REPRESENTATION OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES IN THE

US PRESS: A CORPUS STUDY

by

MINHEE BANG

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School of English, Drama, and
American & Canadian Studies
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ABSTRACT

This study examines the representation of foreign countries in the two US newspapers, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. The corpus comprises foreign news reports between the years 1999-2003 amounting to approximately 42 million words of running text. The thesis presents 5 analyses each focusing on collocational and semantic patterns of a given set of keywords. In the first study, premodifiers of the keywords *countries/ country/ nations/ nation* are examined. It is argued that the semantic patterns of the premodifers construe a hierarchy and polarity among the countries concerned. In the second study, collocates indicating mental and verbal processes of *Arab leaders* and *European/ European Union/ EU leaders* are examined. In the third study, verbs of saying attributed to the keywords *Blair and Hussein* are examined. In the fourth study, the lexical collocate *said* and a set of grammatical collocates of the keywords *China/ Japan/ North Korea/ South Korea* are examined. These three analyses show that there are subtle and nuanced patterns in the representation of the countries and leaders which correspond to the countries' relationship with the US and which transmit the 'friend and foe' or 'us and them' ideology. In the fifth study, the collocational patterns of the keyword *democracy* are examined. The analysis shows evaluative and rhetorical functions in the use of *democracy* in the context of foreign countries. Taken together, the analyses demonstrate cumulatively formed patterns of the representation of foreign countries which can be characterised by the two semantic themes of asymmetry and stereotyping.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the thesis

This study examines the representation of foreign countries in the two major US newspapers, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. The choice of the topic was initially motivated by a personal interest. The United States exerts such political, military, and economic influence on South Korea, where the analyst comes from, that its relations with the US are always under the spotlight, and it is a sensitive issue to South Koreans how their country is represented in the US media. A previous corpus-based study of South Korean newspapers found that the US is the second most frequently mentioned foreign country after North Korea, and is represented uniquely as a policymaker and an adviser (Bang, 2003). Expanding on the scope of the topic, the current study sets out to investigate how foreign countries and the US relations with these countries are construed in the US press. In addition to the personal interest in the topic, it appears that relatively little research has been done into the press representation of foreign countries (see, for example, Galtung and Ruge, 1965, Brooks, 1995, Galasiński and Marley, 1998, Orpin, 2006). It is hoped that the current study can constructively add to this under-explored subject area. Methodologically, the topic has shaped some crucial decisions regarding data collection and analysis, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

In terms of theory, both the earlier and current study are influenced by Stubbs (1996, 1997,

2001). There is a growing interest in the use of corpus techniques in doing critical discourse analysis, and probably, one of the first people to do this is Stubbs. Stubbs can be credited with theorising and demonstrating how critical discourse study can be approached from the corpus linguistics point of view. Stubbs, in turn, is indebted to Firth who insightfully observes that language is much more routine than one would expect and that what individuals can say is very much socially constrained (1996: 41). Frequency data and recurrent patterns produced by corpus methods can empirically show this routine nature in language use. Another Firthian insight into language is that 'language in use transmits the culture' (Stubbs, 1996: 41). Stubbs highlights how Firth heralded a study of ideology and social change by proposing 'research into the distribution of sociologically important words' (ibid: 43), as follows:

> The study of such words as *work, labour, trade, employ, occupy, play, leisure, time, house, means, self-respect*, in all their derivatives and compounds in sociologically significant contexts during the last twenty years would be quite enlightening (Firth, 1957: 13).

Firth (1957: 10) calls these sociologically important words '*focal* or *pivotal words*' which are similar in concept to cultural keywords used by Stubbs (1996: 168). The proposal is taken up by Stubbs who demonstrates how corpus techniques, which were not available to Firth, can be applied to investigating a set of cultural keywords including Firth's own suggested words, lemmas of WORK and EMPLOY (Stubbs, 1996: 157-195, 2002: 145-169).

Stubbs, however, makes a link between routine language use and the transmission of the culture, not explicitly made by Firth (ibid: 43). Stubbs argues that recurrent phrases encode and transmit cultural information and that studying them can 'provide empirical evidence of how the culture is expressed in lexical patterns' (ibid: 169). Stubbs (2002: 149) recognises

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the mass media including newspapers as a crucial medium of circulating and naturalising the use of these recurrent patterns:

> Both the representation and the circulation are profoundly affected by the mass media, which recycles the same phrases over and over in newspapers, on radio and television, and in news broadcasts, commentaries and talk shows. Corpus analysis is one way in which the propagation of phrases can be studied: both changes over time and distribution in different texts.

In relation to the role which the media plays in propagating certain ways of representation, the choice of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* as data is rendered more pertinent by the fact that they have the power to potentially influence the people who get to choose the most powerful leader in the world, and are internationally influential newspapers; hence the lexical patterns of representation used in these newspapers are more likely to circulate in the international press and to be recycled.

Stubbs' application of corpus methods to the critical study of discourse has been increasingly adopted by other researchers as an alternative to or a reinforcement of traditional qualitative methods. In his critique of the methodological and interpretative weaknesses frequently associated with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Stubbs argues that the quantitative nature of corpus data and replicability of corpus methods can improve the interpretative rigour and objectivity of analysis (1996, 1997, 2001). Frequency and recurrent patterns which form the basis of analysis and interpretation are objectively produced by a concordance software, and the results can be checked and challenged by other analysts. Interpretation drawn from frequency information and recurrent patterns is less prone to subjectivity and circularity, even though these aspects are intrinsic part of any interpretative process and therefore cannot be completely ruled out (Clark, 1992, Hunston, 1999, 2002, Stubbs, 1997, 2001).

1.2. Methodological principles

Most previous research uses a corpus either as an assisting tool for traditional qualitative analysis or as main data to extract and study pre-selected linguistic features, as will be discussed in detail in section 2.3.1 of Chapter 2.   The current study aims to use a corpus not only as a source of data but also as a starting point of analysis.   In this approach, the corpus guides the analyst as to what to analyse and how to shape the direction of the analysis, as opposed to the analyst predetermining what to analyse and imposing the analytical framework on a corpus.   In conjunction with the broad nature of the topic, this methodological aim led to a number of key decisions concerning the size of data, data collection methods, and selection of items for analysis.   The decisions include:

- the corpus should be of considerable size
- data should be collected as randomly as possible
- selecting items to analyse should be determined by the corpus.

Firstly, the size of a corpus largely depends on research aims and purposes, but there are also practical considerations to be taken into account regarding the nature and availability of data and the methods of data collection and analysis.   Two factors were taken into account for building the corpus used for this study.   On the one hand, the aim of the study is to look at the representation of foreign countries at the lexico-grammatical level with a focus on recurrent lexical and semantic patterns.   Unlike studying a frequently occurring (usually grammatical) single word or grammatical feature, this requires a relatively large corpus in order to achieve a reasonable amount of search results because the frequency decreases rather rapidly once words are examined in combination, for example, as collocation (Sinclair, 1991: 69).   On the other hand, the corpus needs to be a manageable size for manual analysis.   The study makes use of the automatic processing of data only for producing frequency and

keywords lists.   The bulk of analysis has to be done manually because of the emphasis of inquiry on semantic and contextual behaviour of lexical items.   An account of how the size of the corpus has been decided will be given in section 3.1.2 of Chapter 3.

Secondly, the decision that data selection should be random is related to the topic and methodological framework chosen for the study.   There are many different types and sources of data and ways of collecting it.   The data used in this study is newspaper articles, and the source is an electronic database.   When written texts in electronic form are used as data, one typical way of retrieving data is to use search words which are linked to a given topic (e.g. *immigrant(s), refugee(s)* in Baker and McEnery, 2005, Baker et al, 2008, Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008).   However, deciding what to use as search words has proved to be less straightforward for the topic of the representation of foreign countries.   First of all, there seems to be no self-referential search word that represents the topic like the example of *immigrant(s)* and *refugee(s)*.   Crucially, any search word used should not skew the range of foreign countries represented in the corpus.   That is not to say that different countries will be given equal coverage in newspapers.   In fact, it can be safely assumed that the coverage will be asymmetrical, and that it in itself will be of interest in examining the representation of foreign countries.   It is therefore important that the coverage is not unduly skewed by the use of certain search words.   The use of any topic-specific search words is not viable because the name of a country linked with a particular topic or an event represented by the search words is more likely to be included in the corpus.   Another aspect of using specific topic-related search words is that it is likely to result in a corpus of a narrow scope in terms of the content. This suits a study whose focus of investigation is a specific topic or an event.   However, the main interest of the current work lies in discovering the overall lexico-semantic patterns in which foreign countries are represented in newspapers.   Ideally, the content of the corpus should be as wide and balanced as it can be.   For these reasons, search words should be as

random and non-topic specific as possible.   In my previous study of the representation of foreign countries in the South Korean press (Bang, 2003), the random data selection was achieved by using as search words a set of common general nouns which were not topic-specific and had no particular reference to foreign countries.   They include *man, woman, people, human, matter, work, hour, time, year*.   The same strategy was found to be unsuitable for the data source used for the current study.   A detailed account of the selection of search words will be given in section 3.2.1 of Chapter 3.

Lastly, as argued earlier, the aim of the current work is to explore how a critical analysis of discourse can be incorporated into corpus linguistics, in particular, how analysis can be guided by a corpus as opposed to a corpus being used primarily to assist analysis.   Central to this approach has been how to select items for analysis.   Typically, analysts decide what linguistic features or lexical items to analyse in advance and look for them in the corpus. The corpus for this study was built for rather a general topic, namely, the representation of foreign countries, and designed with no specific linguistic item in mind for investigation. There are, hence, potentially many different aspects of the topic that can be investigated. While starting with a specific item to analyse is commonly used and is as valid as any other methods, the idea of allowing a corpus to determine the selection of items for analysis draws upon the powerful potential of corpus methods which can reveal something that is intuitively unexpected.   The aim of this approach is to maximise the role of a corpus in analysis and interpretation.   This issue will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

1.3. Research questions and outline of the thesis

As mentioned in the previous section, what characterises the methodology of the current study is that the research questions were not predetermined, but decided based on frequency

using the keyword and collocate lists. This does not mean that I as the analyst approached the corpus without any preconceptions. The corpus consists of the foreign news reports covering a specific period of time. One assumption is that countries would be treated differently. It could also be expected that the name *Iraq* would be a high frequency item because the corpus includes newspapers articles which were published before and after the US invasion of Iraq. However, these are very general assumptions. The corpus was built in the way that minimised the analyst's influence on what was included in it, as will be detailed in section 3.2 of Chapter 3. This makes it difficult to make any specific assumptions about the corpus. A similar approach was taken by Jeffries (2003) (see section 2.3.4 of Chapter 2). In order to avoid interpretative positivism in dealing with a specific topic, she approaches her data with no specific hypothesis before analysis and selects the most frequently occurring lexical items for analysis. In the case of the current study, it is the broad nature of the topic which allows the analyst to approach the data with an open mind. This approach is described as *corpus-infused* in that what occurs frequently in the corpus is not determined by the analyst, but the selection of the items for analysis is informed by the analyst's own knowledge of the world. This will be further discussed in section 3.3 of Chapter 3. An account of how the initial set of the keywords was chosen for analysis is given in section 3.4 and 3.5 of Chapter 3. These are the aspects of the keywords investigated in the main analysis and discussion section of the thesis:

- the premodifying collocates of the keywords *country, countries, nation* and *nations* in Chapter 4
- the process types of *Arab leaders* and *European/ European Union/ EU leaders* in Chapter 5
- the verbs of saying occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein* in Chapter 6
- the collocate *said* and a set of grammatical collocates of the keywords *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea* in Chapter 7
- the collocational and contextual patterns of the keyword *democracy* in Chapter 8.

