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Modality in Critical Discourse Analysis: President Zardari's Perspective on Terrorism in Pakistan

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Abstract

This research paper investigates the modality driven ideological standpoint of president of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari through the lenses of critical discourse analysis. His interaction with media during his visit to United states of America in 2008, is the sample for critical examination. This study investigates the news story appearing in Daily Dawn to assess the role of modality that reflected his personal and political stance and ideology. His statement covering a variety of topics is chosen as a discourse for analysis that this is the main objective of this study and its achievement depends on examining the functional and pragmatic approaches to discourse. The functional dimension is concerned with functional linguistics: viz linguistic structures related to social structures. While the pragmatic dimension emphasises on the inclusion of reader for interpretation. This study based on the functional-pragmatic lines to discourse analysis resolves the reader interpretation as it creates space for systematic variance in the process of interpretation through modality as a pragmatic route for the reader's role in the discourse analysis. This study argues that a functional and pragmatic approach to the study of discourse is central to the essence of this research paper. The primary goal of this research study is showing a systematic, functional and practical examination of modality for critical analysis of ideology and stance of Zardari within the text.

Key words: CDA, Discourse, Modality, Terrorism, Ideology, President Zardari

Introduction

The investigation of discourse and the power of language have always been the hottest topics in the media and communication studies. Many a prominent scholar have contributed books and research papers on both. This study also provides an insight to the critical discourse analysis and the power of language through Halliday's approach 'modality analysis of media talk of president Asif Ali Zardari during his visit in 2008 to United States of America. He interacted with media men to tell them his political perspective on the war against terrorism in Af-Pak region. The purpose of this interaction was to sell his stance to the international community and Pakistani audiences. The researchers look to his talk to investigate his ideological stance and what sort of meaning he intends to construct and convey. The power of language is key to influencing the audiences both externally and internally as it carries emotions to attract them. The power of language not only in journalistic but across multiple disciplines is taken as fascinating and it has the impact of influencing the public. Language being persuasive also has the potential to ideologically manipulate the public's opinion. As stated above, the aim of this study is to critically examine the modality feature of language that is key to the ideological manipulation of readers/hearers, therefore the study systematically analyses modality used in Pakistan president Zardari interaction with media. Methodology of this study, is guided by Fairclough's (2003) research design having six phases for analysis of a text. This study picks five out of them, such as, the choice of research problem, the formulation of research questions, the choice of material, the analysis of the data, and the results, findings.

This study uses Laclau Mouffe's discourse theory but the analysis will confine to the analysis of modality at practical level in the event covered by Daily Dawn. A number of CDA practitioners have recorded their opinions on modality.

Badran 2002 citing (Fowler, 1997) sees modality as undetachable from the content of the text for meaning making and it is incomprehensible as to why it receives less attention. Badran also citing (Lakoff, 1972) argues that modality is a complex task because of being "highly irregular and unpredictable semantically".

Therefore, modality becomes more complex. Beyond the modal categorization, modality is the integral part of the text to draw meaning at interpersonal level.

The diverse approaches of modality that this study discussed in CDA section of this study takes the investigation more complicated but one cannot ignore the role of modality in the reflection of ideological position of text producers in discourse. The researchers practically approach for critical interpretation of ideological stance in media discourse through systematically analysing modality.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough's as reviewed by (Wallace, 1995) The critical discourse analysis sees connections between discourse and society as a strong element getting power and hegemony, he argues that the basic aim of analysis of discourse is the systematic exploration of hidden connections of casualty and determination between texts, events, discursive practices and wider socio-cultural structures, processes and relations investigating them to find out the ideological shaping of power relations and the ongoing struggle over power leading to hegemony and dominance. However, to Van Dijk (1998a) it is a discipline to study and analyse the production, maintenance and reproduction of both spoken and written texts to unveil the discursive sources of dominance and power, bias and inequality within the given political, social and historical context.

Norman Fairclough (cited in Janks 2002: 26-27) highlights the CDA model having three dimensions and similar interrelated analytical processes that are: texts as an object for analysis, the production processes and the social practices which means, description involving analysis of texts, interpretation means the analysis of processes involved in the texts and explanation means social analysis. However, this analysis is confined to modality analysis of the news of daily dawn based on president Asif Ali Zardari interaction with media in New York during his visit to the United States of America.

