing and talking. Hence it could be said that they are both material and verbal. The participants consist of both the actor/sayer and goal/target. The nominalized group 'it's own constituent' which comes as a comment is appositive in nature. The group is also able to inform us of the relationship between the two participants.

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10. Whether or not the JMM members would be present in the Lok Sabha at the time of voting would be known only tomorrow.

Syntax:

The alternative conditions projected by the parallel conjunction 'Whether or not' specify two contrasting conditions—(i) JMM members would be present, (ii) JMM members would not be present. Both these propositions are presented in the conjunction in the thematic position. In the (conditional) \( \text{a} \) clause, the process involved is that of material, since being present somewhere amounts to a material action. The participants involved are actor and goal. In the \( \text{a} \) clause the subject is ellipted. In this clause, there is mental process since 'knowing' is a mental activity. The circumstantial element of space and time is revealed through the two clauses.

11. Despite the three-line whip issued to all the members of the Janata Dal to be present and vote on the amendments to the official motion, there is a possibility of a couple of the party members who continue to maintain liaison with Mr. Ajit Singh defying the party whip and abstaining from voting.

Vocabulary:

'the three-line whip': The descriptive nominal group informs us about the nature of the 'whip' issued.
'couple of party workers': The 'couple' is not named. Who are those 'couple of party workers'? What are their names? How did the reporter come to know of them and their position?

'a possibility': The complement, 'a possibility', indicates that there is no certainty about what is said, but still it is said.

Syntax:

The hypotactic clause theme extends up to the end of the subordinate clause. The positioning of the subordinate clause in the thematic position makes the intention of the reporter quite clear. The principal marker of hypotactic enhancing clause, 'Despite', is indicative of the reporter's understanding that the whole exercise is rather futile. The theme exhibits another feature — the absence of an agent in the passive construction. The person who issues the 'whip' becomes important in the faction ridden Janata Dal party. However, the reporter does not report that since he has already made up his mind to go in favour of Congress party. The theme also contains the nominalized form like 'the three-line whip' which is descriptive in nature. The description of the whip, whether it is three lines or four lines, is irrelevant. This is the place where a clever reporting of the detail and clever deletion of another detail coincides to give a hint as to the point of view of the narrator. 'there is a possibility' is a modal grammatical metaphor.
12. Of the 13-member Telugu Desam group, at least one member is likely to be absent at the time of voting in view of his domestic preoccupation.

**Vocabulary**

'domestic preoccupation': Would 'domestic preoccupation' be cited as a legitimate reason for not attending a crucial parliament session? It is possible that the politicians can do it. It only shows the kind of commitment the member has towards the issue.

'the 13-member Telugu Desam Group': The nominal group, is a characteristic usage in this paper. The nominalization process involved tells us about the strength of the Telugu Desam party which is part of NF. It is again shown as to how much of support the ruling party can get out of abstentions.

**Syntax:**

The prepositional phrase occupies the theme position making it a marked one. The theme is demarcated from the rest of the sentence by a comma. The rheme position of the sentence which begins with conjunctive adjunct (having an interpersonal function of presenting the view of the author) is corrective in nature. The overt adhocism expressed in the word 'likely' collaborates with 'at least'. The process involved is intensive attributive. The participant function is that of beneficiary.
circumstantial function of the sentence is both spatial and
temporal.

13. Telugu Desam sources said the member had obtained permission
from the Parliamentary Party leader to stay away from the voting
process.

Vocabulary

'Telugu Desam sources': There is a certain amount of vagueness in
this usage. How do you describe the source? Does it mean the
Telugu Desam Parliamentary party or the Press secretary of Telugu
Desam Pary? What is the source? In what way could the source be
called authentic?

Syntax:

The theme is topical and also the subject of the sentence. Hence
unmarked. Though the source of the information is indicated, the
name of the member who is abstaining and the name of the leader
who has granted permission to abstain are not given. At the
interpersonal level, the sentence adopts a neutral mood with
subject and finite areas well defined and the participant
functions also well defined. The process involved is verbal
which consists of participants who are sayers and receivers
(targets) in the reported speech.
14. As for the Bharatiya Janata Party, its leaders are already on record that they have no intention to topple the Government and their decision to move amendments to the official motion is only to drive home the feeling of the party on prices and inflation.

Vocabulary:

'topple the Government': Refers to the discourse of game. The 'toppling' game is foreseen.

Syntax:

The theme of the sentence is the prepositional phrase. But the subject of the sentence comes in the rheme position. The prepositional phrase acts as a reflexive. The rest of the sentence has three clauses. The first clause is hypotactically related to the second clause. The first is a and the second is B1. The third one is a coordinating clause paratactically related to B. Hence B2.

In the a clause, the theme and the subject are one and the same. The process involved is that of intensive attributive with the carrier and attribute as participants. The circumstantial element of manner is revealed in the complement. The adverbial 'already' offers the comment of the reporter.
In the B1 clause, the theme and the subject are the same. The process involved is that of mental since 'intention' relates to the mind. The participants involved are sensor and phenomenon. The circumstantial element is that of manner.

In the B2 clause, the nominal group is the theme of the clause. The nominal group is compounded by many prepositional phrases which do the postmodifying work. The process involved is that of abstract mental since 'driving home' involves action of the mind. The participants involved are senser and phenomenon. The circumstantial element is that of manner.

15. The statement of Mr. L.K. Advani in Ahmedabad on Saturday that the Government may not fall has been interpreted as an indication that if necessary the BJP itself would come to the rescue of the Rao Government despite assertions by the party leaders that it is not the responsibility of the BJP to ensure survival of the Government.