The aim of the thesis is not to offer the complete picture of the corpus, but to explore different ways of investigating the topic of the representation of foreign countries and to discover any common patterns of representation which characterise these different aspects of the corpus. These common themes are drawn from the findings of the analysis of each item outlined above. The question asked in the analysis of the premodifying phrases of *country, countries, nation* and *nations* is how countries are classified and labelled by the premodifiers. It will be shown that classification of countries involves prioritising certain aspects of countries, and these criteria reflect a value system which emphasises hierarchy and order among countries. Chapters 5 and 6 investigate the representation of two different groups of foreign leaders. While it can be easily assumed that leaders who represent different countries and regions will be treated differently, the aim of analysis is to establish details of how the difference is conveyed linguistically and the extent of the difference. The analysis will show that the construal of the leaders is expressed not in black and white fashion, but in more nuanced and complex semantic patterns. In Chapter 7, the representation of the four individual countries, China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea is examined. As shown above, the analysis consists of two parts: the first part examines the representation of the four countries as a sayer, focusing on the different types of sayers occurring with the collocate *said*. The second part examines the semantic patterns of lexical items co-occurring with grammatical collocates *in, of, to, with, for, from* of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*. The analysis will highlight two semantic features in the use of the lexical collocate *said* and the grammatical collocates which mark the construal of the four countries: varying degrees of collectivisation and different types of beneficiary role attributed to each name of the countries. Finally, the keyword *democracy* represents a key concept in US foreign policy. This seems to be borne out by the fact that *democracy* occurs as the keyword of the corpus of the foreign news reports. In Chapter 8, an extensive analysis of the collocational patterns of *democracy* will

show how *democracy* is used to evaluate various aspects of countries and to construct a role

of the US as a promoter and supporter of democracy in its relationship with other countries.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses research using corpora and application of corpus methodology to different research interests and purposes.   The first part of the review discusses two traditions of corpus linguistics which profoundly differ in their view on the role of corpora in the study of language.   Related issues such as size, representativeness, and the annotation of a corpus will be touched upon with reference to a group of studies.   This review is not intended to be exhaustive in its coverage, but to demonstrate different approaches to the use of corpora.   In the course of the discussion, the theoretical alignment of the current study with one of the traditions will be explained.   The second part of the review discusses a number of critical discourse studies which use corpora in different ways.   This discussion will consider how the current study differs in methodology from the ones reviewed.

2.2. Two traditions of corpus linguistics

Corpora are employed extensively in all areas of linguistic inquiry from lexicography to genre analysis.   One overarching difference among the studies using corpora is whether corpora are used as a discovery tool or an informing tool.   One tradition of corpus linguistics aims to derive linguistic patterns from corpora, while the other tradition focuses on applying existing

linguistic features on corpora in order to have them mapped out on authentic, often larger amounts of data. The former approach is represented by studies such as Sinclair (1991, 2004), Hunston and Francis (1999), Gledhill (1999, 2000a, 2000b), Hoey (2005) and Teubert (2001, 2005, 2007). The latter approach is represented by studies such as Kennedy (1998), Biber et al (1998), Short and Semino (2004), Matthiessen (2006).

2.2.1. Corpora as a discovery tool

In this section, I will review studies where corpora are used as a discovery tool. The main interest of these studies is attention to the phraseology of words. A study of phraseology starts at a lexical level, and the description is driven by observations on collocational behaviour of individual words in a corpus. This is the common principle behind studies such as Sinclair (1991, 2004), Hunston and Francis (1999), Gledhill (1999, 2000a, 2000b), Hoey (2005), and Teubert (2001, 2005, 2007), even though the aim of each study varies.

Sinclair (1991, 2004), by studying words and phrases in a corpus, demonstrates how closely lexis and grammar are interrelated and that phraseology should be at the centre of any description of language. Sinclair departs from the top-down approach to grammar and proposes a grammar derived from lexical patterns of individual words observed in a corpus:

> The new evidence suggests that grammatical generalizations do not rest on a rigid foundation, but are the accumulation of the patterns of hundreds of individual words and phrases. The language looks rather different when you look at a lot of it at once (1991: 100).

Despite his use of the word 'generalisations', Sinclair does not suggest generalising the patterns of individual words into an abstract grammatical system. His interest primarily lies in exploring the idiosyncrasy of the behaviours of individual words (Hunston and Francis, 1999: 77).

Taking Sinclair's insight on the form-meaning correlation further, Hunston and Francis develop pattern grammar. Pattern grammar is based on a large scale corpus analysis of verbs, nouns and adjectives, carried out to produce the *Collins Cobuild Grammar Patterns* series (1996, 1997, 1998). While Sinclair's focus is on individual words or word forms and their phraseological behaviour, Hunston and Francis make generalisations by focusing on 'patterns which select words of particular meanings' (1999: 29). Patterns of a word are defined as 'all the words and structures which are regularly associated with the word and contribute to its meaning' (1999: 37).

What is methodologically distinctive about Hunston and Francis's approach is that patterns are grouped by a 'common feature' rather than words sharing a pattern being grouped (1999: 86). For example, the preposition *in* is the common feature in the pattern **N** *in* **N** (e.g. *change/ increase/ growth in*) and *that* is the common feature in the pattern **ADJ** *that* (e.g. *amazed/ disappointed/ surprised that*). This method of grouping patterns not only allows generalisations but also is effective in encapsulating the relationship between meaning and pattern where the meaning is in 'the whole pattern' rather than in a 'single lexical item' (1999: 87). The 'common feature' is typically grammatical words such as prepositions. In the course of investigating phrasal verbs of *set*, Sinclair suggests that 'sense groupings' of phrasal verbs can be made using the particle (*give over, get over, tide over*), instead of grouping them

based on the verb element (*give up, give out, give over*, etc.) (1991: 68).   Hunston and Francis'

use of grammatical words as a common thread in grouping patterns can be viewed to work on

the same principle.

Similarly influenced by Sinclair, Gledhill (1999, 2000a, 2000b) applies corpus-methods to genre

analysis to discover discoursal and rhetorical functions of collocations in the genre of cancer

research articles and to 'account for systems of phraseology in scientific texts' (2000b: 17).

What distinguishes his study from traditional collocational studies is that he takes grammatical

words as 'the starting point for the analysis of longer stretches of collocation and phraseology'

(2000b: 17).   Gledhill notes that grammatical words have been largely overlooked in previous

studies of collocations, because they are too frequent and believed to 'collocate with anything'

(2000b: 18).   However, Gledhill (2000b: 11-18) argues that grammatical words are an intrinsic

part of the meaning of a phraseological pattern and hence fundamental to phraseology.

Hoey (2005) bases his theory of priming on collocational, colligational and textual patterns of

individual words observed from a corpus.   He defines priming as a 'psychological

phenomenon' (2005: 7) where 'a word is primed for use in discourse as a result of the

cumulative effects of an individual's encounters with the word' (2005:13).   Hoey likens

priming to a personal 'mental concordance' that 'is accessible and can be processed in much the

same way that a computer concordance is' (2005:11).   Hoey (2005: 14) explains how a corpus

may offer evidence for priming as follows:

> …the computer corpus cannot tell us what primings are present for any language user,
> but it can indicate the kinds of data a language user might encounter in the course of
> being primed. It can suggest the ways in which priming might occur and the kinds of
> feature for which words or words sequences might be primed.

Putting aside the issue of whether a corpus, which is a collective record of language use can be evidence for priming, which is an individual cognitive process, Hoey's lexis-driven approach to a corpus puts him firmly in the tradition of using corpora as a discovery tool.

Lastly, Teubert, advocating diachronic corpus linguistics (2004: 121, 2005: 4, 2007: 80-83), sees a corpus as a hermeneutic tool to trace how meaning is interpreted, paraphrased and adapted (or rejected) across texts over a period of time (2003, 2005). Teubert focuses on the following aspects: 1) collocations, 2) usage and 3) semantic change. Collocations are where 'units of meaning' can be found, and by usage, he emphasises the need to consider 'contexts in which a word is found'. Semantic changes occur in the course of words being referred to and paraphrased in different texts over time. These changes can be observed from comparing collocations in a diachronic corpus (e.g. the collocational analysis of the change in the meaning of the word *guilt* in European society since 1850 in Teubert, 2004). In verifying the usage of the word and tracing the emergence and spread of the meaning across texts, Teubert makes an extensive use of citations taken from a range of texts including ones searched from the web. This is not a typical corpus method in that texts are often not electronically stored and also not retrieved in the form of concordances, but it subscribes to a fundamental principle of corpus linguistics that all data must be authentic real language and considered in context. What is germane to the current study is Teubert's view of discourse as containing people's attitudes or beliefs which are textually transmitted and can be traced by investigating a corpus.

The discovery approach to the use of a corpus is characterised in two main ways. Firstly, the studies introduced above use a plain corpus. A plain corpus is one which has not been annotated using existing linguistic categories. A potential disadvantage of applying

predetermined categories to a corpus is that the scope of analysis may be limited to what is already known and established in terms of those categorisations. This precludes a possibility of approaching a corpus with an open mind and learning something that has been overlooked or unexplored in the conventional description of language. Sinclair (2004: 191) argues:

> The description which produces the tags in the first place is not challenged – it is protected. The corpus data can only be observed through the tags; that is to say, anything the tags are not sensitive to will be missed.

While acknowledging that tagged and parsed texts can be of assistance in identifying 'the co-patterning of lexical and grammatical choices', he stresses the importance of paying attention to 'the strength of patterning which emerges from the rawest of unprocessed data' (1991: 117). Gledhill (2000: 83-84) also explains that he kept his corpus unannotated, as his aim is not to 'confirm' instances of pre-defined collocations, but to 'define' collocations which are identified based on co-occurrence and recurrence in a specific genre type.

Secondly, unlike investigating a single word or a word class, the study of phraseology requires a corpus of substantial size. Sinclair (2004a) notes that 'the occurrence of two or more words together is inherently far rarer than either on its own' even when the words are individually frequent words. A sufficient number of occurrences is crucial when the focus of research is to discover recurrent patterns which will show typical ways in which certain words or phrases are used as in the case with Sinclair's work. Hunston and Francis' work discussed earlier is based on the Bank of English corpus which is the largest corpus in the world. On the other hand, Teubert combines the use of a small scale specialised corpus with the Web. The corpus used for Gledhill (2000b) is half a million words, which is relatively small-sized. In prioritising

grammatical words for analysis, Gledhill (2000b: 110) points out that grammatical words provide 'the optimum amount of phraseological information' for a medium-to-small sized corpus.

2.2.2. Corpora as an informing tool

Studies which use corpora as an informing tool can be characterised by a practice of annotating a corpus. Leech (2004) regards annotation as 'giving added value' to a corpus by adding 'interpretative linguistic information' which not only benefits original research using the corpus, but also can be useful for future research. The most familiar kind of annotation is part of speech tagging (e.g. the British National Corpus in Rayson et al, 1997). A corpus can also be annotated to encode meta-linguistic information (e.g. the spoken subcorpus of the British National Corpus annotated with ethnographic information on gender, age, social group and geographical region in Rayson et al, 1997). It can also be annotated with stylistic and discoursal information (e.g. stylistic tags which show speech, thought, and writing representation types in Semino and Short, 2004).

The main area of research using corpora as an informing tool is in testing and refining existing categories against authentic and quantitative data. Studies on grammar have been by far most productive not least because grammatical tagging can be relatively more economically and accurately automated (Meyer, 1991, Mindt, 1995, Kennedy, 1998). Semino and Short's study mentioned above is an example of using a corpus to enhance theorisation by refining and modifying categories in the light of corpus evidence. The tagging categories are based on the model of speech and thought representation initially proposed by Leech and Short (1981).

Semino and Short (2004: 27) state how the revision and development of the framework have been informed by the corpus as follows:

> Through the process of tagging the corpus, we developed new categories and subcategories, and refined and expanded our understanding of the distribution and function of existing categories.

Meanwhile, some methodological issues regarding manually annotating a corpus are highlighted in the study. Unlike POS tagging which can be largely automated, annotating stylistic or discoursal information is difficult to automate because it requires an ability to understand complex textual environments and to make sophisticated contextual and pragmatic inferences (ibid: 27). Manual annotation is extremely time-consuming and labour intensive as acknowledged by many including Semino and Short (ibid: 27). This means that it is usually done on a small-scale corpus. For instance, the corpus used by Semino and Short is 258,000 words. A potential problem is that the corpus may not yield enough instances of certain categories. Semino and Short report that categories such as direct writing do not occur frequently enough to claim any statistical significance in their corpus (ibid: 27).

Another area of interest for the category-based approach is to gauge probabilities of choices between different categories in a language system. This is done by calculating frequency and distribution of particular categories in a corpus. Halliday and James (1993) demonstrate this application in a pioneering study of the distribution of the polarity system. Using the then 18 million word Bank of English corpus, Halliday and James automatically extracted positive and negative clauses in order to determine the probabilities of positive and negative choices in the English language. The analysis confirms Halliday's hypothesis that the frequency ratio

between the positive and negative choices is 9:1.   The study shows how this type of research needs quantitative data to reliably predict the overall probabilities of the system.

In continuing Halliday's efforts to quantitatively establish 'the probabilities that were associated with these grammatical choices' (1993: 2), Matthiessen (2006) has built frequency profiles of the key grammatical systems across different registers (e.g. frequencies of textual, interpersonal, and experiential clause systems), and established the overall probabilities of these systems. This involved manually annotating each text with a range of systemic functional categories and collating frequency and distribution information.   Matthiessen has compiled a 1.5 million word corpus of various written and spoken registers with new texts constantly being added to it.   As a way of reducing the load of manual work, Matthiessen employs what he calls a two-pronged approach which combines manual analysis of a small sample of texts with automated analysis of large corpora whenever possible.