Modality: Intricacies and Dissimilarities

Different approaches have defined the term 'Modality' giving systematic and recognizable definitions on the criteria: these are semantic, syntactic, cognitive functional, etc. warranting a debate as to which explanation is associated with modality in language because of the degree of complexity, ambiguity and more importantly subjectivity. (Badran, 2002) studies a set of

approaches to modality contributed by prominent scholars. These approaches are complex and diverse. The following are some of them cited by Badran for example

Twaddell's "Restricted Structural Approach", focused on an exclusive account of a subset of English modal auxiliary verbs, based on syntactic features of the above modal auxiliaries totally ignoring the characteristics of main verbs in the language. The features of his modal for auxiliaries, are prominent on their ability of occurring (Twaddell, 1960). However, "Restricted Semantic Approach" provides a classification of eight modal auxiliaries (will, shall, call, may, must, ought to, dare and need) Joos's (1964) and Johannsson's functional approach is the classification of six modal auxiliary verbs "can, may, must, ought to, shall, and will" (Johannesson, 1976).

These researchers present different perspectives on the diversity of models. This discussion brings to limelight the reality that linguists have their own perspectives on looking to the definition and meaning making of modality. However, there is unanimity of perspectives on the context, form and meaning. These diverse approaches, make it easier that modality can be accessed from multiple routes because some perspectives are purely grammatical others are semantics and some see them from both approaches. However, the consensus is on meanings, form and context. The only limitation, is of theoretical and practical. For instance, Badran quoting the syntactic approach of Palmer (1974) argues that it doesn't give the required level of focus because this approach takes into consideration the modal auxiliary verbs and the syntactic categories which can be incompatible with semantic and bringing both together may create inconsistent and contradictory meaning. Since the laid down criteria are incompatible and rigid therefore, contradictory and inconsistent results will occur and same can be examined with semantic thus correlation is impossible between the two. Another example is semantic approach, that also take the relationship between meaning and form to accrue the same result. Hermeren's approach, look for meaning of each model used, but one can't see the meaning detached from interpretation and all readers will make their own interpretation because different contexts make different meaning of models in one event or activity (Hermeren, 1978).

The researchers agree that irregularities are at heart of the semantic when looking for model expression. Lakoff also reminds that in semantic, modals are unpredictable and irregular (Lakoff,

1972). Johansson's functional approach of modality is general, individualized and subjective but it doesn't harm the meaning because of different variables and sub-variables in the process of interpretation (Johannesson, 1976). Because context and speaker are key to meaning making for a modalized text. Michal Halliday covers "the meaning between yes and no" (Halliday M, 1985). But this study can't ignore the subjective nature of modality and a pragmatically inclusive route can be taken during this analysis.

Methodology

Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory

The discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) explains some key concepts such as the discourse serves the construction of meaning, discourse leads to social world, it gives meaning to the outside world, the equivalency of objectivity with ideology and the unstable nature of language. This theory views discourse for construction of meaning and therefore grounds the social world as discourse strives to giving meaning to even the outside existing world reality. Language is not stable but is exposed to various degrees of constructions for meanings. In the process, some of the meanings are internalised as 'truth' but exposed to the competing discourses. The fixation of meaning or otherwise, is a constant process. At all levels of social and political domains, different discourses exist, offering different and even competing social views therefore, the discursive struggle becomes a dynamic field for settling these meaning Jorgensen and Phillips, (2002). This discursive struggle being dynamic, may dislodge the existing social reality or reproduce it, as an outcome of the alternative discourse. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002), views the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe as having no discursive and non-discursive dimensions, treating all social phenomena as discourse. Discourse theory argues that social reality is organized by same basic principles of language use, these principles can be (indexical organisation, performativity, both are added by the researchers), categorization of humans, or any other social practices. Discourse theory is considered an approach to be applied to language and other social phenomena equally Jorgensen & Phillips, (2002).

Discourse theory gets more relevance and significance in politics that is its appropriate discursive field, and is its key term Jorgensen & Phillips, (2002). Discourse is used for the struggle to establish