Syntax:
The sentence has very interesting and a somewhat complicated structure. The subject and the theme of the sentence are the same. The subject refers only to what the sayer (Mr. Advani) said rather than to the person himself. The interpretative procedure involved here is quite complex. The foregrounding of
'The statement' rather than 'Mr.L.K.Advani said' indicates that the stress is more on the statement. There are two clauses, \(a\) and \(\beta\). But even within the \(a\) clause after the nominal group there is an embedded clause which functions as an adjunct. Since the status of the embedded clause is down ranked, let us not take it up. Then the \(a\) clause has mental process (since 'interpretation' has to be a mental activity) with senser and phenomenon as participants. The prepositional group after the nominal group determines the circumstantial element of time and space. The clause is declarative since the subject and the finite are unmarked. In the \(\beta\) clause, there are two subclauses which are hypotactically related, \(\beta_a\) and \(\beta_B\). In both the clauses, the processes involved are abstract material with actors and goals as participants.

16. The Congress(I) on its part, is fully geared to meet the challenge posed by the combined Opposition and the Prime Minister, Mr.P.V. Narasimha Rao, himself has had a number of sessions with the floor managers of the party to chalk out the strategy of the Government.

Vocabulary:

'geared' and 'to chalk out': are two important metaphors which refer to machanical acts of getting oneself ready for the
forthcoming event; used here in consonance with the discourse created that it is more of a play rather than something serious.

Syntax:

The theme of the sentence is subject and topic and hence it is unmarked. The adjunct which could be called prepositional phrase attached to the theme, 'on its part', seems to have an interpersonal function, as a residue, to inform the reader of the game in parliamentary democracy. In the a1 clause of the sentence, the process involved is abstract material since 'gearing to meet the challenge' is both physical and mental. The infinite construction 'to...' places the clause in a particular circumstance. Note the passive construction has a well defined agent 'the combined opposition'.

The appositional structure in the a2 clause, 'the Prime Minister, Mr.P.V.Narasimha Rao' reinforces the players at work. The man who has been gearing himself to fight in the parliament is none other than the Prime Minister himself and opposite to him are the divided opposition parties. So the result is obvious. The participants in the sentence are the Prime Minister, P.V.Narasimha Rao, Opposition and 'a number of party managers'. The process involved is that of abstract material since 'had a number of sessions' amounts to the holding or doing something abstract.

17. Mr. Rao has indicated to his partymen -- in what is
essentially seen as a strategy to ensure the presence of all Congress(I) members -- that survival of the Government depended on their attendance and if the Government were to lose on the President's motion he would not hesitate to resign and seek a fresh mandate.

*Syntax:

The theme is the a clause. The subject and the finite of the clause indicate that the clause is declarative. The process involved is that of verbal (since 'indication' is given through talking) with sayer and target as participants. The circumstantial element of manner is revealed in the prepositional phrase which is put between the two clauses. Clause b which is in hypotactic relationship with clause a, is of enhancing nature. The clause a locutes clause g which is also in hypotactic relationship with the clause. In all the dependent clauses the process involved is that of abstract material with actors and goals specified as participants.

18. He has entrusted all the members in the Council of Ministers with the task of ensuring the presence of MPs from different States.

*Syntax:

The pronoun is the theme of the sentence. The mood structure of
the sentence is clear. The sentence is declarative with the subject (which is topic of the sentence) being followed by the finite. The process involved is that of material with actor and attribute as participants. The prepositional phrase that occupies the rheme position determines the circumstantial elements of manner and space.

19. The Congress(I) sources are hopeful that all members of the party would turn up at the time of voting.

Syntax:

There is a change in the subject position -- from the prime minister to the congress institution. The subject, topic and theme are one and the same. The process involved is one of attributive with Congress (I) as the carrier, and 'hopeful' as the attribute. The word 'hopeful' has an interpersonal function of informing the readers of the 'hope' that congress MPs would be present. The circumstantial element of time is determined by the prepositional phrase.

20. According to a party leader, 259 of the 260 members, on whose support the Congress(I) is banking, have been contacted and are expected to be in the capital by tomorrow morning.
Syntax:

The preposition complex (Cf. Leech & Starvik 1986) is the theme of the sentence. The preposition complex is fixing the circumstantial element of the sentential processes. In a1 the subject is followed by another prepositional phrase which contextualizes the clauses. The subject and the finite jointly form the declarative sentence. The process involved is abstract material ('contacting' has to be a physical act of 'doing', hence material) with specified goal. In a2 which is paratactically related to a1 has an abstract material process. Again the temporal circumstantial element is determined by the prepositional phrase in the last part of the sentence.

In this sentence, two important pieces of information are hidden from the readers. The absence of a proper noun (in the place of a common noun) in the theme position, and the absence of the actor in the material process of doing something.

There is also a mention of some information which is not needed. The time of the members' arrival at the capital is an inconsequential information. The temporal circumstance is being mentioned and that is in paratactic relationship with the passive clause that precedes it.

Giving the 'unwanted' information and not giving the 'right' information are ideological.
21. Sources said that in preparation for the reply to the debate on the motion of thanks, the Prime Minister today had a meeting with the Secretaries of the Economic Ministries.

Syntax:

An abstract 'Sources' forms the theme. But 'Sources' does not have a deictic marker. Of course, the reference is to the Congress(I) sources when the word 'sources' is used. Here again like the previous sentences, the exact nature of 'sources' is not defined. The a clause has a verbal process with sayer as participant. In the b clause, the theme position is occupied by a prepositional phrase, an infinitival clause and another prepositional phrase which all determine the nature of circumstantial elements. The process involved in the b clause is that of abstract material with actor and goal as participants. The temporal adverbial which follows the subject forms the circumstantial element of time. The other circumstantial element of manner is found in the prepositional phrase after the complement. Note the complex interplay of verbal processes: 'said-reply-debate-motion of thanks'. Here 'understood' could also be considered for its interpersonal function since this also functions as a modal grammatical metaphor.