A corpus study which is based on full-scale automated annotation of grammatical features is found in Biber et al (1998).   Biber et al identified co-occurring linguistic features which characterise different registers by using what they called multi-dimensional analysis.   They compiled a corpus of 960,000 words covering 340 texts (written registers) and 148 texts (spoken registers) and annotated it with 67 grammatical features falling into 16 major categories. Because of the number of grammatical features to factor in for comparison, Biber et al state that manual analysis would be ineffective (ibid: 145).   It may be open to debate how meaningful it is to distinguish register variations solely in terms of grammatical features.   Nonetheless, the study exemplifies how corpus methods can be extended to what is traditionally considered a qualitative area of inquiry such as register (genre) analysis.

2.2.3. Implications for the current study

This section has focused on methodological issues in its survey of a selection of literature on corpus linguistics. The studies introduced in the discussion have been divided into two groups in terms of the main role played by corpora: corpora as a discovery tool or as an informing tool. The distinction is illustrative of the two theoretical stances on corpora as data for linguistic inquiry: for the former, corpora provide evidence to depart from the traditional dichotomy of language as form and meaning, while the latter uses corpora to refine and enhance the existing paradigm.

The current study theoretically aligns itself with the tradition of corpora as a discovery tool in that it uses a plain corpus and the analysis is lexis-driven. At the same time, it is methodologically eclectic in that it incorporates different methods of analysis from different studies. The extensive use of semantic groupings in analysis is adapted from Hunston and Francis (1999). Gledhill's (1999, 2000a, 200b) use of grammatical words as the starting point of analysis is adapted in the analysis of the keywords *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea* in Chapter 7 and the keyword *democracy* in Chapter 8. In Chapter 6, the analysis of the representation of the speech of the foreign leaders uses some of the speech representation categories from Semino and Short (2004). While drawing on these different methodological influences, the aim of the current study is to explore the topic of the representation of foreign countries in such a way that not only is the corpus a data source, but also guides the direction of the analysis. This will be further explored in relation to previous studies in the next section.

2.3. Critical discourse study and corpora

Corpus methods are employed in increasingly divergent disciplines and fields. Specially, the use of corpora in lexicography, grammar and language teaching has been highly prolific and can now be considered well-established (e.g. Wichmann et al, 1997, Granger, 1998, Biber et al, 1999, Sinclair et al, 2001, Sinclair, 2004, Scott and Tribble, 2006, Walker, 2008). The role of corpora has also been increasingly recognised in the field of critical discourse study. As discussed in Chapter 1, Stubbs may be credited with bringing together corpus linguistics and critical discourse study and establishing the theoretical principle that a corpus can be used to study recurrent language patterns which may transmit ideology. As a CDA practitioner, Hardt-Mautner (1995) is the first to specifically propose combining CDA and corpus linguistics. Meanwhile, Baker, in his book *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis* (2006) provides a practical and detailed methodological guide for any researcher who wishes to incorporate corpus-methods into critical discourse analysis. He discusses basic concepts of corpus methods such as frequency, concordance, collocate and keyword, and illustrates how they can be analysed and interpreted for critical discourse study through a series of case studies (e.g. holiday promotional discourse). He also demonstrates how to make use of syntactic and semantic tagging: syntactic tagging is used to identify frequencies of different word forms of ALLEGE and collocational profiles of each form (ibid: 155-159), and the corpus of anti- and pro-hunting texts is semantically tagged in order to identify general semantic categories which characterise the two discourses (ibid: 143-146). The work can be regarded as the first comprehensive handbook for using corpora for critical discourse analysis.

This section discusses previous critical discourse studies which use corpora. The discussion

will touch upon issues concerning topic and data selection, interpretation, and the role of corpora. As will be shown, the majority of studies reviewed in this section can be described as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)-oriented, while a small number of studies can be described as Corpus Linguistics (CL)-oriented. The theoretical positions of CDA and Corpus Linguistics have implications for the issues mentioned above. The studies reviewed for discussion are grouped in terms of a topic chosen for analysis in section 2.3.1. Section 2.3.2 briefly discusses how the two theoretical traditions view the study of language and ideology. Section 2.3.3, 2.3.4 and 2.3.5 consider the aforementioned issues with reference to the studies introduced in 2.3.1. Lastly, section 2.3.6 sets out the directions taken by the current study in the light of the review of the studies in terms of the nature of data and interpretative practice.

2.3.1. What is to be investigated and how to choose it

The studies reviewed in this section roughly fall into the following three approaches regarding the selection of items to analyse:

1. to investigate pre-selected lexical items (some of the pre-selected lexical items are also used as a search word to collect data for corpus-building and they are indicated by * in table 2.1)
2. to investigate pre-selected grammatical or semantic features
3. to investigate what has been identified as most frequent words or keywords without bringing in any pre-determined items to the analysis.

The results are presented in table 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3. The majority of the studies reviewed are shown to follow the first approach of analysing pre-selected lexical items. This sits well with the fact that corpus methodology is best suited to studying lexis. Equally, the lexis-based

approach suits studies which are CDA-oriented, and the majority of the studies reviewed are CDA-oriented, as will be shown in section 2.3.4. CDA prioritises issues that it believes important. The lexis-based approach enables it to investigate specific aspects of these issues represented by words or phrases. This may explain why the lexis-based research is far more frequent than the second or third type of research. As can be seen from table 2.1, the lexical items chosen for analysis reflect a variety of topical interests:

Author	Lexical items analysed	Corpora used
Hardt-Mautner (1995)	*European(s), Europe*	headlines and editorials of four British newspapers (the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Guardian*, the *Sun*, the *Mirror*)
Krishnamurthy (1996)	*ethnic, racial, tribal*	Bank of English
Bayley (1999)	*federalism, democracy*	British parliamentary documents
Piper (2000a) Piper (2000b)	*learning, lifelong learning, individuals, people*	British government and EU documents on lifelong learning, Bank of English, BNC
Sealey (2000)	*child, children*	BNC, other texts collection
Teubert (2001)	keywords of Euro-sceptic discourse, e.g. *federal, superstate*	Free Britain corpus
Sigley and Holmes (2002)	*girls(s), boy(s)*	Brown corpus, LOB corpus, WWC corpus, Frown corpus, FLOB corpus
Stubbs (2002)	cultural keywords, e.g. *heritage*	Bank of English
Johnson et al (2003)	PC (political correctness) related words*	British broadsheet newspapers (the *Guardian*, the *Independent*, the *Times)*
Toolan (2003)	*politiquement correct** (French translation of *politically correct*) and related words	online *Le Monde* corpus
Page (2003)	*working mother/ mom*	press reports on Cherie Booth/ Blair from the *Independent, the Times, the*

		from the *Independent*, the *Times*, the *Guardian*, the O*bserver*, BBC News, BNC, the Web
Alexander (2004)	what the author calls purr-words, i.e. euphemistic and positively connoted words, e.g. *benefit(s)*	online promotional materials of two multinational agricultural companies
O'Halloran and Coffin (2004)	*United States of Europe, migrants*	BNC
Teubert and Čermáková (2004)	*globalisation/ globalization, friendly fire*	Bank of English
Baker and McEnery (2005)	*refugee(s), asylum seeker(s)**	News corpus, UNHCR online documents, BNC
Orpin (2005)	*corruption* and its (near) synonyms, e.g. *bribery, sleaze*	Bank of English newspaper subcorpora
Coffin and O'Halloran (2006)	*Eastern Europe, Europeans, immigrants*	*Sunnow*, Bank of English subcorpus, the *Sun* mini-corpus
Ensslin and Johnson (2006)	*language, languages, linguistic linguistics**	6 million word corpus of two British broadsheet newspapers, the *Times* and the *Guardian*
Mautner (2007)	*elderly, older*	WordBank Online (sub-set of the Bank of English)
Gabrielatos and Baker (2008)	asylum and immigration related words, e.g. *refugee(s)**	140 million word corpus of 18 British newspapers
Baker et al (2008)	asylum and immigration related words, e.g. *refugee(s)**	140 million word corpus of 18 British newspapers

Table 2.1. Studies which analyse pre-selected lexical items

Table 2.2 on the next page summarises studies which adopt the second approach. These studies focus on the investigation of pre-selected grammatical or semantic features as opposed to lexical items. As mentioned earlier, they are far fewer in number than the type 1 studies:

Author	Items analysed	Corpora used
Caldas-Coulthard (1993)	quoting patterns of women's verbal activities	British broadsheet newspapers (the *Guardian*, the *Independent*, the *Times*)
Mautner (1995)	pronouns, news actors	headlines and editorials of four British newspapers (the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Guardian*, the *Sun*, the *Mirror*)
Stubbs (1996)	transitivity	secondary school geography textbook, environmentalist textbook
Alexander (1999)	nominalisation, pronouns	BP chief executive's speech, Body Shop's mission statement
Goatly (2002)	process types, transitivity	BBC World Service (Bank of English subcorpus)
Nesi et al (2002)	process types, speech reporting verbs, naming and identification practice	spoken corpus of academic lectures (BASE: the British Academic Spoken English corpus)
Alexander (2003)	meta-discoursal function of defining, metaphor of value	Vandana Shiva's BBC Reith Lecture
Page (2003)	naming practices, transitivity	press reports on Cherie Booth/ Blair from the *Independent*, the *Times*, the *Guardian*, the *Observer*, BBC News
Alexander (2004)	pronouns	online promotional materials of two multinational agricultural companies
Charteris-Black (2004)	metaphor in various discourse types, e.g. political discourse, newspaper, religious discourse	Bank of English, New Labour manifestos, US president inaugural speeches, the Bible, the Koran
Vaghi and Venuti (2004)	metaphor on Euro	British broadsheet newspapers (the *Guardian*, the *Times*)

Table 2.2. Studies which analyse pre-selected grammatical or semantic features

This type of research is less frequent probably because these features are difficult to manually identify in quantitative data.   Tagging can also be a laborious process, as illustrated in Semino and Short (2004).   Table 2.3 on the next page introduces the type 3 studies which are most infrequent.   In these studies, what is analysed is decided by consulting the wordlist or keyword

list after the corpus is built, and can be either a study of lexical or grammatical features:

Author	Corpora used	Items analysed
Stubbs (1996)	Baden-Powell, the Boy Scouts founder's last messages to the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides	*happy, happiness*
Morison and Love (1996)	reader letters to the editor of two Zimbabwean magazines	*people, Zimbabwe, party, government, president*
Flowerdew (1997)	speech and writing of the last Hong Kong governor, Chris Patten	lexical reiteration as a discursive strategy
Fairclough (2000)	New Labour corpus including interviews, manifestos, written corpus of the BNC, Guardian, old Labour documents	keywords of the New Labour corpus, e.g. *we, Britain, welfare, partnership, new, schools, people, crime, reform, deliver, promote, business, deal, tough, young*
Jeffries (2003)	British local newspapers (*Huddersfield Examiner, Yorkshire Evening Post*), Bank of English	*water, Yorkshire water, company, commodity*
Garzone and Santulli (2004)	British broadsheet newspapers (the *Guardian,* the *Independent,* the *Times*)	*world, war, enemy*
Bastow (2006)	speech texts taken from the US Department of Defense website	rhetorical features, e.g. pronouns, metaphor, binominals, stance adverbials
Cheng (2006)	SARS related spoken public texts including public speeches, Q&A sessions, radio announcements, forum discussions	six most frequent lexical words - *Hong Kong, health, care, hospital, private, SARS*

Table 2.3. Studies which analyse items chosen from the frequency or keyword list

As described in Chapter 1, the issue of how to choose items for analysis has been a crucial factor in shaping the direction of analysis for this study. While the pre-selection of what to

analyse is most common, the current study has adapted the third approach of using the frequency and keyword list to decide items for analysis. This is partly due to the fact that the corpus used for this study is built in such a way that it is topic non-specific. Another consideration is that the pre-selection may bring a certain degree of pre-analysis assumptions or expectations to what is to be analysed. The assumption can be formed by previously observing the use of the word or reading about the topic. For example, Mautner (2007) starts her article by mentioning that her interest in the word *elderly* arises from her observation that the word seems to be negatively used in everyday situations and from her encounters of debates on the use of the word in other disciplines. This preconception of the word is then confirmed in the analysis. Another example can be found in Baker and McEnery's (2005) study of words such as *immigrants* and *asylum seekers*. A negative perception of immigrants or asylum seekers is fairly common in society and hence the analysis of these words presupposes a negative construal of this group of people. In a way, any choice of a topic comes with a certain amount of preconception, especially if it is a contentious issue. This does not mean that it is not worthwhile to investigate an issue, just because we can somehow expect what we are going to find in the text. The current study, however, has opted for the alternative method which minimises pre-analysis assumptions in order to maximise the serendipity of using an open-ended corpus.