social reality which becomes possible when it excludes all other discourses and a particular discourse emerges objective, though contingent but naturalized. In discourse, objectivity is considered and taken as equivalent to the ideology. This objective nature of discourse, comes to prominence in the field of political when the existing alternative discourse in politics, raises question about its objectivity. Here the contestation phase starts, as the hegemonic intervention mediates to hide all existing alternative and competing discourses Jorgensen and Phillips, (2002). For instance, an overdetermined and unstable subject is replaced by opposing and alternative discourses. The hegemonic intervention ensures the stability of a subject, at one position, because it hides all challenges surrounding the subject position. In the discourse theory of Laclau and mouffe, objectivity means ideology because objectivity is equated with contingency of the dominant discourse. Discourse constructs social reality, therefore, the organisation of a society through a discourse is essentially exposed to the change by other discourse. It means one discourse organises society in one way and is in the constant struggle either for its reproduction or giving space to another discourse. This is the junction, where Laclau and Mouffe (2001) declares challenging both the concepts of society, the existing and completeness of society. In the light of their arguments, society is neither an objective reality nor it exists. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) quoting Laclau and Mouffe, argue that the organisation of a society can be done in a variety of ways, and both the theorists dispel the original concept of Marxist's theory defining society into the division of class structure, (the researchers add stress, objective reality and completeness) Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Foucault (1972) approach links power to knowledge in discourse. In the same pursuance, Laclau and Mouffe (2001) view the interconnectedness of power and knowledge. Discourse produces knowledge to understand the world by excluding other existing discourses, therefore, power becomes its integral component which in Foucault view, is dispersed in a society. It serves both as productive and constraining forces. In the domain of politics, power is contingent but in theory, all social phenomena producing power, are considered contingent Jorgensen & Phillips, (2002).

The researchers in this study follow methodology of Fairclough (2001) for the text analysis of the newspaper study published in daily dawn 2008. His methodology has six questions and this study will restrict to the analysis on five of them. The complete design and method of Fairclough has six

phrases and this study takes only five of them that include the choice of research problem, the formulation of research questions, the choice of material, the analysis and the result/ findings which are discussed below.

1. Choice of research problem

(Fairclough N. , 2001) describes critical discourse analysis an “explanatory critique” identifying the problem to be resolved by research. The members of the concerned society or the researcher may identify a problem to expose an ideology creating inequality in the concerned society (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002). As a critical approach CDA’s objectives is to help the oppressed in the society and bring about a change (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002). Following the same line, the researchers analyze the text to reveal the ideological function of power. The researchers will never make a claim to get accessibility to reality as ideology always misrepresents reality but our aim is to examine how the discourse help in constructing reality.

2. Formulation of research question

CDA draw a distinction in the two dimensions of social world- discursive and non- discursive. Using the CDA methodology this study analyzes the text of Zardari speech that he made to the media men during his visit to United State, and this analysis of text will have its context within the social practices of Pakistani society.

3. Choice of material

In CDA, the choice of research material confines to the research question. The familiarity of the researcher with the concerned material and his/ her accessibility. In line of these reasons, researchers picked up our text of Asif Ali Zardari interaction with media from Dawn online archives which is the most influential daily newspaper of Pakistan.

4. Analysis

CDA of Fairclough offers a three-dimensional approach for analysis as it is undertaken at three levels: text, discursive practice and social practice. Discursive practice deals with production and consumption, the analysis of social practices is done on social and cultural theories for analysis of

the non- discursive aspect of social practice and the textual analysis confines to the text linguistic characteristics like a grammar, choice of words, metaphors; for example, researchers may analyze the text on modality which is done in this research and which evaluate the speaker assessment of the situation. (As discussed above in detail).

5. Results/findings

This research is designed to bring about a social change through strengthening egalitarian discourses as CDA's objective is increasing the people awareness to know how the use discourse may create inequalities (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002)

Method

The data comprises of one speech of President Asif Ali Zardari published in English Newspaper Daily Dawn September 25, 2008 and the researchers picked up for analysis. English newspaper daily dawn's selection is based on its wider circulation as compared to numerous other newspapers of English language published in the country and it is the oldest newspaper founded by Quaid- e- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Founder of Pakistan.

Originally the data collected for this study is the news stories based on the speeches of the president of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari. There are three news stories. One during his visit to the United States of America in 2008 and where he interacted with the US president and other top leadership, lawmakers, officials and world leaders then he held a media briefing. The next two speeches are his speeches that he delivered at a public gathering at Gari Khuda Baksh Sindh province. The researchers have to go through a meticulous examination of selection as to which one is more important, comprehensive and carries information relevant to this study. There is consensus that the first news story based on the president's speech is more appropriate for this study, and the researchers have to pick one of the three news stories based on his speeches, for examination of ideological stance through modality analysis. The news story based on his speech he delivered during his media interaction in the United States of America is selected for examination of modality because the only aim of this speech is to examine the ideology and political stance of the

speaker through modality in the written text published in the widely circulated English language newspaper of Pakistan. It is published from Islamabad, the metropolitan capital of Pakistan. The selection criterion is based on process of selecting the major and oldest newspaper of Pakistan. Dawn is the oldest and widely circulated newspaper therefore it fulfills the criteria needed for this investigation. According to the ABC certified data, available with the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa information department, and visited for this study, Dawn has over 138,000 circulations. The limitation of one newspaper (Dawn) for this study is based on the objective of the study, (ideology and political stance of the speaker) on the issue of terrorism and the government policies to address it.