22. The price situation, inflation and public distribution system are understood to have been the main points which came up
for discussion.

Syntax:

The theme is also the subject. The subject consists of three nominal groups which are connected to each other by coordination. The process involved is that of mental (since 'understood' has to do with mind) with phenomenon as participant. Note that an important participant in the process 'senser' is deleted. Who 'understands' these as the 'main points'? Whether the 'understanding' is of the reporter or of the source is difficult to say. The subject in this sentence is changed to the issues that the opposition are raising all along rather than the personalities.

Ajit Singh explains

Syntax:

This is a sub-heading. Though the process involved is that of verbal, only the sayer (which is one of the participants) is mentioned and not the target since the reporter feels that the sayer is more important than either who the target is or what is said. Mr.Ajit Singh's name, unlike P.V.Narasimha Rao's, is not prefixed by any designation he is holding right now. This may be because of the reporter's perception that Mr.Singh is a non-entity politically, without any affiliation to any major
23. Explaining the rationale behind the decision of his group to abstain from voting on the Opposition amendments, Mr. Ajit Singh told reporters that the defeat of the Government at this juncture would force another general election the country could ill afford.

Vocabulary:

'Explaining': This word is crucial since this seems to be a comment on what Ajit Singh (hereafter AS) says in the projected locution. In fact what AS 'explains' looks more like a rationalization of a former socialist who is indirectly supporting a bourgeois economic liberalism.

Syntax:

The -ing clause forms the theme. The peculiarity of this clause is that this type of clauses do not have any operator or subject. Like a prepositional phrase, this clause offers circumstantial elements of manner. In the a clause, the process involved is that of verbal with sayer and target as participants. The a clause contains abstract material process with actor and goal as participants. The circumstantial element of time is given in the prepositional phrase. In the a clause (which is not connected to a clause overtly by a subordinating conjunction) the process involved is that of intensive attributive (since 'affording' is an attribute) with carrier and attribute as participants. The use
of median modal operators in the $\mathcal{G}$ and $g$ clauses indicates the certainty of the event.

24. Mr. Ajit Singh said that though his party had serious differences with the Union Government on economic policies it would not like to vote along with the BJP to bring down the Government.

Vocabulary:-

'serious differences': The adjective followed by a noun forms the complement of the sentence. The adjective could be either the authorial comment or AS's comment since the reporting is done in the indirect speech. However, the 'seriousness' of the 'differences' is not elucidated in any way except with the mild reference to a cliche 'economic policies'. What is most prominent in the mind of AS is the fact that AS's group cannot go along with the BJP which has been overtly expressed later in the same sentence. This would raise many problems in the context of the socialist slants that politicians tend to claim in their rhetoric. Note also the complement that follows 'Union Government'. AS does not have 'serious differences' with the Congress party, but has differences with the Government.

Syntax:
The theme and the subject of the sentence are the same. Hence the theme is unmarked. The process involved in the a clause is that of verbal with sayer foregrounded. The a clause is projected in the secondary clause. The projected a clause has a nominal group as the theme which is also the subject. In the a clause the modal verb 'had' establishes an intensive attributive process. Further the a gets projected in the a clause. The clause has hypotactic relationship with the tertiary clause. The theme in the a has an anaphoric reference to 'his party'. The negative polarity associated with the median modal operator 'would' pegs the proposition down to the subject.

25. The destabilisation of the Government would not only result in economic chaos but force general elections in which no party would emerge with a clear majority.

Vocabulary:

'destabilisation': The word 'destabilisation' is used here with a negative connotation. For many, stability seems to be the hallmark of success of any government. But it has not been visualised that the maturity of any democratic process depends on its ability to cope with varied impulses within and outside the country. The process of stabilization in a democratic set up is long drawn. For a country like India, though people might come out with the view that they cannot afford to have so many
combine and the BJP of colluding with each other.

Syntax:

The nominalized subject and the theme of the sentence explains the reporter's point of view. Mr. Ajit Singh is referred to anaphorically by a not so complimentary comment - 'The expelled Dal leader'. The nominal group is so descriptive that the reader cannot just miss the intentions of the reporter. The nominal group is followed by an active verb which has the same negative implication that the person cannot just be a disciplined party worker and his words have to be taken with some caution. The process involved is of verbal with both sayer and target defined. Note that the subject of the sentence, the sayer and the other two participants are connected to each other with provocative verb and prepositional phrases like 'accused' and 'colluding'. The Congress Party remains untouched in the 'accusation' whereas the other three parties who are in the opposition are brought in. There is the reporter's point of view camouflaged with that of the subject. However, the reporter himself is having a dig at the sayer of the statement by referring to him as 'The expelled leader'.

27. Interestingly the same logic has been propounded by the Janata Party leader, Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, in explaining the stand of his party members.
Vocabulary:

'tlogic': The word is used in a very general sense. In matters of Indian politics, there is no 'logic' involved. The word is used more as a synonym to words like 'reason' or 'rationale'.

'tpropounded': The word is highly loaded. One propounds a philosophy, a theory. In the political situation, one can hardly do this.

These words are exclusively of the reporter and reflects the reporter's point of view.

Syntax:
The adverbial along with the nominal group forms the theme of the sentence. The adverbial has the interpersonal function of informing the readers of the comment of the reporter. The reporter finds something 'Interesting' in what he is narrating.