2.3.2. Theoretical backgrounds to Critical Discourse Analysis-oriented studies and Corpus Linguistics-oriented studies of discourse and ideology

The studies introduced in the previous section can be distinguished into CDA-oriented and CL-oriented according to the theoretical tradition they are aligned with (with a few exceptions such as Sealey, 2000, Sigley and Homes, 2002, Toolan, 2003, Charteris-Black, 2004, Ensslin and

Johnson, 2006).   This section will briefly consider what characterises two very distinctive approaches to the study of language and ideology, beginning with a discussion of CDA.   What makes CDA stand out from other types of discourse analysis is its explicit political commitment, as stated by one of the most prominent CDA practitioners, Van Dijk (1996: 84):

> One of the crucial tasks of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is to account for the relationships between discourse and social power. More specifically, such an analysis should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions.

While Van Dijk's statement concerns a revelatory aspect of CDA (Locke, 2004: 27-34), Fairclough adds a 'socially transformative' aim of CDA in what he calls the 'Manifesto for critical discourse analysis':

> The aim of critical social research is better understanding of how societies work and produce both beneficial and detrimental effects, and of how the detrimental effects can be mitigated if not eliminated (2003: 202-203).

This professed political commitment sets a distinctive starting point for CDA, as stated by Fairclough (2001: 26):

> CDA analyses texts and interactions, but it does not *start* from texts and interactions. It starts rather from social issues and problems, problems which face people in their social lives, issues which are taken up within sociology, political a science and/or cultural studies.

In CDA, analysis and interpretation of texts are framed within socio-cultural and historical contexts.   Fairclough (1989: 163) argues that the 'societal, institutional and situational

determinants' should be examined in order to:

> …portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them.

Similarly, Wodak (1996: 109) proposes the discourse historical approach in her study of racist discourse in Austria, stressing the importance of analysing texts in historical, socio-political and setting-specific contexts. Wodak (ibid) outlines a history of immigration in Austria and provides a sociological account of race and racism, such as what constitutes race. This provides a context for her discussion on the historical development of racist discourse on immigrants from Eastern Europe in the Austrian media.

It should also be noted that the CDA emphasises looking at what happens beyond a text such as intertextuality (Fairclough, 2003: 39-61, Richardson, 2007: 100-112), interdiscursivity (Fairlcough, 1993, 1996) and text production and reception (Bell, 1991, Graddol and Boyd-Barrett, 1994). It is argued as integral to analysis and interpretation of a text to consider, for instance, who is the audience of the text, who produced the text, under what conditions and for what motives. However, in practice, these aspects are not always incorporated into analysis. For example, none of the CDA-oriented studies discussed in section 2.3.4 addresses the issue of text reception and the role of the reader.

On the other hand, as discussed in section 2.2, corpus linguistics is concerned primarily with the investigation of how words are used. It offers innovative ways of studying lexis which has previously largely been on the periphery of the linguistics, casting light on under-explored

aspects of lexis such as collocation (Sinclair, 1991, Stubbs, 2002), meaning-form relation (Sinclair, 1991, Hunston and Francis 2000) and semantic prosody (Louw, 1993, Partington, 1998, Sinclair, 1991, 2004, Stubbs, 2002, Partington, 2004). As discussed in section 1.1 of Chapter 1, one of the insights into language brought to the fore by corpus linguists such as Stubbs (1996, 2002) is that there are recurrent ways of saying things. Words can be habitually used in certain ways to describe or talk about people or events. The implication is that viewpoints or attitudes of people or institutions on certain social groups or issues can be gleaned from such recurrent uses of language, as expounded by Stubbs (2004: 149) especially in relation to media language:

> The world could be represented in all kinds of ways, but certain ways of talking about events and people become frequent…Both the representation and the circulation are profoundly affected by the mass media, which recycles the same phrases over in newspapers, on radio and television, and in news broadcasts, commentaries and talk shows. Corpus analysis is one way in which the propagation of phrases can be studied: both changes over time and distribution in different texts.

The ideological 'baggage' around a word is cumulatively formed over a period of time and across texts. To borrow Hoey's notion of 'priming' (2005), the newspapers prime us to perceive, for example, Saddam Hussein in a certain way, because each time we see his name, it is used in a context which shapes our view in that particular way. Our overall view is the sum of a large number of experiences which are spread over a long period of time and which are inconsistent in nature. The process is subliminal, usually not available to conscious introspection. Just as we do not realise that few of our experiences of the word '*consequence*' are with the definite article (Hoey, 2006), we do not realise that few of our experiences of Saddam Hussein are with neutral reporting verbs (see Chapter 6 for detailed discussion). This

cumulative effect cannot be directly observed from corpora. However, simple concordancing techniques can make observable these recurrent language uses from which the cumulative effect may be reasonably assumed. It is this premise on which CL-oriented studies of discourse are based.

2.3.3. Topic and data selection

In terms of topic and data selection, analytical methods, and interpretation, CDA-oriented studies can be described as politically-infused in that they are motivated by political commitment. Topics are typically chosen because they are concerned with minority social groups or controversial issues which represent inequality and injustice (e.g. refugees and asylum seekers in Baker and McEnery, 2005, Baker et al, 2008, Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008, aging and old people in Mautner, 2007, women and work in Page, 2003, business practices of multinational corporations in Alexander, 1993, 2004, privatisation of water supply in Jeffries, 2003). Data or texts for analysis are chosen because they are suspected of being discriminatory or manipulative in concealing or promoting ideologies of dominant social groups, even though the act of concealment or manipulation is not always consciously done (Van Dijk, 1993). The chosen texts may vary in terms of how subtle or blatant they are in their ideological stance. For instance, the *Sun*, a British tabloid is well-known for its right-wing, anti-immigrant stance, so texts taken from the *Sun* are expected to have a rather overtly biased discourse on refugees and asylum seekers (Coffin and O'Halloran, 2006). On the other hand, the BBC World Service should be considered less biased not least because it pursues a policy of objectivity in news reportage. Goatly (2002) cites this as one of the reasons for choosing it as data for analysis of the representation of nature.

In terms of political intent, CL-oriented critical discourse studies can be described as politically-informed in that their goal is primarily linguistic, although the initial motive for choosing particular words or phrases may have been due to a political interest. For example, in investigating the words *ethnic, racial* and *tribal*, Krishnamurthy (1996) mentions that the starting point for the study was his reaction to reading certain newspaper articles on the Bosnian war and Africa which contained the words *ethnic* and *tribal*. Clearly, Krishnamurthy's interest in the words stems from his own political awareness. This prompted him to suspect that these words may have different connotations and may be used to refer to different countries or groups of people. However, his priority was on examining how these words were used and not on theorising the discourse of racism. Similarly, in Bastow (2006), the choice of the speeches of the US military personnel as data is politically-informed, but the focus of the analysis remains on linguistic features employed in the speeches in order to construct a positive institutional identity of the US military.

2.3.4. The role of corpora in Critical Discourse Analysis-oriented studies and Corpus Linguistics-oriented studies

The use of corpora in CDA has largely been prompted by frequent criticisms regarding the nature of data used for analysis and its interpretative practice (Sharrock and Anderson, 1981, Widdowson, 1996, 2000, 2004, Stubbs, 1997, O'Halloran, 2003, O'Halloran and Coffin, 2004). CDA is essentially qualitative in nature, and this is not necessarily problematic. However, the bone of contention is that often a too sweeping, general claim is made based on a small amount of data. The inadequacy of data used for analysis is acknowledged as 'fragmentary and exemplificatory' by a critical linguist, Fowler himself (1996: 8). The selective and limited nature of data is inexorably linked to the top-down method of analysis and interpretative

practice of CDA.

Concerning the question of interpretation, Widdowson argues:

- CDA tends to impose a pre-textual interpretation on data by focusing on selective textual features analysed when the interpretation should be inferred from the analysis
- interpretation of the text often seems primed to be in a particular way by specifying social or historical setting and context which should serve only as a 'necessary precondition on interpretation' (2004, see chapter 8).

CDA studies appear to fall into the trap of over-interpretation or circularity of interpretation mainly because of the top-down approach which starts with a theoretical framework and then applies it to a specific text. For instance, in the study mentioned earlier, Wodak (1996) uses a handful of short excerpts from a variety of texts to 'illustrate' historical developments of racist discourse. These extracts of texts are chosen exactly because they 'illustrate' her theoretical position, and simultaneously the interpretation is shaped by the context of the historical developments set out by the author.

In terms of the use of corpora, CDA-oriented studies are corpus-informed in that corpora are used mainly for a complementary purpose. Fairclough (2003:6) acknowledges the value of using corpora in CDA insofar as it is 'complemented by intensive and detailed qualitative textual analysis'. The same principle is emphasised in other studies (Hardt-Mautner 1995, Mautner, 2007, Orpin 2006, Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008, Baker et al, 2008). Because of this emphasis on situating texts in relevant socio-political and historical contexts, the use of corpora has sometimes been viewed with some scepticism in CDA since corpus data presented in the form of concordance lines is decontextualised. However, Baker et al (2008) point out that this

stems from a misconception that corpus studies are limited to the 'automatic analysis of corpora'. Contexts can be consulted from expanded concordance lines. It is also possible to retrieve full texts on the condition that the corpus is designed to hold full texts. The extent of corpora use in CDA-oriented studies varies from using corpora only to confirm some intuitive observations to using them as main data.

Coffin and O'Halloran (2006) demonstrate how over-interpretation or under-interpretation can be avoided or reduced by testing one's hypothesis or intuition against corpora. As the text for their investigation, Coffin and O'Halloran chose a *Sun* article on the prospect of 2 million job losses in Britain due to the signing of the new EU treaty. Lexical items such as *flock, United States of Europe, migrants* occurring in the report were examined in detail. In the case of *flock* which Fairclough (1995: 113) interpreted as dehumanising when used to describe migrants, the authors examined all the instances of *flock* in the BNC, and found no supporting evidence for Fairclough's assertion. However, they observed that no example of *flock* in the BNC occurs in the same grammatical pattern as the example in the *Sun* news report:

> *They (millions of migrants from eastern Europe) would be allowed to flock here after ten new nations join the EU next week.*

Coffin and O'Halloran (2006: 284) note that the grammatical structure implies an initiator who controls those who 'flock' to Britain, arguing that:

> …the sentence *they would be allowed to flock* … has been designed by the journalist, whether consciously or unconsciously, to fit in with the pre-established pattern where the primary 'doer' is the EU. That is, it would seem the author is fitting this sentence in with the experiential meaning of a Britain which is impotent in the face of the EU.

The interpretation offered by the authors is carefully balanced against the corpus evidence. Furthermore, the steps taken to reach that particular interpretation are clearly laid out without making an unexplained assumption. While the way O'Halloran and Coffin use the corpus is effective and informative, its use is limited to a reference tool against which a hypothesis or an intuitive observation is tested. Other studies which similarly use corpora to complement qualitative analysis, include Morrison and Love (1996), Flowerdew (1997), Fairclough (2000), Johnson et al (2003), Page (2003), Alexander (2004, 2003, 1993), Garzone and Santulli (2004), O'Halloran and Coffin (2004), Coffin and O'Halloran (2006).

Fairclough (2000) uses a corpus analysis to orient the main qualitative analysis. Fairclough carries out a keyword analysis on a corpus of New Labour documents by comparing it to the written sub-corpus of the BNC, the *Guardian* newspaper corpus and a collection of old Labour documents. The keywords identified from the analysis and their collocations are presented as a summary in separate boxes throughout the book in order to introduce a key concept or topic discussed in each chapter. In some studies, some parts of the analysis are corpus-based, while some parts are qualitative. For example, Flowerdew (1997) investigates lexical reiteration as a discursive strategy using a frequency list and collocational information from the corpus of the last Hong Kong governor Chris Patten's speech and writing, while investigating two other discursive strategies, presupposition and indexicals using text fragments.

The studies in which corpora are used as a main source of analysis include Caldas-Coulthard (1993), Bayley (1999), Hardt-Mautner (1995), Piper (2000a, 2000b), Goatly (2002), Jeffries (2003), Vaghi and Venuti (2004), Baker and McEnery (2005), Orpin (2005), Mautner (2007), Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), Baker et al (2008). Although a bottom-up approach is taken in

terms of analysing corpus data in these studies, a 'traditional corpus-based analysis' is deemed 'not sufficient in explaining or interpreting the reasons why certain linguistic patterns were found (or *not* found)' (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008: 30). Therefore, corpus findings are interpreted by using existing CDA theories, and at the same time, they are able to 'inform the adaptation/expansion of existing CDA categories' (Baker et al, 2008: 24).

Jeffries (2003) is distinctive in her approach to data, as mentioned in the introduction chapter. As a way of safeguarding against the problem of interpretative positivism, Jeffries does not 'overdetermine its hypothesis' (ibid: 518). On her approach to data, Jeffries (ibid: 581) notes:

> In the case of the data investigated here, we can see that the hypothesis is no more specific than that it is an interesting political story, which has many (rather than two) possible positions. It is also crucial that I, as the researcher, have some opinions about the general context of the story, but no clear expectation as to the likely ideologies to be found in the local press at the time.