In this study the researchers investigate the speech of Asif Ali Zardari Chairperson of Pakistan people’s party that he delivered during his interaction with media persons during his visit to New York and it was directional both to international and national audiences. The researchers examine his text through the lenses of CDA framework of (Fairclough, 1989: 110-2) that they feel, offers an appropriate set of questions from the chosen data. A number of scholars have successfully used this framework to investigate smaller quantities of data that included (Krishnamurthy, 1996) and (Caldas Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996).

Analysis of Asif Ali Zardari:

TABLE 1

EPISTEMIC MODALITY		FACTUALITY	
MED	HIGH	MED	HIGH
23 a. “We all make mistakes in this war	3. We have to increase the appetite for the acceptance of the (fact) 4. that we are in the state of war	21. Pakistan and the United States are on the same page on this	3. We have to increase the appetite for the acceptance of the fact

23 b. we are also always ready to correct them.”			4. that we are in a state of war
21. Pakistan and the United States are on the same page on this	20. The entire nation is fearful especially after the Marriot blast	16. We have not been able to convey the impact to our people and the nation	20. The entire nation is fearful especially after the Marriot blast
16. We have not been able to convey the impact to our people and the nation	19. We have had physical effects, economic effects and psychological effects of this war	19. We have had physical effects, economic effects and psychological effects of this war	
		23 a. “We all make mistakes in this war 23 b. we are also always ready to correct them.”	

TABLE 2

DEONTIC MODALITY			FACTUALITY	
LOW	MED	HIGH	MED	HIGH

29. We should engage with these nations	2. We need to prepare a new plan to deal with it	34. We are obliged to provide support to Dr. Afia	7. The UN will be involved if needed to do so	6. On Kashmir..... A continuation of the Musharraf regime's policy of holding direct talks with India
7. The UN will be involved if needed to do so	6. On Kashmir..... A continuation of the Musharraf regime's policy of holding direct talks with India	3. We must increase the appetite for the acceptance of the fact 4. that we are in a state of war		8. US military incursions into FATA should be stopped. 16. The government needs to make a new plan and develop new concepts for winning this war
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		16. The government needs to make a new plan and		

		develop new concepts for winning this war		
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TABLE 3

BOULETIC MODALITY	FACTUALITY
MED	MED
15. We intend to open a new chapter based on mutual respect and cooperation	15. We intend to open a new chapter based on mutual respect and cooperation

Table 4

EVALUATIVE MODALITY
HIGH
28. There is a great support in the world for Pakistan
22. The US incursions are counter productive

Table 5

ALETHIC MODALITY	FACTUALITY
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LOW	HIGH	LOW	MED
16-17. Can we sustain the engagement without involving the people?	5. We cannot wish it away	16- 17. Can we sustain the engagement without involving the people?	5. We cannot wish it away

Analysis: 1

Factivity implies such expressions, which assert facts or reality. These expressions are used for strong certainty or conviction. The text of the newspaper’s story carries information grouped into three sets under factuality with high degree of certainty which their syntactic makeup reflects. The first set of information (3-4) confines to internal situations of Pakistan and its forces supported by the people are fighting against terrorists on its soil, the existing scale of terrorist attacks in Pakistan. President Asif Ali Zardari highlights the importance of realising the grave threat of terrorist activities. He presents the information placed in the high factuality with high epistemic scale of modality. These are information on ground where the military forces and the people of Pakistan offered sacrifices and these sacrifices were recognised. The second set of factual expressions, has a direct impact on the people of Pakistan because of the suicide attacks on the public and private sector installations, (8-16-20) in these cases, there are three main issues such as his demand, desiring to stop military incursions in tribal areas of Pakistan, the preperation of new security strategies, against militants and the fearfulness of the nation triggered by the Marriot blast. These expressions for example, the first two are high at facticity with high scale of deontic modality and the last one falling in the high factuality branch with high epistemic scale of modality. These expressions show desire and demand to stop the drone strikes by the US in tribal areas as in these attacks innocent civilians are killed and this is agitated by the people at mass rallies. The third set has one high factuality (6) related to the issue of Kashmir and it falls in the high deontic scale of