The sentence is passive and the process involved is one of verbal with an explicit sayer and without any target being mentioned. The circumstantial element is realised by the participant role in the prepositional phrase.

The institutional voice that Mr. Swamy assumes here is quite interesting. While his own 'logic' is understandable, his party which consists of no MPs other than himself could claim to 'propound' a 'logic'. In situations of this sort when the ruling
party is numerically very weak, even the most minority party acquires a certain amount of power to say consequential things. They could be both helpful and at the same time harmful to the existence of the Government.

28. The decision was arrived at after mutual consultations between Dr. Swamy and the former Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav, in the capital.

Syntax:

The theme and the subject of the sentence are the same. The deictic marker of the subject refers anaphorically to the decision not to support the amendment motion to the President's address mentioned in the previous sentence. An abstract material process is involved without any overt actor or goal mentioned. The circumstantial elements involved are revealed in the two prepositional phrases. The first one is that of manner and the second one is that of time.

28. The former Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, who was also expected to be present at the time of consultations, however, did not turn up as he was held up in his Lok Sabha constituency due to some social engagement.
Syntax:
The theme and the subject of the sentence are the same. Hence unmarked. The appositive construction depicts the role of the subject. The person is recognised by the office he held in the past. The embedded clause 'who...consultations,' acts as a postmodifier in which additional information is also given. The conjuctive adjunct 'however' marks the boundary between the theme and the rheme of the sentence and also extends the meaning of the previous embedded clause as an adversative. The finite temporal verbal operator 'did' is realized through the negative polarity.

At the ideational level, the material process operates. But the deletion of the complement which could have acted as the goal has a discoursal value. The participant role in the process is that of actor. The circumstantial element is that of temporal. The clause which has hypotactic relationship with the a, has the role of an enhancer. Here the participants of the process, the process and the circumstance, remain the same as that of the a clause.

29. The absence of Mr. Chandra Shekhar led to some confusion on the strategy of the Janata Party members as an agency report quoted him from Varanasi to the effect that his party would oppose the Government.
Syntax:

Again the subject and the theme of the sentence are the same. Hence unmarked. The abstract material process involved in a clause has an abstract actor, 'the absence of Mr. Chandra Shekhar' and an abstract goal 'the strategy of the Janata Party members'. The g clause which has the function of expansion (enhancement) is related to the a clause paratactically. However, the g clause is related to the g clause hypotactically and it does the role of projecting the locution. As far as the processes involved in the g and the g clauses are concerned, there is a verbal process in the former, and material in the latter. The participant in the g clause is the sayer. The participants in the tertiary clause are actor and goal. In all the three clauses, the theme remains topical and clauses declarative.

30. Dr. Swamy, however, clarified that Mr. Chandra Shekhar himself would not participate in the proceedings of the Lok Sabha tomorrow as he would return to the capital only on Wednesday.

Syntax:
The theme and the subject are the same. The adverbial conjunct is a discoursal marker. The process involved in the a is that of mental (since 'clarification' has to be a 'mental') with senser and phenomenon as participants. In the g the process involved is that of abstract material (since 'not participating' is a
physical activity) with actor and goal as participants. The mood structure has negative polarity. The circumstantial elements of manner and time are offered by the prepositional phrase. In the g clause, the process involved is that of material (since 'returning' is a physical activity) with actor and goal as participants. The circumstantial elements of space and time are indicated in the prepositional phrases.

31."I doubt the authenticity of the report.[1] What he might have said is that there can be no question of support to the Government by the Janata Party.[2] He is right since we have our strong reservations on the economic policies but we will not be a party to the designs of the NF-LF and the BJP to bring down the Government[3]."

Vocabulary:
'authenticity': Denotes the genuineness of the report. Here Mr.Swamy is suspecting the genuineness of the report. But what he says in the later part of the report looks more like a rationalization of what Mr.Chandra Shekhar might have said in a different context. This makes the readers suspect even Swamy's version.

Syntax:
The bunch of three sentences above is within quotes and hence are placed together, as discursively they are meaningful only
together. These are the 'direct' sentences of Mr. Swamy. Since the sentences are projected paratactically, the sentences acquire significance.

The sentence [1] has a personal pronoun as the theme. In fact the whole sentence is the theme of the quoted discourse. The subject following the finite indicates the mood element which is declarative. The process involved is that of mental with senser and phenomenon as participants.

The sentence [2], which is a complex sentence, contains a clause as the theme of the sentence. In a clause, the process involved is that of verbal with sayer as the participant. In the b clause the process involved is that of existential since the clause does not have a proper subject. The participant is existent. The prepositional phrases form the circumstantial element of manner.

The sentence [3], which is again a complex sentence, contains a clause as the theme. The process involved in a is that of intensive attributive with carrier and attribute as participants. In the b clause, the process involved is that of intensive attributive again. But there is another clause which is paratactically attached to the a and b through a coordinating conjunct 'but'. The process involved in this clause is abstract material process (since 'will not be a party' involves some physical action though in an abstract way) with actor and goal as participants. The prepositional phrases determine the
circumstantial elements of manner. The negative polarity in the mood structure determines the declarative sentence.

32. The BJP has reiterated its decision to press for amendments and seek division specifically on the issues of price rise and unemployment.

Vocabulary:

'reiterated': A formal word which denotes that a particular thing is repeated several times. There is nothing new in BJP's 'reiteration'. But what interests most is that the right extreme party is talking like the left in this context.