Jeffries analyses collocational patterns of *water* identified as the most frequently occurring word from the corpus, and compares them to examples of *water* in the Bank of English. She finds that water is construed as something of a commodity that can be quantified, measured and profited from in her corpus, while it is represented as a natural resource with its own dynamic as part of the ecology of the Earth in the Bank of English. At the stage of interpretation or explanation, she then applies the notion of commodification and capitalism to interpreting this emerging discourse of water as a commodity. The interpretation is complemented by the analysis of the word *commodity* in the Bank of English. Jeffries' analysis shows that an interpretative balance can be achieved by taking an inductive approach to data without making a specific hypothesis about it.

CL-oriented studies include Krishnamurthy (1996), Stubbs (1996, 2002), Teubert (2001, 2004), Bastow (2006), Cheng (2006). As can be seen from the number of the studies, there are relatively fewer CL-oriented studies. These studies use corpora as the main source of analysis, and the analysis and interpretation are driven by observations made from the corpus. In this sense, CL-oriented studies take a very much descriptive and bottom-up approach to analysis and interpretation. For instance, Stubbs (1996) investigates *happy* and *happiness,* two of the most frequently occurring lexical items in the corpus of Baden-Powell's farewell messages to the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. In the message to the Girl Guides, *happy* is found to be used in grammatical patterns, 'MAKE NP happy', 'MAKE happy N', 'BE happy', while *happiness* is used in patterns, 'BRING happiness',' GIVE OUT happiness', 'GUIDE to happiness'. On the other hand, in the message to the Boy Scouts, *happy* is used in patterns, 'happy life', 'be happy', 'die happy', while *happiness* is used in patterns, 'step towards happiness', 'get happiness', 'giving out happiness' (ibid: 87-88). These observations lead to an interpretation that the use of seemingly innocuous words such as *happy* and *happiness* expresses a 'separate spheres' ideology (ibid: 84). Admittedly, it is no surprise to find such a gender bias, given the period in and the author by which the texts were written. Nonetheless, this small-scale study demonstrates how the bottom-up approach is implemented in CL-oriented studies.

2.3.5. Interpretation of corpus data

Corpus data needs to be interpreted like any other data. Balanced interpretation cannot be achieved by merely using corpora as data. The tendency towards interpretative circularity in CDA studies discussed in the previous section can also occur when interpreting corpus data. Typically, with some studies, a pre-analysis agenda is imposed upon corpus data or some corpus

evidence is cherry-picked to confirm the agenda. For instance, Alexander (2004) analyses two multinational agricultural companies' publicity websites with a view to exposing how they textually create 'a specific view of corporate reality' to justify their business practices in Third World countries. He examines the use of personal pronouns such as *we, our, you, your* and what he calls 'purr words' which carry positive connotations such as *benefits,* COMMIT*, respect,* IMPROVE*, solution(s)*. The texts selected for analysis have the primary aim of promoting the organisation, hence singling out these items for analysis will only confirm the manipulative nature of the texts in constructing the positive self-image of the companies. This leads to a circularity of interpretation. Similarly, Page (2003) looks at the representation of Cheri Blair/Booth, the wife of the former British Prime Minister Tony Blair in a corpus of newspaper articles on her. She approaches her data from a feminist perspective, and inevitably finds evidence of sexist discourse since newspapers, even broadsheets, are gender-biased. Sometimes, interpretation is based on an assumption which is not made explicit. For instance, in analysis of the creation of the political myth of the positive British colonial legacy to Hong Kong in Chris Patten's writing and speech, Flowerdew (1996) assumes that there is a consensus that the benevolent British rule in Hong Kong is a myth without first discussing the socio-political legacy that British rule left Hong King with. Thus, picking out a feature such as pronouns (e.g. *we, our*) known to function as a rhetorical device of creating solidarity can only serve to prove his assumption that a discourse of myth is created in Patten's texts. This is not to say that these studies are invalid because of interpretative weaknesses. However, they illustrate that the use of corpora does not guarantee interpretative balance when interpretation is driven by the analyst's political agenda. The use of corpora can be most effective, when the analyst is 'unwilling to give up on the issue of empirical evidence' (Verschueren, 2001: 69 cited from Jeffries, 2003).

2.4. Directions for the current study

In the previous section, I have reviewed a range of critical discourse studies using corpora in terms of topic and data selection, and the theoretical approaches taken by the studies regarding interpretation. The review shows that the majority of studies come from the CDA tradition and that there are relatively few studies produced by practitioners of corpus linguistics. While the current study is CL-oriented, in terms of the nature of data and interpretative practice, it differs from the studies discussed in the previous section in several ways. Firstly, this study uses quantitative data, as discussed in section 1.2 of Chapter 1. Some studies use large existing corpora such as the Bank of English or the BNC as either a main source of analysis or a reference corpus. Studies using a specialised corpus often deal with rather a small amount of data sometimes collected in a short period of time. Small specialised corpora have a purpose to serve, and typically investigate a specific event which took place on a single day or over a short period of time ensued by a period of intensive media coverage such as the 9/11 terrorist attacks in Garzone and Santulli (2004), the Yorkshire water crisis in Jeffries (2003), or the SARS crisis in Hong Kong in Cheng (2006). Specialised corpora are also often compared to a large reference corpus in order to validate findings (e.g. Stubbs, 1996, Piper, 2000a, 2000b, Jeffries, 2003, Bastow 2006). The corpus used for this study, on the other hand, is much larger at about 42 million words and is collected over a longer period of time comprising 5 years worth of news reports. It can therefore be said that this is a specialised corpus of a considerable size[1]. A corpus of a reasonably large size is required in this study on the premise that the cumulative effects of recurrently occurring semantic patterns in representing different social entities can be best observed from the quantitative data spanning a period of time.

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[1] In defining a small corpus, Aston gives a range of 20,000-200,000 words, while Gavioli gives a range of 50,000-1,000,000 words (cited from Baker et al, 2008).

Secondly, this study uses data which is more balanced in terms of ideological stance. The source of the corpus is the two US newspapers the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. Both newspapers command international recognition and can be regarded as relatively balanced and less partisan in their news reporting. A classic myth about newspapers is that they are supposed to be objective in their pursuit of truth. Some newspapers pursue this policy with more rigour, while others are less inclined to do so. The *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* seem to be the former at least in principle, as demonstrated by two of the principles for the *Washington Post* declared by its publisher, Eugene Meyer:

- the first mission of a newspaper is to tell the truth as nearly as the truth can be ascertained
- the newspaper shall not be the ally of any special interest, but shall be fair and free and wholesome in its outlook on public affairs and public men (taken from the *Washington Post* website: http://www.washpost.com/gen_info/principles/index.shtml).

A similar statement is made by Adolph S. Ochs, the founder and publisher of the *New York Times*:

To give the news impartially without fear or favor regardless of any party, sect or interest involved (quoted from Salisbury, 1980).

While these declarations of impartiality are not to be taken at face value, it can be agreed that the two newspapers are relatively objective and less overtly biased. The data therefore poses more subtle questions which are less susceptible to pre-analysis assumptions and interpretative positivism. The choice of the topic, the representation of foreign countries in US newspapers is politically-informed in that it is chosen out of my personal interest in the relationship between

the US and other countries.   It is also a broad and open-ended topic and can be approached

without assuming much because of the way data is collected for the corpus (see section 3.2.2 in

Chapter3).   The majority of the studies discussed in this section are shown to deal with data

which is overtly partisan (e.g. articles from tabloid newspapers) or produced with explicit

agenda (e.g. promotion of positive corporate image), and topics which are very specific or

controversial.   The current study differs from those studies in that it investigates a general topic

in the press from sources which purport to be more even-handed in their political stance.

Lastly, this study takes a bottom-up approach to analysis and interpretation.   The bottom-up

approach is also applied in selecting items for analysis, as will be detailed in Chapter 3.

Individual items analysed are chosen from the keyword list and the collocate list.   Choosing

what to analyse from the keyword list or collocate list still requires the analyst's judgement.

However, what occurs as frequent words is objective in the sense that they are not

predetermined or influenced by the analyst.   This offers an initial safeguard against the

analyst's choosing items to suit his or her own agenda.   At the analysis stage, there is little to

be assumed about selected items before actually analysing them.   This study does not subscribe

to any particular socio-political theory which frames description and interpretation of the data.

Description is drawn from what is observed from the corpus and forms the basis of

interpretation.   However, no interpretation is free of subjectivity.   It needs to be

acknowledged that interpretation is informed and may even be biased by the analyst's own

knowledge or understanding of the world.   At the same time, interpretation has to be based on

and checked by the findings of the analysis.

This chapter has reviewed a number of issues including topic selection and methodology in a

range of studies in the fields of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis and highlighted how the current study differs from these previous studies. The next chapter will discuss methodological issues involved in data collection, corpus building, and selection of items for analysis in detail.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Methodological objectives

Chapter 1 outlined the three methodological principles in corpus building and selecting items for analysis (see section 1.2). This chapter elaborates on the decisions and steps taken in data selection, corpus building and selection of analysis items. There are three methodological aims underlining these principles:

1. to find out how a general topic such as the representation of foreign countries can be investigated using corpus-methods
2. to find out how far a bottom-up approach can be taken in analysis and interpretation
3. to find out if cumulative effects of language use can be observed in the way foreign countries are represented in the corpus.

This study is a methodological exploration as much as it is an examination of the topics of the representation of foreign countries in the US press, and these objectives constitute the main focus of the current research.

3.2. Data collection and corpus building

This section details how the corpus used in this project was built and what difficulties can be encountered in the process of corpus-building. The basic steps of corpus-building in the case of a written text corpus should be fairly straightforward. They can be summed up as

follows:

1. decide on what kind of and how much data to collect depending on research aims and needs
2. find or choose a source where data can be collected from
3. store data on a computer.

The increasing availability of various online sources has made corpus building dramatically easier and more manageable by eliminating the drudgery of scanning or typing data into the computer, even though the option of using online sources is not always available. However, even building a corpus from online sources can be quite tricky and complicated for a number of sometimes unforeseen reasons. The account of the corpus-building experience given here is unique in the sense that no corpus-building process would necessarily follow the same path and involve the same issues. The account is intended to describe what complications were involved in building this *particular* corpus and demonstrate some of the practical factors needed to be taken into consideration. More comprehensive guides to corpus design and building can be found in Barnbrook (1996), Kennedy (1998), Hunston (2002), Meyer (2002), Wynne (2004).

3.2.1. Securing a data source

Ideally, the reasons for choosing a data source are that it is representative of a chosen research topic or interesting to investigate as data in itself. In reality, a research topic is often chosen or adapted to suit data available for collection, and securing a data source could have far reaching consequences for the course of research. For the current project, possible data sources were surveyed, while the topic of the thesis was being decided. Firstly, the Bank of English was given some consideration, as it originated at the University of Birmingham.

The obvious advantage here was that the corpus was readily available, and this would save the time and labour of building a corpus from scratch. Regrettably, the Bank of English contains little American press data and therefore was not a viable option unless the topic was to be changed to the representation of foreign countries in the British press. However, with the researcher's interest lying in American newspapers, as stated in the introduction chapter, using the Bank of English was quickly ruled out as an option.

The next possible source came from online newspaper archives. In Bang (2003), the corpus was built by using online archives of South Korean newspapers. Crucially, these archives were freely available. Unfortunately, this was not the case with the online archives of American newspapers which were chosen for inclusion in the corpus. They were all commercially run. For an individual researcher with limited financial resources, it was hardly a feasible option to build a sufficiently large enough corpus using these archives.

While these two possible data sources had to be discounted, the availability of a database called 'LexisNexis Professional' presented itself as a viable option. Although LexisNexis was a commercial media database, a subscription held by the university library meant that it was available to members of the university. In addition to being freely available, as a data source, the database was ideal, in that it had a relatively easy format for searching and downloading data. Downloading data from online sources is not always straightforward. For example, downloading in bulk from the South Korean newspaper archives mentioned above was rather unwieldy, and programming was required to convert the downloaded data into a format compatible with a concordancing programme used for analysis. Understandably, it was a welcome option to use a data source which would allow one to bypass these steps. However, the US newspapers were unexpectedly removed from the LexisNexis Professional database even before data collection began. With no other

alternative source available, the prospect of pursuing the original topic was thrown into serious doubt. Then, the university library was offered a one-month trial of 'LexisNexis Executive', another sub-database of the LexisNexis which included American newspapers. There was no guarantee that the university would subscribe to the database after the trial period ended, so a race against time began to collect enough data to build a corpus of adequate size. What has been described is certainly not an average corpus-building experience, but it is one that illustrates the potential risks involved in relying on data sources controlled by others for data collection, and how the whole course of research could be affected by it.