modality which emphasises the continuation of previous regime's policy. Other degrees of factuality information are (16-19-21) which contain med factuality degree with med epistemic scale of modality, these utterances express the failure of leaderships of both the countries, Pakistan and Afghanistan to tell their peoples the impacts of the war. This expression describes the fact, and the next utterances are, the expression refers to the "Pakistan and the United States on the same page in the war against terrorism, asserting alignment with the US on the issue. The next expressions (19-23a-23b) are confined to the, fall between med and high-level factuality with the same scale of epistemic force. The next in same set is the physical, economic and psychological effects on Pakistan which fall into the median category of factuality and the same at epistemic scale of mortality. This expression highlights the backing of international community on the issue of economic crisis of Pakistan.

Some expressions possibly conveying factuality and certainty, show confidence or conviction but lack modal verbs and also using emphatic language for example: "We intend to open a new chapter." This expression shows confident declaration, having med factuality and the same scale of bouletic modality expression. The next example is: "We cannot do more." This expression shows emphatic limitation and the reference here is to Dr Afia.

The following examples highlights assertiveness which implies utterances, (16-17) expressing strong beliefs or opinions, they lack the use of modal verbs but are direct language. For example: "Can we sustain the engagement without involving the people?" This is rhetorical question and assertive highlighting importance but falls in the low factuality category with the same scale of alethic modality expression because it also shows doubt.

The next example is: "The US incursions... are counter-productive, (22) " This expression is a direct criticism on the Us strategy in FATA and falls into the high scale of evaluative modality expression.

These categorizations show the tone as well as the intentions of president Zardari's expressions.

Analysis 2

Non modalised and modalised utterances

Modality is a complex, and overlapping concept, and can be traced, highly irregular in the text. It is not an easy task to identify and draw conclusions on the modality within the text as it involves a number of factors ranging from contextual bound interpretation to the readers response. However, this study begins with the newspaper's story breaking down the expressions of President Zardari first the non-modalized expressions. Non modalised utterances are such expressions that may or may not carry any significance statements condition or uncertainty, and may convey strong conviction or sense of fact. In the preliminary stage, this study takes the non modalised expressions utterances falling in different categories of modality. These non-modalized expressions are: "We intend to open a new chapter". This non modalised expression lays emphasis on the President Zardari's utterances such as taking a fresh start for improving bilateral relations with Pakistan's neighboring countries, (reference is to Afghanistan, India and Iran) based on mutual interest cooperation and respect and cooperation. This is a med bouletic modality expression, falling under non modalised information with med factuality intensity.

The next non modalised utterance is: "We have not been able to convey the impact to our people and the nation": This is non modalised expression falling with med factuality in the epistemic category.

President Zardari here, shows the concern that both leaderships didn't communicate to their people as to what war brings along and how to be prepared for its effects, suggesting better communication to both the peoples about the effects of war.

The next example is: "can we sustain the engagement without involving the people?": This utterance of Zardari falls in alethic category of low modality and low factuality and highlights the complexity surrounding the war against terrorism in Pakistan, questioning the viability to continue it by ignoring the public involvement. This also shows doubt. The next example is: "Pakistan and the United States are on the same page on this". The speaker's assertion here is to align Pakistan with the US on the counter-terrorism related efforts. It falls in the epistemic med modality and med factuality branch.

The next example is: "There's a great support in the world for Pakistan on this issue". This utterance of Zardari falls in high evaluative modality, as the speaker's reference is the reported backing of the international community to help Pakistan in its economic crisis.

The next example is: "We cannot do more". The speaker sets in this expression, a limit in supporting Dr. Aafia Siddiqui, and the speaker cites the nature of her case.

The non-modalized expressions/utterances of president Zardari communicate his determination, commitment and optimism to improve relations with international community. These expressions acknowledge the communication gaps as well as the importance to engage the people. They highlight the confidence and trust in reinforcing the existing cooperation between US and Pakistan, appreciate the international support and the limitations of Pakistan's government in the sensitive cases.

These expressions portray the leadership of Zardari and his approach, laying emphasis on strategic alliances, cooperation and clarity in forward looking.