Syntax:

The theme of the sentence is the subject which is the nominal group. The process involved is that of verbal (since 'reiteration' is done here by speaking to the presspersons) with sayer and target as participants. The infinitival clause is to be taken as a minor clause here. The prepositional phrase determines the circumstantial element of manner.

33. "Nothing can be ruled out in tomorrow's showdown. But if it results in the fall of the Government the responsibility will lie on the Congress party itself for its lack of concern for the
miseries of the common man[2]", the party vice-president, Mr. L. K. Sharma, said in a press statement.

Vocabulary:

'ruled out': A phrasal verb which means that an idea, or a course of action could be 'ruled out' if you decide that it is impossible, or unsuitable, or not worth considering. This is used in the sentence more as a kind rhetoric than as a fact. The semantic configuration of the phrase indicates that a particular thing that is 'impossible', 'unsuitable', and 'not worth considering' is negated. Here the negated configuration acquires the status of positive.

Syntax:

The entire projected clause comes before the projecting clause. Since the entire speech in the projected clause is given within the quotation marks, the two sentences are taken simultaneously as a discourse for analysis. Here the relationship between the reported and reporting is paratactic and the reporting is done in the 'direct' speech.

In [1] of the reported speech, the theme is the dummy subject. Hence the process is existential with existent as participant. The prepositional phrase determines circumstantial element of manner.

In [2], there is a coordinating adjunct which serves as a
discourse marker by negating all the things said before. This could be taken as the theme of the sentence. The a in the sentence is a conditional clause. The process is existential with existent as participant. In the a, the process involved is that of intensive attributive with carrier and attributive as participants. The prepositional phrases point out the circumstantial element of manner.

The reporting clause is verbal with sayer and target as participants. The prepositional phrase indicates the circumstantial element of manner.

The negative subject becomes the theme of the discourse. Nothing can be ruled out: the government may stand or fall.

34. The Congress(I) spokesman, Mr. Chandulal Chandrakar, told reporters that "there is nothing to worry about. We are quite confident of victory."

Syntax:

Unlike the previous sentence, the projecting clause comes before the projected one. The subject of the a is the theme of the sentence. The appositive construction found in the nominal group indicates the 'source' of information. The process involved in the clause is that of verbal with sayer and target as participants. In the a, which is the projected clause of...
locution, the process involved is that of existential, since 'there' is the subject. But, there is another sentence within the quotation marks which exhibits mental process with senser and phenomenon as participants.

35. The party had already issued a whip to the members and all the MPs were present in the capital.

Syntax:
The subject and the theme are the same. The process involved in \( a_1 \) is that of material with actor and goal as participants. The \( a_2 \) clause is related to \( a_1 \) by a coordinating conjunction. The \( a_2 \) clause also has material process with actor and goal as participants. The circumstantial element of time is specified in the prepositional phrase.

36. The BJP's six amendments to the motion of thanks to the President's address would not lead to the fall of the Government, said another party spokesman, Mr. J.P. Mathur.

Syntax:
The reported clause is foregrounded. The entire nominal group is the theme of the sentence. The process in \( b \) is abstract material
process with actor and goal as specified participants. The median modal operator together with negative polarity determines the mood of the clause. In the a, verbal process is involved with sayer as specified participant. The appositive construction reveals the identity of the speaker.

37. This was a "sort of pressure on the Government."

Syntax:

The theme and the subject are the same. The theme is the deictic marker with anaphoric reference. The process involved is that of intensive attributive. The reporting of the attribute is done through the quotation marks.

38. He said it was up to the National Front-Left parties combine to support these amendments though the BJP held no formal talks with them on floor coordination.

Syntax:

The theme of the sentence is the a clause. In a, the process is verbal with sayer as participant. In b there are two clauses, ba and bb. In ba, intensive attributive process is involved. In bb, again verbal process is involved with sayer and target as participants.
39. "We do not keep any party in Parliament as untouchables," Mr. Mathur said.

Syntax:
The projected clause comes before the projecting clause. The projected clause which is in quotation marks is in paratactic relationship with the projecting. The projected clause becomes the theme of the sentence. Within the projected, the process involved is abstract material with actor and goal as participants. The negative polarity in the verbal operator along with the subject of the clause determines the mood structure of the clause. The circumstantial elements of time and manner are revealed in the prepositional processes. In the projecting clause, the process involved is that of verbal with sayer as participant. As party projecting 'Hindutva', BJP subscribes to 'Manu Dharma' and 'untouchability'. So it is only inside the parliament that they avoid untouchability. The declaration that they do not keep any party in Parliament as untouchables only exposes their ideology.

40. However, the BJP was determined to press for a division on the voting and had issued a whip to the members in the Lok Sabha, he said.

The theme position is occupied by the conjunctive adjunct which has the adversative extension as its function in the discourse.
process needed for economy of the discourse, it is also ideological. The noun forms are all qualified by ideological attributes. For instance, 'The Narasimha Rao Government' -- note the status given to the Indian Government. It is made out to an individual's personal government rather than a democratic government wherein the administration of the nation is done by consensus. The common sense assumption that the government is always run by a single individual at the helm of affairs is ideological.

There are other nominal groups like 'the dissident leader', 'the splinter group', etc., which are also ideologically loaded. 'Dissidence' is considered, for instance, to be a negative virtue since the dissident does not conform to the discipline of the party, and in the name of the discipline of the party, he/she is supposed to turn a blind eye to what is happening within the party. Also 'dissidence' is generally considered to be a revolt against party leadership and hence not tolerated. The dissident is strictly under surveillance and is often expelled from the party in course of time.