3.2.2. Deciding on search parameters

The two main decisions to make were firstly what and how many newspapers to include and secondly how to search the database to collect articles. The initial aim was to include four major broadsheet US newspapers: the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post, Chicago Tribune* and the *Los Angeles Times*. This was to give the corpus a balance of views from the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* representing the east coast regions of the US, *Chicago Tribune* the mid-America, and the *Los Angeles Times* the west coast. However, it turned out that *Chicago Tribune* was not available from the database, even though it was listed in the directory, and the *Los Angeles Times* dated back only to the latter half of 2003, the year in which data collection took place. The omission was regrettable and again demonstrates how the nature or composition of a corpus can be forced to alter in the course of data collection. In the end, the inclusion of just two newspapers: the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* seemed justifiable in that they are the two most internationally renowned US newspapers and represent mainstream views of the US, while being not too obviously politically partisan. Choosing the broadsheet newspapers which profess to strive for objectivity and balance in

their reporting was motivated by the objective of testing how effectively corpus methods can uncover more subtle patterns of representation.   Additionally, the sampling of articles from different newspapers suggested that the two newspapers gave the most coverage to foreign news of all the available newspapers in the database.   The sampling was only meant to serve as an indicator of an overall trend and carried out searching for foreign news articles by using a random set of foreign country names.   Incidentally, it came rather as a surprise to see how few articles were found in a newspaper such as *USA Today*.

The next step was to decide on the size of the corpus.   The parameter used to determine the size was the time span covered in the corpus, even though it was not designed to be diachronic.   As mentioned in the introduction chapter, the corpus needed to be large enough for quantitative analysis of recurrent lexical and semantic patterns, as well as focused enough for in-depth analysis.   Admittedly, this is rather a vague requirement and there is no precise way of measuring exactly what sized corpus would fulfil the stated requirement, so the decision to cover 5 years from 1999 to 2003 was a rough and intuitive one.   However, it was felt that this would yield an adequately large but manageable corpus.   Instead of using the time span as a criterion for deciding the size of the corpus, the actual number of words could have been set as a target.   The option was discounted because it would have involved selecting the pre-set number of individual texts for inclusion out of possibly hundreds and hundreds of texts thrown up by search words.   This method proved quite fiddly and time-consuming, even when used to achieve a modest target size of half a million words in the previous study (Bang, 2003).

Moving on to the issue of how to search the database, initially, it was hoped that the search could be limited to the politics section, since the study is mainly interested in exploring how the relationship between the US and foreign countries is construed in political contexts.

However, the search format of the database did not offer the option of delimiting sections of the newspaper. This meant having to use search words which would effectively limit the search to news reports which discuss foreign countries across the sections. As an idea, it may sound simple, but it did not turn out to be straightforward in practice. The crux of the matter, as set out in section 1.2 of Chapter 1, was that texts had to be selected as randomly as possible, and search words should not skew the range of foreign countries represented in the corpus. Various lexical items, selected in a pilot study using the Bank of English corpus, were tried out, but none of the words appeared to satisfactorily produce both accurate and comprehensive results. With a realisation that externally provided search words were not effective, attention turned to the newspapers themselves, in the hope that there were words or phrases internal to the newspapers which could be used as search words, even though the format of the database did not allow accessing different sections of the newspapers.

Studying a sample of texts from the two newspapers found that meta-textual information is included in the beginning of each text. In the case of the *New York Times*, one phrase that caught the analyst's attention was '*Foreign Desk'* in the '*Section*' line, as shown underlined in a sample below:

<div style="border:1px solid black">

SECTION: Section A; Page 9; Column 1; Foreign Desk
LENGTH: 566 words
HEADLINE: U.S. Farm Bill Adds to a Rising Canadian Anger Over Trade
BYLINE: By BERNARD SIMON
DATELINE: TORONTO, May 22
BODY:

</div>

Below is the meta-textual information given in the *Washington Post* which has a similar outline as the *New York Times*:

```
SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A01
LENGTH: 1096 words
HEADLINE: China To Let U.S. See Plane;
Beijing Statement Moderates Rhetoric
BYLINE: Philip P. Pan, Washington Post Foreign Service
DATELINE: BEIJING April 29
BODY:
```

The '*Section*' line does not offer much in this case, but the phrase '*Washington Post Foreign Service*' is found in the '*Byline*', as shown underlined above. '*Foreign Desk*' and '*Washington Post Foreign Service*' clearly are a signal that an article to follow contains foreign news. Unconventional as it may be, using '*Foreign Desk*' and '*Washington Post Foreign Service*' as search words seemed to fulfil the requirement that the selection of articles should not be biased towards any specific topic or favour names of particular countries. There was a possibility that a certain portion of foreign news articles did not come under the heading of '*Foreign Desk*' or '*Washington Post Foreign Service*' and therefore would be excluded from the search. The time constraint, however, made it difficult to continue experimenting with different permutations to refine the search parameters, and it was felt that a compromise was unavoidable. The decision was taken to use '*foreign desk*' for the *New York Times* and '*washington post foreign service*' for the *Washington Post* as a search word. While some data may have been lost from the search, it was nonetheless expected to yield sufficient data whose coverage would be random and comprehensive.

3.2.3. Downloading and creating a corpus

The advantage of using the NexisLexis database was that the search format allowed one to choose a format in which texts could be saved when downloaded. The available formats were HTML, PDF, rich text and plain text. The concordancing software used for analysis in

this study is Wordsmith Tools (Scott, 2003), and data had to be stored in plain text format. Data directly downloaded from the web is often in formats other than plain text, and need to be cleaned up to be usable with Wordsmith Tools. Alternatively, texts can be individually obtained by copying and pasting, but this is neither plausible nor practical when large amounts of data are being handled. Having a choice of saving data directly in plain text format enabled to bypass the clean-up process. Overall, the downloading was done without much complication except that the maximum number of texts that could be downloaded at a time was limited to 200 articles. This made the downloading extremely lengthy and repetitive. Each time 200 articles were downloaded and stored into separate files, which were then arranged and named by the date covered in each file for future reference. The result was a foreign news corpus of 42 million words (or 42,652,965, to be exact). The overall size of the corpus suggests that the search words worked effectively and can be seen as justifying the decision to use them. One surprise was the difference in the total number of files between the two newspapers: the *New York Times* generated 226 files, while only 64 files were created for the *Washington Post*. Table 3.1 below presents the total number of tokens and the number of files for the sub-corpus of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*:

	NT	WP
Total number of tokens	29,699,516	12,953,449
Total Number of files	226	64
Average number of tokens per file	131,413	202,397

Table 3.1. The total number of tokens and the number of files for the two sub-corpora

The third row of table 3.1 shows the average number of tokens per file. One possible interpretation of the difference in the average number of tokens is that texts from the *Washington Post* are usually longer than ones from the *New York Times*. Nevertheless it is curious as to why so significantly fewer number of texts were collected from the *Washington*

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Post. It could be that there was actually less coverage of foreign news in the *Washington Post* or that fewer articles were captured by the search term *washington post foreign service*, in which case the results could have been improved by refining the search parameter. On the other hand, if the former is the case, it may open up a potentially interesting line of inquiry as to how the two major US newspapers differ in their coverage and treatment of foreign news. This only remains a speculation for the time being and will not be pursued further, since the focus of this study is on the overall patterns of representing foreign countries in mainstream US newspapers where the two sub-corpora are investigated as a whole.

This section has detailed the corpus-building process for the project. Easy access to the internet and increasing availability of online resources has made it cheap and easy for individual researchers to build a corpus tailor-made for their own research purposes. Despite the complications involved in securing a data source and setting search parameters, on the whole, the fairly large-scale corpus was constructed in a relatively uncomplicated and doable way.

3.3. Defining the research questions

The broad nature of the topic poses a question as to what aspect of the topic to be investigated and how to approach it. As discussed in Chapter 2, one possibility is to specify research questions in advance and to set out to answer them accordingly. In Bang (2003), a group of country names were selected in order to study the representation of foreign countries in the South Korea press. Prior to building the corpus, specific countries could have been chosen for investigation. Instead, it was decided that the names of countries would be selected from the frequency list once the corpus was built; that is, whatever country names identified as most frequent in the corpus would be chosen for analysis. Hence it was vital to use a

method of data collection which did not influence the overall frequency of countries represented in the corpus.   As mentioned in section 1.2 of Chapter 1, a set of general nouns such as *man, woman, people* were used as search words to download articles as randomly as possible.   The frequency list of the resulting corpus showed that North Korea, the US, Japan, China are the four most frequently mentioned foreign countries in the corpus.   The results may have been something intuitively expected, and it would have been reasonable to choose any of these countries for analysis without consulting the frequency list.   However, the frequency-based selection offers an empirically justified and objective alternative.

A similar approach of focusing on a few selected country names could have been employed for the current study as well; however this possibility was discarded for two principal reasons. The first reason was not to repeat the same kind of analysis merely on a different set of data. Secondly and more importantly, the current study is aimed to be methodologically *corpus-infused*, as introduced in Chapter 1.   This approach can be defined in relation to the corpus-driven approach (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001) and the Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (Partington, 2006).   A pure form of corpus-driven approach may only be achieved in the type of corpus study for lexicography which investigates words in their entirety from a given corpus (Hunston, in personal communication).   For instance, the current study may have been considered more corpus-driven if analysis was carried out on the most frequent 10 words of the corpus (*the, of, to, a, in, and, that, said, for, is*), if not all the words on the list, without no external criterion being imposed on selection of what to analyse.   However, the current study makes use of keywords and collocates for selection of items for analysis.   This decision by the analyst pre-defines the scope of what to analyse, even though what occurs as keywords or collocates is not predicted or predetermined by the analyst, as mentioned before. Further, the selection of items from the keywords and collocates list is informed by the analyst's own interest and judgment.   For instance, in Chapter 7 on the representation of

individual countries, to be strictly corpus-driven, the names of the four most frequently mentioned countries *Iraq, China, Afghanistan* and *Russia* would have been analysed. Instead, the analyst chose *China, Japan, North* and *South Korea* for the reasons that are corpus-external and reflect her own interest. Analysis and interpretation also are not purely driven from the data, but informed by the analyst's own knowledge of the world and existing linguistic categories (e.g. the use of Semino and Short's categories of speech presentation in Chapter 6 on the representation of speech of Blair and Hussein). In this sense, the current study is not entirely corpus-driven. On the other hand, the current study distinguishes itself from the Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) which aim to combine corpus methods into 'qualitative methods more typical of discourse studies' which investigate specific 'features of discourse' (Partington, 2006: 8). Corpus data is primarily used to quantitatively support the qualitative analysis in the CADS (see Haarman *et al,* 2004 for the examples of the CADS). In this sense, the CADS can be described as corpus-informed and top-down. In contrast, the current study takes a bottom-up approach starting from the corpus by utilising the keyword and collocate list. In this sense, this study is described as *corpus-infused* which is positioned between the corpus-driven approach and the CADS.

In Bang (2003), the analysis centred around collocational patterns of a group of nouns referring to North Korea and the US, and this pre-defined the analytical scope. Nevertheless, the course of analysis gave rise to unforeseen questions which resulted in findings that were not expected at the start of inquiry. For instance, one such finding concerns the collocational patterns of the noun *policy* which is not the most obvious candidate for analysis in examining the representation of foreign countries. The word was identified as one of the top ten lexical collocate of *North* and *North Korea*, which was not the case with the words referring to the US. This asymmetry in frequency prompted a further investigation into the collocational patterns of *policy*, and revealed a linguistic asymmetry in the representation of the two

countries, namely that North Korea is construed primarily as a recipient or target of policy:

```
Hen the U.S. administration is reviewing policy on the North," said Prof. Kim
 sides with South Korea's reconciliatory policy on North Korea, rather than t
     they may not follow the engagement policy on the North pushed by the Clin
      uth Korean government's engagement policy on the North, which is sufferi
   tration with regard to his engagement policy toward Pyongyang.   It
```

(Bang, 2003: 15)

In contrast, the US is represented only as a policy maker or owner:

```
     The entire past U.S. policy toward Cuba and pronounced the present
 US government's ambivalent policy toward East Timor. <p> In 1975, when
  in this country over U.S. policy toward El Salvador during the 1980s.
   not occasion a change in policy toward Iraq. <p> James Baker (Secretar
   the Bush administration's policy toward Iraq prior to the Gulf War.  So
```

(Bang, 2003: 81)

One possible counter-example to this was found:

```
analysing what it sees as contradictory statements by President Rafsanjani
and Ayatollah Khamenei on Teheran's policy towards the presence of American
forces in the Gulf (Bang, 2003: 80).
```

The difference is that the target of policy in this case is a specific issue, not the country as a whole. This is in contrast with the way North Korea is collectively construed as a target. What is demonstrated here is the potential of corpus methods to show aspects of language use which may go unnoticed or unpredicted by human analysts. Exploiting this methodological potential of a corpus is central to the *corpus-infused* approach.