Modalized expressions

For example: "We intend to open a new chapter", this expression shows the intention of the speaker. The next example is: "We should prepare a new plan" showing necessity. The next example is: "We need to engage with these nations" showing again necessity. The next example is: "we cannot do more" expressing the limits of the ability. The next example is: "US military incursions into Fata should be stopped" showing desire. The next example: "We plan to hold an international conference" highlighting a Plan of government.

Deontic modality expresses necessity. The epistemic modality expresses certainty, possibility. Dynamic modality expresses ability, and willingness. The intentional modality, carries intention of the speaker along with his plan.

The above modalized expressions/utterances communicate the intentions and objectives of President, Zardari, the degree of urgency and necessity, his government's constraints and limitations, his cooperation and desire for engagement, uncertainty as well as putting a rhetorical question. The use of modalised utterances, make President Zardari's expressions soften and show his willingness for cooperation and engagement. He shows his commitment and determination, limitations and challenges.

Interpretation and implications

Analysis and interpretation are integral parts of any scholarly conducted study. This becomes more complex and complicated when the researchers are part of the both objective and subjective situations. As all agree that reality is contingent and constructed to present the perspective of who constructed it, therefore, the analysis and interpretation of any text becomes more difficult. The important thing is how the researchers detach themselves from such influences. This study made all possible steps to attain the highest possible impartiality and objectivity. In this study, under the factuality degree, the three sets of information related to high factuality and determinacy, were analyzed, which related to the internal security of Pakistan, the threats of terrorism, and the defence mechanisms to deal with them. The expressions in the first set (analyzed in analysis part above) used by the president Zardari carry his strong conviction. The internal situation of Pakistan has been threatened by the terrorists and its forces supported by the people are fighting against them on its soil, the existing scale of terrorist attacks in Pakistan is high and because of such critical situation, the people are espousing fear.

President Asif Ali Zardari highlights the need of realizing the grave danger that the terrorists posed. This information explains the situation on ground. The military forces and the people of Pakistan gave sacrifices and got recognition from the international community. The speaker also highlights that terrorism has a direct impact on the people of Pakistan. The increase in the suicide attacks on the public and private sector's installations, has created fear among the people. there are three main issues such as his demand, desiring to stop military incursions in tribal areas of Pakistan, the preparation of new security strategies, against militants and the fearfulness of the nation triggered by the Marriot blast. These expressions for example, the first two are high at facticity with high scale of deontic modality and the last one falling in the high factuality branch with high epistemic scale of modality, show the speaker's desire and demand to stop the drone strikes by the US in tribal areas as in these attacks innocent civilians are killed and this is agitated by the people at mass rallies. The third set has one high factuality (6) related to the issue of Kashmir and it falls in the high deontic scale of modality which emphasises the continuation of previous regime's policy. "The US incursions... are counter-productive, (22) " is an expression directly criticizing the Us

strategy and falls into the high scale of evaluative modality expression. These categorizations show the tone as well as the intentions of president Zardari's expressions.

Other degrees of factuality information contain med factuality degree with med epistemic scale of modality, expressing the failure of leaderships of both the countries, Pakistan and Afghanistan as both didn't to their peoples the impacts of the war against terror. This expression describes the fact, and the next utterances are, the expression refers to the "Pakistan and the United States on the same page in the war against terrorism, asserting alignment with the US on the issue. However, Zardari did not mention, the king of response from the US president. The next expressions (19-23a-23b) are confined to the, water crisis in Pakistan, the mistakes made in the war against terror and Kashmir issue, the first and last are related to Pakistan and India and the second involves Pakistan, US and its allies, and fall between med and high-level factuality with the same scale of epistemic force. The remaining describe the physical, economic and psychological effects of war against terror on Pakistan and fall into the median category of factuality and the same at epistemic scale of mortality. These expression highlights the backing of international community on the issue of economic crisis of Pakistan. But what the US say about them is a guessing game.

There is no single interpretation of any utterance analyzed above but multiple interpretations can be done.

However, some expressions exist that possibly conveying factuality and certainty, which show confidence or conviction but lack modal verbs and also using emphatic language (15) for example: "open a new chapter", shows confident declaration, having med factuality and the same scale of bouletic modality expression and "We cannot do more." It shows emphatic limitation and the reference here is to Dr Afia.

Below are the utterances highlighting assertiveness (16-17) expressing strong beliefs or opinions, they lack the use of modal verbs but are direct language, for example: "Can we sustain the engagement without involving the people?" is rhetorical question and assertive and highlights importance but falls in the low factuality category with the same scale of alethic modality expression because it also shows doubts.