There are other lexical items, which are used in the discourse, which deserve our attention. The two words, 'weather' and 'storm', drawn from the lexicon of weather reports indicate that the Hindu text is in a way giving the political weather report of the country. However, the political weather is read from a particular point of view. To survive in this weather, one
has to be in a 'commanding' position, otherwise his 'survival' would be at stake. There is always a 'threat' from the opposition who are ready to disturb the peace of the country, by uprooting the ruling party. Hence there is a need for all 'like-minded' parties to support the 'Narasimha Rao Government'. There has to be a 'strategy' to 'muster...full strength'. In this way, the whole discourse runs with items which remind us of a war, wherein two opposing groups fight against each other. But it is a phoney war after all since the outcome is known to everyone. The opposition parties are fully aware of the outcome of the voting on the amendments. The ruling party, though nervous in the beginning, is sure of the outcome. Hence, nothing really happens and that is the wish of the particular paper as well.

4.3.0 MESSAGE STRUCTURE OF THE HINDU TEXT

The Hindu text exhibits a uniqueness in its arrangement of the theme. The first three sentences contain prepositional phrases as themes of the sentences. The macro-theme available in the headline is not really transferred to micro-themes in any of the sentences. However, rhematic structures take on the elements in the macrotheme in a big way. The thematic arrangement is quite crucial since it is the take off point for the discourse. The prepositional phrases that form the themes offer the circumstantial elements of time, space and manner. In
these circumstantial elements, the author places the context before the events. In over 13 sentences in the text, we find either a prepositional phrase or an adjunct or an adverbial taking up the theme position. In over 28 sentences, the topic functions as the sentential theme. Though Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao is found to be the most important actor in the discourse, only on two occasions do we find him occupying the theme position, once by his name, once by a deictic marker. This is explained by the fact that the sentences are meant to prove one point that is given in the headline 'Narasimha Rao Govt. may weather storm'.

The other grammatical categories which occupy the theme position in the sentences, like adverbial adjuncts and conjunctive adjuncts, beside working as discourse connectives also reflect the narrator’s point of view. For instance, in sentence 5, the adverbial 'Ironically' is certainly the reporter's interpretative voice and has the effect of situating the reader subject in a perspective desired by the reporting subject. The power of such discourse strategies derives from the fact that the reporting subject is invisible throughout. Similarly, in sentence 27, the adverbial 'Interestingly' is the reporter's comment which is found in the theme. In such cases the themes look highly marked. The marked themes in cases like these are instances of what stylisticians call deviations and have ideological implications.
Most of the sentences are complex and are connected within themselves by both subordinating and coordinating conjunctions. In a complex sentence, the main clause is informationally more prominent than the subordinating clauses, as in Sentence 24: '...though his party had serious differences with the Union Government on economic policies, it would not like to vote along with the BJP to bring down the Government.' Here what divides the sentence into information units, one relatively 'important' and another relatively 'unimportant' is interesting. The 'content' of the subordinate clause is 'presupposed'. Though in cases like this (and there are many sentences in the text which have this kind of structure) the information content of each of the two clauses seem to be important and new, the reporter chooses to put one of the two into the background. For example, in the same sentence cited earlier, Ajit Singh's party having 'serious' differences with the ruling party is an important piece of information. But that is treated in subordination to his support to the ruling party. There is also another point here. It could be argued that in foregrounding the subordinating clause by making it the theme of the sentence, the reporter is also promoting the status of the subordinating clause to a higher level. The conditional subordinating clauses (-if clauses) have the same explanation. Certain information is important under certain conditions. In some sentences the conditions are brought forward and made to look important than the independent clauses.
For example, Sentence 33, '... if it results in the fall of the Government the responsibility will lie on the Congress party itself...' So the process of subordination has several ideological implications.

4.4.0 REPRESENTATION STRUCTURE OF THE HINDU TEXT

The Hindu text exhibits a wide variety of most of the processes. Out of 63 processes found in the text, 17 are verbal processes. A verbal process entails a presentation of speech event either from the reporter's perspective or from the participants' perspective. It could be argued that any reporting of the news had to be done by the reporter and hence that would carry with it the reporter's perspective only. Faithful reproduction of the speech events is not only not possible but also seldom done. This is an extreme position, of course. However, there are occasions wherein the reporter presents speakers' verbal activity verbatim within quotation marks. In the Hindu text there are three places where the reporter reports verbatim what the speakers say. But in 14 other places, the reporter uses the indirect mode, which entails a hypotactic relationship between the narrator and the participants in the discourse. In some places the reporter chooses to present verbatim report of the participant speech in parts only. Why does the reporter choose to report the speech event in such apparently
arbitrary ways? Are there any social, political and economic compulsions? These are important questions that need to be answered when we are doing a CDA. Let us take a few examples and find out what is happening in the text. Sentence 24, for example, has a verbal process in the a clause. Being a projecting clause, we expect a faithful rendering of what the participant has said. But the sentence itself is subordinated, or hypotactically so arranged as to establish a hierarchy between the speaker and what he says. Again the speaker and the reporter are in hierarchical relation with each other, with the reporter in the dominating position. The reporter acquires the status of domination by controlling the speech of the speaker. Paraphrasing of speech in itself changes the semantic configuration. It is difficult to find the same 'meaning' in an indirect speech though people have the impression that indirect speech is a synonym of direct speech. Let us take another example where the reporting is done partially. Sentence 33, of course, gives the impression that there is a direct reporting of the speech. But in the two sentences that precede and follow sentence 33, the views of the reporter gets expressed; the speech event in sentence 33 is placed in that context.