In terms of selecting what to analyse, the question of how foreign countries are represented in the US press cannot be answered exhaustively, covering every aspect of the question. It inevitably involves some kind of selection as to what to analyse, and the selection was shaped

by the corpus.   This opens up the possibilities of exploring different side avenues which are related to the central question.   They would not necessarily come into consideration for analysis if the selection were made by criteria external to the corpus.   It must be admitted that there is an element of seeming randomness or serendipity in this way of using a corpus. For instance, one of the items analysed, as will be discussed in detail later, is the word *democracy* which is the first abstract noun keyword of the corpus.   It is also what is called a cultural keyword (Williams, 1976, Stubbs, 1996, 2001).   Being both the statistical and cultural keyword, *democracy* seems to merit further examination.   The presence of *democracy* on the keyword list is unpredicted, but not random in that the word is there for a reason and says something about the way foreign countries are represented.   This shows how corpus methods can lead to unexpected, yet potentially useful discoveries as a result of a willingness to accept serendipity as a research tool.

As is clear from the example of *democracy*, the item has been identified independently of human intervention, but the decision to actually investigate the word is made by the analyst. It is neither possible nor relevant to cut out human intervention altogether for the purpose of this study.   The aim is to take advantage of corpus methods which enable the analyst to explore aspects of the topic which are not pre-defined, and therefore less likely to be susceptible to certain expectations.   At every stage, it is the corpus that guides and informs the analyst as to what to analyse and how to interpret it.

3.4. Obtaining and interpreting keywords

Returning to the example of *democracy*, its selection is determined by the corpus finding that it is one of the keywords of the corpus.   All the items chosen for analysis are also keywords, as will be shown later in the section.   Keywords automatically produced by Wordsmith Tools

are words that occur unusually more frequently in a target corpus than in a reference corpus. They textually or topically characterise the corpus (Scott from the Wordsmith Tools manual, 2003). For instance, the word identified as the most significant keyword of the current corpus is the reporting verb *said*. This clearly can be said to be the keyword characteristic of the genre of the corpus, namely news reports. The second most significant keyword is identified as *Mr*. This may be taken as an indicator that the main social actors are male in the corpus.

In order to identify keywords of a corpus, a reference corpus which is bigger and more general than a target corpus, is needed for comparison. The British National Corpus (BNC) was used as a reference corpus for the current study. One possible objection to the use of the BNC is that the target corpus in this case comprises articles from American newspapers, hence should be compared against a corpus of general American English. Unfortunately, there was no American equivalent of the BNC available for comparison at the time of data collection when the keyword list was produced[2]. It might also be suggested that the reference corpus should be a corpus of American newspapers which would include texts across sections, since the target corpus consists of foreign news reports which may be regarded as a sub-genre of the newspaper. This would have meant building a whole new corpus, which from a practical point of view, was not a viable option. While it is acknowledged that using the BNC as a reference corpus may have resulted in some idiosyncratic results (e.g. *toward* occurs as a keyword of the newspaper corpus, which is most likely due to the spelling differences between British (*towards*) and American English (*toward*)). However, the use of the BNC is justified by the fact that keywords produced using different reference corpora are consistently similar, as demonstrated by Scott (2006).

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[2] There is now the *Corpus of American English* hosted at the Brigham Young University (Davies, 2008)

Due to the relatively large size of the target corpus, the total number of keywords identified by Wordsmith Tools was limited to the default maximum of 500. The scan of the keywords indicated that the keywords fall into a number of meaning groups. The meaning groups shared by the keywords can help build a profile of the corpus. While the keywords in this study are used mainly as a way of identifying candidates for further analysis, it will be useful to devote some space to discussing the meaning groups to see how the corpus can be topically characterised. Firstly, the keyword list includes nouns which can be potentially used as an social actor, and four main categories of social actors are identified as given in table 3.2:

Categories of social actors	Keywords
References to countries and names of countries	*country, countries, nation, nations, state; Iraq, Israel, Kosovo, China, Afghanistan, Russia, Pakistan, Korea, Mexico, Saudi, Iran, Chechnya, Taiwan, India, Serbia, Yugoslavia, Turkey, France, Japan, Columbia, Indonesia, Syria, Timor, Lebanon, Macedonia, Congo, Arabia, Jordan, Bosnia, Canada, Germany, Leone, Sierra, EU*
References to political leaders and names of leaders	*president, leaders, leader, minister, prime; Arafat, Hussein, Milosevic, Putin, Sharon, Barak, Saddam, Blair; Musharraf, Chavez, Karzai, Vladimir, Chirac, Yasir, Kim, Jiang, Slobodan, Netanyahu, Ariel, Abbas, Schroder, Fujimori, Koizumi, Yeltsin, Wahid, Kostunica*
Participants in war and conflict	*troops, soldiers, forces, army, rebels, terrorist, suicide (bomber, bombers), refugees, force, fighters, civilians, rebel, militants, commander, coalition, commanders, allies, guerrillas, civilian, terrorists, guerrilla, militant, officers, refugee, peacekeepers, marines, militia, gunmen, solider, separatist; Taliban, Al Queda, Hamas, Hezbollah*
References to government and legislature and its members	*officials, government, official, minister, administration, spokesman, party, opposition, agency, parliament, secretary, aides, ministry, congress, lawmakers, senate, senator*

Table 3.2. Semantic categories of social actors represented by the keywords

It is, of course, not surprising to find names of foreign countries and political leaders as

keywords in a corpus of foreign news reports.   What is of interest, however, are the names of the countries identified as keywords, as these indicate the interest the US has in them and therefore their newsworthiness on the part of the newspapers.   *Iraq* turning up as the first keyword country name clearly reflects the high news value of Iraq because of the US invasion of the country during the period covered by the corpus.   A picture of different relations with the US can be drawn from the countries represented as follows:

- neighbours: *Canada, Mexico*
- allies: *Israel, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, India, Turkey, Japan, Jordan*
- enemies or rivals: *Afghanistan, Iraq, China, Russia, (North) Korea, Iran, France, Syria, Germany*
- countries in conflict: *Chechnya, Serbia, Yugoslavia, Columbia, Indonesia, (East) Timor, Lebanon, Macedonia, Congo, Bosnia, Sierra Leone*.

This is a simplistic and arguably subjective interpretation of much more complex relationships between the countries.   Nonetheless, it illustrates how the US relations with other countries are largely construed by these newspapers in terms of issues of conflict. There are countries in direct military conflict with the US (e.g. Iraq), countries in political disagreement with the US over the US military involvement in other countries (e.g. France), countries in support of the US (e.g. Japan), and countries which the US supports or intervenes in their conflict situation (e.g. Columbia).

What is of note, incidentally, is that *Britain* and *Italy* do not feature as keywords.   This is rather unexpected, given that Britain and Italy are elite G8 countries along with the US, Canada, France, Germany, Japan and Russia.   In the case of *Britain*, however, its absence on the keyword list may be to do with the fact that the BNC is British data and therefore we would expect to see more references to Britain in the reference corpus.   In fact, it is found that *Britain* occurs 19,935 in the BNC, while occurring 10,258 in the current corpus.

The category of participants in war and conflict includes military organisations (either legitimate or illegitimate) and personnel who actively carry out military actions or people who are affected by these actions. This semantically ties in with the country name category which includes countries in conflict and other countries directly or indirectly involved in them. Table 3.3 below shows five main semantic groups gathered from the keywords. One category includes lexical items referring to actions potentially performed by the war and conflict group of social actors introduced earlier in table 3.2:

Semantic categories	Keywords
War and conflict	(action/ event) *war, defense, attacks, killed, bombing, attack, terrorism, violence, campaign, fighting, killing, armed, suicide (bombing, bombings, attack), wounded, bombings, peacekeeping, fired, cease fire, armored, mission, threats, terror, air (strikes), fled, killings, combat, jihad, operations, fight, uprising, threat, occupation, airstrikes*; (issue) *security, peace, intelligence, nuclear (program/ programs), conflict, territory*; (object) *weapons, missile, bomb, bombs, tanks, targets, explosives, warplanes*
Relations	(actor) *diplomats, diplomat, envoy, ambassador, embassy, neighbors*; (action/ event) *talks, negotiations, efforts, effort, aid, cooperation, sanctions, ties, meeting, accord, agreement, resolution*
Crime	(actor) *police, prosecutors, prosecutor, investigators, prisoners, suspects, victims*; (action/ event) *arrested, charges, accused, suspected, detained, crackdown, trial, investigation, tribunal*; (issue) *corruption, crimes, drugs*
Religion	*Islamic, Muslim, Muslims, Islam, mosque, religious*
Election	(actor) *voters*; (action/ event) *campaign, vote, elections, election, polls*; (type) *presidential, parliamentary*

Table 3.3. Semantic categories of the keywords

As can be seen from table 3.3, the 'war and conflict' group also includes other related lexical items. The 'war and conflict' group is lexically most varied. This may be a fair reflection of the period covered by the corpus in which the war in Afghanistan was (still is) ongoing and

the US invasion of Iraq just commenced, not to mention the September 11 attacks. In reference to these events, the presence of a group of Islam-related keywords is noteworthy. Islam is the only religion which is represented on the keyword list and may be taken as an indicator of how Islam has become a cause of contention around the time of the events mentioned above.

The keywords in the semantic category of 'relations' refer to verbal and material processes of diplomacy between countries such as *talks* and *aid*. A similar semantic theme was found in the collocates of country clusters referring to China, Japan, North Korea, and the US in Bang (2003). The collocates include *relations, talks, dialogue, negotiations, cooperation, assistance, aid, help, support*. To give an example, *relations* is found to typically occur with verbs which are semantically related to 'forming' (e.g. *establish, form, develop*), 'bettering' (e.g. *improve, reshape*), and 'repairing' (e.g. *normalize*) of relations with North Korea being construed most frequently as a goal of these relationship-building processes (ibid: 48-51). Ironically, when North Korea is represented as an initiator of the process, it is attributed with uncooperative acts (*delay, freeze*), and its relationship with other countries is negatively evaluated (*stalled, deadlocked, shaky*). The finding suggests that the semantic category of 'relations' is a generally occurring theme in the reporting of foreign news.

3.5. Selecting items for analysis

As mentioned before, keywords are concerned with 'aboutness' of a corpus (Scott from the Wordsmith Tools manual, 2003). The current corpus, according to its keywords, is about 'countries', 'leaders', 'war and conflict', and 'relations'. Along with the 'crime' category, the prominence of the 'war and conflict' category confirms the newspapers' preference for reporting negative events. The names of the countries and leaders identified as keywords

indicate how the US positions itself with respect to other countries around the dichotomy of friends and foes. While profiling the keywords can offer useful insight into the overall topical trend of the corpus, specific aspects of the topic require detailed and fined-tuned analysis of individual items. The items for analysis have been selected from the keywords. This suits the aim of minimising the analyst's involvement in deciding what to analyse since it cannot be predetermined what turns up as keywords, and at the same time, they are statistically salient, representing things that characterise the corpus. These are the keywords eventually chosen for further analysis:

- general nouns: *country/ countries/ nations/ nation*, *leaders*
- a group of names of leaders: *Arafat, Hussein, Milosevic, Putin, Sharon, Barak, Blair*
- a group of names of countries: *China, Japan, North Korea, South Korea*
- an abstract noun keyword *democracy*.

In principle, any of the keywords can be chosen for analysis, and it is left to the analyst to decide which ones to analyse. Based on the semantic groupings discussed above, the keywords of the two main social actor groups, countries and leaders were chosen for analysis. They were chosen over the other categories of 'war and conflict', 'crime', and 'Islamic religion' with a view to exploring lexical items which are less overtly semantically charged and coloured with preconceived expectations. As regards the keyword *democracy*, its selection for analysis is explained in section, 3.2.1. It also gives a sense of balance to the selection, allowing the analysis to cover items from concrete entities such as people and countries to more abstract concepts such as democracy.

3.6. The value of frequency

The term 'keyword' used in this study is a frequency-based notion (Scott from the Wordsmith

Tools manual, 2003), to be distinguished from Williams's use of the term (1976).   What is assumed here is that frequency is a linguistically meaningful measure and that it is relative rather than absolute.   Frequency is a central concept in corpus linguistics (Teubert, 2005: 4) and has a bearing on other areas of corpus linguistics, such as collocation and semantic prosody.

Sinclair states that 'one of the principle uses of a corpus is to identify what is central and typical in the language' (1991: 17).   What is typical is recurrent, and it is frequency that underlies the notion of typicality.   Sinclair uses frequency primarily as a gauge of general linguistic behaviour.   As discussed in Chapter 1, it is Stubbs who extends the concept of frequency and recurrence to studying language as a social semiotic.   Stubbs (1996, 2002) argues that:

- there are different ways of talking about social groups and events
- certain ways get repeated and recycled, then come to be seen as a natural way of talking about particular social groups and events
- it is 'plausible' that these particular ways influence how such social groups and events are perceived
- recurrent linguistic patterns observed from corpus data can reveal these particular ways of representation.