Interpretation of Analysis 2: Non modalised and modalised utterances

As this study points out in the beginning of the analysis, in the similar veins, modality too, is a complex, and overlapping concept, and can be traced, highly irregular in the text. It is not an easy task to make one complete interpretation. Conclusions on the modality within the text as it involves a number of factors ranging from contextual bound interpretation to the readers response. However, this study begin with the newspaper's story breaking down the expressions of President Zardari first the non-modalized expressions. Other non modalised expressions utterances fall in different categories of modality. These non-modalized expressions are: "We intend to open a new chapter". This non modalised expression lays emphasis on the Zardari's utterances such as taking a new start to improve bilateral relations with Pakistan's neighboring countries, (reference is to Afghanistan, India and Iran) based on mutual interest cooperation and respect and cooperation. This is a med bouletic modality expression, falling under non modalised information with med factuality intensity. The non modalized utterances convey the impact of war on people and the nation": showing the concern that the leaderships of Pakistan and Afghanistan didn't communicate to their people as to what war brings along and how to be prepared for its effects, suggesting better communication to both the peoples about the effects of war. These utterances show the relationship between US and Pakistan, the limits of Pakistan to help out Dr Afia, the international support to Pakistan.

The non-modalized expressions/utterances of president Zardari communicate his determination, commitment and optimism to improve relations with international community. These expressions acknowledge the communication gaps as well as the importance to engage the people. They highlight the confidence and trust in reinforcing the existing cooperation between US and Pakistan, appreciate the international support and the limitations of Pakistan's government in the sensitive cases.

These expressions portray the leadership of Zardari and his approach, laying emphasis on strategic alliances, cooperation and clarity in forward looking.

The above modalized expressions/utterances communicate the intentions and objectives of President, Zardari, the degree of urgency and necessity, his government's constraints and limitations, his cooperation and desire for engagement, uncertainty as well as putting a rhetorical question. The use of modalised utterances, make President Zardari's expressions soften and show his willingness for cooperation and engagement. He shows his commitment and determination, limitations and challenges.

Ideological perspective

The analysis of president Asif Ali Zardari brings to light his ideological standpoint through the presentation of his ideas and principles, conveying his commitment, beliefs, and attitudes, on important issues. His nationalistic posturing implicit in his security related expressions, his emphasis on the need for acceptance of reality that we are in war, shows his ideological inclination. He uses epistemic modality to understand and the recognise it as fact. This is a proactive approach underscoring the need to address the challenges of this war.

The evaluation and assessment of US actions as counterproductive, the desire to solve the Kashmir conflict by peaceful means are strong indicators of prioritization of ideological perspective along with diplomacy and peacefully resolving the conflicts. This alignment to his ideological perspective prefers dialogue, engaging talks, and cooperation against military actions. Some of his utterances related to economic revival of Pakistan, he made both through non modalised and modalised expressions, recognise the importance of international support where Zardari's expression of certainty shows that he believes in engaging with other countries to seek help to address the economic crisis of Pakistan, which he implies to have been the end result of ongoing terrorism.

This is the reflection of his ideological perspective giving importance to collaboration and cooperation with the nations of international community to overcome Pakistan's challenges. He also recognizes the limitations to move forward in Dr Aafia Siddiqui's case. The inferred ideological perspective of Asif Ali Zardari, is seemingly the prioritization of finding peaceful resolution, international cooperation, and the assessments of Pakistan real challenges. The emphasis is on acceptance of ground reality, holding dialogue, and keeping on engagements,

understanding and collaboration both internally and globally that is the logical route to meet all eventualities. Aligning his approach with diplomacy and multilateralism, he suggests to give preference to conflicts resolution through negotiation and dialogue instead of military actions.

This is his ideological standpoint that aims at promoting international and regional security and stability as well as creating a positive image for Pakistan globally. Some expressions that this study analyzed and interpreted highlight his commitment and resolve showing high scale of certainty and emphasizing on urgency, and necessity which increases the level of reality acceptance like: his country is at war and the impossibility of wishing it away. This recommends approaching it with greater caution.