There are over 12 material and 11 abstract material processes involved in the Hindu text. Sentences 4, 9, 10, 18, 23, 24, 29, 30, 31, 35 and 40 exhibit material processes. Sentences 2, 5, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 28, 29, 30 and 36 reveal abstract
material processes. Material processes are processes of 'doing' where the participants are involved in an action. Sometimes the actions are concrete, and sometimes abstract. This is largely determined by the speaker's (here the reporter's) choices. For instance, in sentence 18, there is a clear indication of 'entrusting' a particular work to the members. This is a clear material process. The verb of 'doing' is 'entrusted' which means Mr. Rao has trusted the members and given the work to them. The giving of the work to his colleagues has been reported as an event of trust that the actor has in his colleagues. Similarly in sentence 35, both the clauses have material processes with actors and goals as participants. The issuance of a whip and MPs staying in the capital are the two material processes in the verbal groups. A noteworthy point here is that in the first clause, the Institution of 'party' issues the 'whip'. The two participants, actor and goal, seem to be inanimate. But the affected are the MPs who are animate. But the discourse treats them in the same way. The Institutional power of issuing a whip, though in itself is a dominating act, is further intensified with the target as animates.

There are 11 clauses spread over 8 sentences which exhibit intensive attributive processes with carriers and attributes as participants. These are 'being' clauses. The meaning of these clauses is that something 'is'. The intensive type exhibits a relationship between two entities which are of same value. The
attributive mode has always some qualitative attribute assigned to a carrier. Semantically, this process is interesting in that the clausal structure here is one of equal status. The carrier and the attribute which are the two participants belong to the same status. Sentences 3, 7, 8, 13, 19, 31, 37, and 38 exhibit these features. The verbal groups in these sentences are simple present or past tense forms. The attribute is always preceded by the carrier.

There are 7 clauses in the text which have mental process with senser and phenomenon as participants. These clauses exhibit a quality that pertains to perception. In all these sentences there is one human as the participant, the one who 'senses' something. The process envisages a capability for consciousness. Take for instance, the very first sentence beginning with the clause, '...the Narasimha Rao Government appears to be in a comfortable position...'. Here the clause has 'appears' in the verbal group. Semantic configuration reveals that 'appears' is something that is cognitive. It has to be explained at the conscious level. The subject, 'Narasimha Rao Government', though a non-human entity, it has the consciousness of human. Or shall we say, it is human-like. In the fourth sentence, 'It is believed ...', the a clause, exhibits a mental process. Questions like 'It is believed by whom' can be asked to find out the human perception. Though the agent is absent in this sentence, the agent’s position is clearly marked here. For
ideological reasons the agent is deleted in this sentence. The reporter is giving the reader a feeling that the source is authentic, the source is human, but he/she is not mentioning the source thus making it known that he/she is not telling the source for his/her own reason.

Just three sentences, sentences 11, 33 and 34 exhibit existential processes in the discourse.

4.5.0 EXCHANGE STRUCTURE OF THE HINDU TEXT

Since the discourse is that of newspaper, the sentences are all declarative. The declarative sentences have a seemingly neutral value. The speaker (here reporter) appears to take a middle position while reporting the events. This is the usual practice in all the newspapers. But, there are occasions when the reporter is able to put in his/her point of view through the declarative sentences. Take for instance the headline. The modal 'may' which is median does not guarantee anything. The future is uncertain. But the arguments that are carried out in the discourse are entirely contrary to what is said in the headline. There is a confirmatory tone that Mr. Rao is going to win the vote. Take another example. Sentence 22:-'The price situation, inflation and public distribution system are understood to have been the main points which came up for discussion'. Look at the verbal group. 'are understood to have been'—The word
'understood' is where the reporter's non-committal attitude is revealed. Contrast this with Sentence 3: '...and the decision of the two major groups commanding nine members to throw their lot behind the Government is enough to ward off any threat.' In this sentence, 'is enough' sufficiently indicates the conclusion that is drawn by the reporter. But, why does the reporter give an impression that he/she is not entirely sure of the outcome of the voting? This is ideological. The obvious thing is made opaque to sound objective.

**4.6.0 DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION AT THE DISCOURSE LEVEL**

The *Hindu* text starts with a hope amidst gloominess -- the 'comfortable position' of 'Narasimha Rao Government' in the 'crucial' voting that is to take place the next day. This is the thesis placed in the headline and followed by its elucidation in the first paragraph. As Dijk (1988) points out, the headline and the first sentence in the first paragraph (which he calls 'topic') are sufficient indications to the reader to comprehend the news schema and he/she may choose either to continue to read the news or may decide to go for the reading of the next news. In other words, the news event is given as a summary in the very first sentence of the text. However a tension is built into the text right from the beginning. Look at the words: 'crucial voting' vs 'comfortable position'. The voting cannot be 'crucial' for the party if the party is in a 'comfortable position'. Something becomes 'crucial' only when it is 'difficult'. If the
outcome of the exercise is a foregone conclusion, there is nothing 'crucial' about it. In the second and third paragraphs of the text, there is an assessment of the situation in terms of the number of members of the parliament(MPs) who might come to the rescue of the ruling party and how the 'splinter' groups are helpful to the ruling party in tiding over the 'storm'. The heading 'Focus on opposition' in the fourth paragraph draws the attention of the reader to the role played by the opposition parties. Note that at the time of voting on the 1991 budget, the total number of opposition party MPs were more than that of the ruling party. The first sentence in the fourth paragraph, '... the suspense was no longer on the survival of the Government but the ability of the opposition to muster its full strength.', establishes the reporter's point of view about the issue. The reporter deduces from the various clues available that the opposition parties which have tabled the amendments will have more difficulty than the ruling party in mobilizing their MPs on their side. But there is a problem when the reporter highlights this as the most desirable thing to happen in the context. By insinuation, the reporter appears to favour the ruling party in the context. This becomes clear in the subsequent sentence- 'The focus of attention...'. The opposition is a divided lot and it is a sight to see that they fail to mobilize their own votes in favour of the amendments. There is a note of satisfaction in the opposition's debacle. In the next paragraph the reporter points
out that 'prestige' is the 'real' issue in the crisis. MPs of both the opposition and the ruling parties might abstain, but the ruling party is well equipped for such a situation. In the presentation of this perception, the reporter tilts slightly towards the ruling party. There are textual clues for this. In the previous paragraph, the discourse marker, 'Ironically', in paragraph 7, 'Despite...', reveal the uselessness of the opposition efforts in the wake of the ruling party's strategies. In paragraphs 6-11, the reporter shows how the opposition parties like NF-LF combine and BJP have been failing to mobilize their own MPs on the issue, what are the internal contradictions are in National Front which is a conglomeration of various centrist and regional parties, what the views of BJP leadership on the issue are, and how all these factors are favourable to the Congress Party. In fact, the whole text looks like a series of arguments to prove one point, namely, that the Congress Party will win the vote of confidence. In paragraph 11, the reporter gives the contrast that the Congress Party is already ready to face the situation, the chief of the party is personally supervising the support of not only his own party members but also that of the members from other 'friendly' parties. Everything is happening right for the ruling party despite its own numerical weakness in the Parliament but everything is going wrong in the opposition group though the opposition party MPs put together are in the majority. Almost four paragraphs are devoted to explaining how Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao is preparing the ground for giving a fitting
reply to the opposition sponsored amendment motion on the floor of the Parliament. In paragraph 15, the reader’s attention is drawn to the comments of an important dissident leader, Mr. Ajit Singh. His motivation for deciding to stay away from voting is commented upon. Further in paragraph 18, the same kind of motivation is ascribed to, by Mr. Subramanian Swamy, another important 'personality' in Indian politics. Mr. Chandra Shekar with his past socialist credentials cannot overtly be a party to the liberalization policy enunciated by Mr. Manmohan Singh, and at the same time he cannot join hands with his arch rivals in Janata Dal and BJP. Hence his stand is made to look confused by contradictory reports. In this situation all the political leaders reveal what they really are. The reason that Mr. Ajit Singh gives for his support to the ruling party is that there would be economic instability if the amendment motion is passed. While it is true that it is neither prudent nor pragmatic to report all the views expressed by politicians, it looks arbitrary if the reporter chooses to report selectively. We have noticed earlier that it is in this selection of news and views that the ideological inclination of the reporter and the newspaper is revealed. Here the reporter presents the views of all the important politicians, but he/she does it from a particular perspective which is directed by the ideological bearings of the newspaper. The Hindu has to project the ruling party interests and therefore all the views expressed are put in that direction.
The views of opposition parties are given in a sequence and all the reports are restricted to one particular point of whether the opposition would be able to act and vote collectively. This point is made interspersed with the views of the opposition leaders. The report ends with the BJP spokesman's statement that his party would press for the amendment. The report also suggests that BJP is the only party in the opposition which is well equipped to face the situation. The other centrists and the break away groups of the centrist parties are uncertain of what they should do. It is significant that there is no mention of Left parties' preparation for the pressing for the amendments though officially they wanted to go along with NF. The reason might be that since the Left parties do not have very significant number of MPs, their views cannot be taken seriously. But how does the paper choose to speak the minds of the leaders of the smallest groups like Mr. Ajit Singh and Mr. Chandrasekhar? As we can see later in the analysis of The Statesman, the Left parties seem to be more concerned and committed to the issue than any of the opposition parties. While there is so much coverage for the views of Mr. Subramanian Swamy and Mr. Ajit Singh, there is hardly anything said about the perceptions of Left parties. The report is thus partial and is aimed at convincing the readers that after all nothing is going to happen in the end, everything would go in favour of the ruling party.
Govt set to win crucial vote
Ajit faction to abstain

HT Correspondent

NEW DELHI, March 5

The Government is all set to win the crucial vote on the amendment to the motion of thanks on Monday evening with the four-member Ajit Singh group deciding to abide by the government's stand from the voting and the five-member Samajwadi Janata Party (SJP) abstaining even as the Opposition made hasty efforts to shore up its support.

The target of the Government and Opposition voting are the "unconvened" six members from BSP, HAM, ASAD and Independents. Their stand would be to lose only tomorrow morning but the Government has even now a majority of seven.

It would be further interesting if the Opposition if theVeiga Pandal's 13 members are not present as strength and the five members of the Rashtriya Lok Dal are apart from the vote. At the same time, the Congress claimed that all its members and (26) were in position to participate in the vote.

Mr. Ajit Singh said here today that his party would abstain from tomorrow's vote on the motion of thanks. He made it clear that his party would not vote for an amendment moved by the BJP, but added that if the party was alone it would not vote for the motion of thanks. He pointed out that the vote was a test of the Congress's credibility.

Mr. Singh said that his party, the Janata Dal (U), had a close relationship with the government, and the government's support on the vote of no-confidence in the Lok Sabha would be a victory for the Congress. He added that the government's victory in the vote would be a victory for the Congress in the general election campaign.

The vote will be held in the Lok Sabha on Monday evening, and the government has a majority of seven to win the vote. The government has been supported by the Vikassheel Insaan Party (VIP), the Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD), and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

The vote will be held on themotion of thanks to the Lok Sabha, and the government has been supported by the Janata Dal (U), the Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD), and the Janata Dal (Secular). The government has a majority of seven to win the vote.