President Zardari speaks with expressions showing a decent amount of assurance and commitment, like his intentions for talks with India about the water situation and indicates his willingness to consider ideas for working with government of Afghanistan for patrolling the borders. All these themes highlight his ideological perspective. The stated declarations show a desire for action with will, that shows the modest degree of trust in the suggested and stated courses of action. Zardari's expressions exhibit an intense level of certainty, authority and commitment showing the top level of modality. Zardari emphasises to support Pakistan by powerful economic nations, the US and Pakistan as on the same page concerning US military interventions in FATA and his announcement of Pakistan's intentions to host a conference globally against terrorism are the manifestation of ideological stance. His backing to Dr. Aafia Siddiqui, is also ideologically leaning because it neutralizes the religious mindset back in Pakistan. The above assertions show a great degree of self-assurance, assertiveness, and a resolute attitude on the problems raised. These expressions also contain assertions, describing factual positions in terms of factuality. He agrees that there is a continuous war against terrorism and the Musharraf regime's policies with India will continue, that the UN may get involved, and the halt to US military operations in FATA, are dominant themes and are ideologically driven. The above evaluations regarding the present state of affairs and the stances taken by the government of Pakistan are unbiased are on merit. However, the last assertion of this study is that all these expressions analysed and interpreted objectively,

still have the space for multiple interpretations. The people welfare, they being victims of terrorism, the consequences they face and the direct bearing of war on people, security forces, and politicians and democracy values are the themes having his political ideology and significance.

Discussion and Conclusion

(Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) explain the discursive construction of reality what they call it as “contingent” and other competing discourses may displace it in the same discursive field. Within the social sphere, many discourses are in constant struggle to be objective but it’s only possible when a discourse reaches “closure” and excludes other discourses in the same terrain bracing for competition, (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002). The fixation of meaning requires antecedent as proposed by (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) “nodal points” to be filled by the meanings of signs in the “chains of equivalence” (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002).

This analysis also shows that the use of language in a particular way, produces, reproduces and maintains a particular meaning what and how Mr. Zardari employed in his interaction with media. This study, however has already described how the application of (Fairclough N. , 1989) CDA framework makes possible the identification of linguistic features influencing the perceptions, thinking, actions and opinions of audiences, they may not be aware of. The discursive field is the war against terrorism, water crisis, resolution of other conflicts, the need to financial support and Zardari’s perspective on them totally ignoring the reasons behind. All these themes highlight the speaker’s ideological stance. The contents of the speaker’s speech have elements perpetuating and reinforcing the power and control that is a classic example of discourse power’s reproduction, the hegemony and domination, (Van Dijk, 2015) it as a field of investigation for those outside of the power realm to be aware of it.

However, the speech analysis demonstrates that the speech is spread over differently across various scales of modality and degree of factualities. As analyzed in the analysis section, different scales of modality convey corresponding levels of determinacy. The high level of certainty and factuality used by President of Pakistan conveys corresponding level of necessity, urgency and commitment.

The great sense of confidence, authority, and aggressiveness displayed in the high modality utterances reflects strong convictions as well as intents. It also contains accurate assertions, supporting its objective portrayal of the condition of the conflict, the continuation of policies, and the planned objectives. The numerous speech modes employed throughout the talk are supported by this factual grounding.

The med-modality expressions, on the other hand, exhibit a moderate amount of certainty, showing a desire to participate in conversations and consider mutually collaborative solutions.

The distribution of expressions in his overall utterances, at various factual levels and modality's scale, demonstrates Zardari's strategy for tackling the pertinent concerns, which ranges from tentative to cautious and assertion to confidence. His views and aims are effectively communicated through the use of an amalgamation of various levels of modalities and factuality. It reveals the ideological perspective and commitment of Zardari over the critical challenges including the security, state of war, regional and international cooperation, and conflict resolution through peaceful means. He tries to convey his attitude and beliefs based on his ideological stance, shaping the discourse on the topics.

Zardari also speaks out his mind through ideological standpoint emphasizing on the need of engagement, acceptance and dialogue, to effectively meet the challenges. He prefers for evaluation and assessment of actions, and peacefully resolving the conflicts. His emphasis is on international support based on his ideological stance seeking cooperation, diplomacy, and practically made decisions. The overall conclusion is that meaning making process is a diverse and complex one as previously discussed, which according to Halliday (1985: 356) the use of modality makes it possible to construct meaning making by the readers because it is the context and the speaker which are key to it.

The researchers admit that this analysis took place solely on one speech of President Zardari investigating the non modalised expressions modalised in the newspaper's story of the Daily Dawn, the most influential English newspaper of Pakistan and it add to the body of knowledge.

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