A certain degree of caution is needed here.   Firstly, there is no intrinsic link between frequency and ideology.   It is the interpretative process which attaches ideological significance to recurrent patterns observed from corpus data, and all interpretation is inevitably coloured by the analyst's own ideological position.   Regarding frequency, what can be of particular interest to the analyst is asymmetry in frequency (Hunston, 2002).   This is a kind of information which is hard to obtain without quantitative data and corpus-methods. For instance, Hunston (ibid: 121-122) shows frequency differences in semantic patterns of the

adjective *right* occurring with *man* and *woman* in the journalism sub-corpora of the Bank of English. When it occurs with *man*, the meaning of *right* is dominantly used in a professional context, as in '*the right man for the job'*, while the majority of *right woman* is used in a domestic context, that is, 'a right woman for a man to marry'. The asymmetry in frequency of the meanings associated with the two genders certainly demonstrates differentiated ways of representing men and women in the press. However, the interpretation of these findings may vary considerably depending on who the interpreter is and what cultural values and beliefs he or she holds. Therefore, it is important not to assume a consensus in any interpretation without first clarifying the theoretical position on which the interpretation is based (Piper, 2000a, 2000b). This may act as a safeguard against 'the challenge of other alternative interpretations' (Hunston, 2002: 122).

Secondly, what is observed as frequent and recurrent in corpora is not evidence of its effects on the way people think. The effects are plausible as Stubbs cautiously puts it; at the most, the recurrent patterns observed from a corpus may be said to be the recorded trace of the effects. Nevertheless it takes a leap of faith to make a direct link between recurrent patterns identified in corpora and their effects on individuals.

Lastly, Stubbs lists fixed and semi fixed phrases such as collocations, catchphrases, clichés, idioms as recurrent phrases which may encode and transmit the culture (1996: 169). The issue is that these lexical types would not be very helpful for investigating the kind of data used for this study. Fixed phrases such as catchphrases, clichés, and idioms are known to occur infrequently even in a very large corpus such as the Bank of English. Cultural assumptions encoded in them are already established and known, and the use of corpora would mostly confirm what is already known. What would be more productive and useful to investigate are recurrent co-occurrences of words or semantic patterns which are less

idiomatic and fixed.

Baker (2006: 47) notes that the importance of frequency to the field of corpus research has led to often misguided criticisms that the use of frequency is 'reductive' and 'oversimplifying' and that the focus on comparing differences in frequency can 'obscure more interesting interpretations of data'. The first contention that the use of frequency data is reductive seems to suggest that corpus analysis only involves quantitative methods. In fact, frequency data may provide a useful starting point for detailed qualitative analysis. In addition, focusing on what is frequent does not presuppose that what is less frequent is not important or negligible. For instance, Sealey (2008) finds that the word *lovely* is most frequently used by female speakers in the 1.8 million word corpus of interviews of residents of Birmingham, UK. However, she further observes that not all female speakers use *lovely*, prompting her to examine the social and personal characteristics of this group of women who do not use *lovely*. It would have been reductive and a reinforcement of gender stereotypes in language use if she concluded that *lovely* was the word typically used by women in general, but she attends to minor cases bringing in a degree of subtlety and depth to the analysis. The second contention appears to suggest that the focus on frequency differences limits interpretative scope. On the contrary, it can be argued that the opposite is the case. Frequency data can act as a safeguard against over-interpretation (Stubbs, 1996, 1997, 2001, O'Halloran and Coffin, 2004). However, in interpreting any findings, it should be noted that similarity is as important as difference. This is particularly pertinent to the issue of representation. As discussed earlier, asymmetry in frequency can reveal attitudes and biases in the way certain social groups are perceived and represented. However, a tendency may be to highlight what is different, while overlooking what is similar. This could be potentially misleading, and difference should be interpreted balanced against similarity.

Danielsson (2003: 114), while acknowledging reservations concerning linking linguistic theory to frequency, argues that 'the actual observed frequency' is the best guide towards 'tendencies in language'. Collocations are usually statistically calculated (e.g. t-score, MI-score). However, collocates identified by Wordsmith Tools are, by default, raw frequency-based. The benefit of working with raw frequency is that the results are not statistically manipulated in any way, and may even be more useful for revealing more subtle degrees of semantic differences, e.g. in the construal of different social groups and individuals, as will be demonstrated, particularly, in Chapter 6 on the representation of the speech of leaders of foreign countries in the corpus.

3.7. Analysing the data

The keywords formed the starting point of the main analysis which involves the following steps:

1. construction of a collocational profile of the keyword's collocates
2. selection of particular collocates of the keyword
3. construction of a semantic profile of the chosen collocates
4. analysis of the contexts in which the chosen collocates are used.

In conjunction with the data collection methods and keyword-based selection of the items for analysis, these steps further illustrate how the analysis is constantly informed and guided by the corpus. At each stage of analysis, the corpus first shows different avenues which can be explored further. It is then up to the analyst to decide which to pursue. It does need to be emphasised that the process is not 'subjectivity-proof'. Every decision made at each stage of the selection and analysis involves subjectivity, but is informed and balanced by the corpus.

Another aspect of this process is that it involves a qualitative step of looking at the contexts in which collocates are used. As the analysis progresses, the amount of data to process is reduced, while the unit of analysis gets larger from a word level to a clause level. The qualitative method is employed at the later stage of analysis when deemed necessary for clarifying and elaborating on quantitative findings. The primary aim of this study is to incorporate quantitative data and methods into a critical study of discourse, and the contribution of the qualitative method is complementary if not limited. This is what methodologically differentiates the current study from corpus-based studies such as the CADS (Partington, 2006), which use corpus data to confirm and support findings which have been qualitatively obtained.

In the previous section, the concept of frequency is discussed mainly in terms of individual words or phrases. What is extensively utilised at the stage 3 of analysis above is semantic grouping, and frequency is applied to semantic groups. There may be an objection to the use of semantic groups in that every word is distinctive in its meaning and use. Even different forms of the same word behave differently as insightfully demonstrated by Sinclair (1991). However, it is assumed that it is legitimate to group words semantically, as the method is used in studies such as Hunston and Francis (1999), Charles (2004), Groom (2007). Semantic grouping has its advantage. Although the corpus used in this study is relatively large, it has often been the case that individual lexical collocates do not occur frequently enough. Grouping semantically similar collocates offers a solution to this problem to a certain extent. It needs to be mentioned that semantic grouping used in this study is largely intuition-based and necessarily ad-hoc, and therefore open to debate. However, crucially, categories are applied with consistency. It will be demonstrated in the main discussion chapters that semantic groups are effective in showing overall patterns in the representation of different social groups.

3.8. Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has focused on showing how the choice of a general, open-ended topic has resulted in the *corpus-infused* methods in collecting data, selecting research questions and deciding on the analytical procedures. The methodology can be characterised by the following features:

- the overall principle of selecting data and research questions is that of serendipity
- the search words are chosen to ensure that articles are selected as randomly as possible
- the items for analysis are chosen from the keyword and collocate list
- the analysis and interpretation are constantly guided and shaped by the corpus.

In terms of the items analysed in each of the main chapters, the selection of the items from the keyword list enables the analyst to approach the topic of representation of foreign countries from a number of specific unit of analysis such as general words for countries in Chapter 4, general references to leaders in Chapter 5, names of specific leaders in Chapter 6, names of specific countries in Chapter 7, and the political concept of *democracy* in Chapter 8. Each chapter contributes to a broader goal of exploring lexical and semantic patterns in representing foreign countries in the corpus.

CHAPTER 4

LABELLING AND CATEGORISING THE WORLD:
PREMODIFIERS OF THE KEYWORDS
COUNTRY, COUNTRIES, NATION, NATIONS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter examines a subset of collocates of four keywords *country, countries, nations* and *nation*. The motivation for initially selecting the keywords *country, countries, nations* and *nation* for analysis is that they are general nouns which refer to countries. The analysis of the collocational patterns of these nouns may give a macro picture of how the world is perceived and represented from the US point of view, as represented in two mainstream US newspapers. The focus of analysis is the collocates occurring to the left of the nouns whose function is to premodify them, as illustrated in the concordance examples below:

```
for quick action, not more talking. Arab countries, including U.S. allies Egyp
ar, not a single commitment from a donor country." Residents who attend the Al
d and considered illegal by most Western countries, as legitimate targets for
e conflict between the two nuclear-armed countries, which have stationed a mil
estinians, peace groups and most Western countries, including the United State

entric but mostly successful modernizing nation. "We have achieved whatever we
nd well-being to this ethnically divided nation. Analysts said part of the re
n also believed he could persuade weaker nations that they could cut pollution
 he said, alluding to European and Asian nations that have argued that opennes
 at work. One ambassador of a developing nation said he was certain the Clinto
```

Premodifiers may be divided into various categories to show how countries are represented. Premodifiers perform the function of 'specification' (Thompson, 1996: 181) and are functionally divided into four groups: the deictic (e.g. articles: *a, the*, demonstratives: *this, that*, possessives: *my, yours*, non-specific pointers: *some, both*), the numerative, the classifier and the epithet. The categories of interest for the current analysis are the two lexical subcategories, the classifier and the epithet. The classifier provides information about what kind a thing is or what class a thing belongs to (e.g. *agricultural* in '*agricultural countries*' specifies the kind, or type, of the thing, *countries*). The epithet is of two types: attitudinal and experiential. The attitudinal function involves evaluation of the thing and the experiential function is related to describing the properties of the thing, that is, what the thing is like. The two functions are not always separable, and can be conveyed in one premodifier. For example, *corrupt* in the concordance example below is clearly evaluative and also presumably experiential:

```
The group rated Bangladesh as the most corrupt nation, with a score of
1.2. Nigeria, Paraguay, Madagascar, Angola, Kenya and Indonesia, in
order, were the next most corrupt.
```

Even though the status of the most corrupt country may be disputed by the government and people concerned, 'corruptness' here is presented as a characteristic of a country, one which can be objectively measured and evaluated. The classifier can also be attitudinal. For instance, the following premodifying phrases classify countries in terms of commodities, usually natural resources, produced in the country:

```
ited States, along with Canada, Japan and oil-producing countries, blocked an
ft the citizens of one of the world's top oil-producing countries living in g
 longer figured on the top 10 list of refugee-producing countries. htt
```

68

```
preme leader today urged the Islamic oil-producing countries to suspend their
surgence of Afghanistan as a major opium producing country. Under the presiden
er the new rules. Governments of diamond-producing nations will be required to
shattered investor confidence in the oil-producing nation and pushed its econo
uction would raise prices paid to coffee-producing nations by roughly $750 mil
nd Colombia, the world's top two cocaine-producing nations. But the surveillan
ing to negotiate a deal with other steel-producing nations to cut back on exce
```

Classifying countries as *oil/ coffee/ diamond/ steel-producing* may be quite innocuous. This does not seem to be the case with countries that are classified as the *world's top two cocaine-producing* or *major opium producing.* While the label may be seen as neutral describing a fact about the country, it would seem that the classifiers also carry negative evaluation, because of the negative nature of the products associated with the country concerned. An extreme example seems to be *refugee-producing countries*, which occurs once in the corpus. The following examples are taken from Google (28/07/08):

- *Five of* **the ten leading refugee-producing countries** *are in Africa.* (the Ethiopian Community Development Council, www.ecdcinternational.org)

- **high refugee producing countries** *(number of refugees in a given year > 5000) with an assigned value of 0…* (www.allacademic.com)

- *Only a small proportion of overseas aid is spent on* **the world's main refugee-producing countries**. (www.refugee-action.org.uk).

On the one hand, the classifier is used to identify a property of a country (sometimes numerically determined, as in the second example), while on the other hand, the implicit negative evaluation may potentially contribute to the stereotyping of a country or the reinforcement of the stereotype.

The representational information expressed by the classifier and epithet about how the world is

perceived and categorised is what this chapter explores. Categorising and labelling things through premodifiers entail prioritising certain ways of representing things over other ways. This, in turn, reflects a particular point of view of the world.

Before taking the discussion further, it needs to be clarified that the current analysis is not concerned with the theoretical distinction of the classifier and epithet, and no further distinction will be made in the course of analysis. They will be referred to collectively as premodifiers. Furthermore, the two other subcategories of premodifiers, the deictic and the numerative, are excluded from the discussion.

4.2. Methodology

The analysis firstly involved identifying and grouping the premodifiers occurring with the four keywords, and then examining what semantic patterns can be drawn from the groupings. The total occurrences of each keyword are as follows:

country	*countries*	*nations*	*nation*
35,654	22,996	9,627	8,706

Table 4.1. The frequency of *country, countries, nations* and *nation*

In the case of *nation* and *nations*, only instances in lower case were included in the count. It was noticed in the initial scan of the concordance lines that there was a large number of *Nations*, which is part of *United Nations* (25,150 times) and also a considerable number of instances of *NATION,* which occurs as part of headings, *A NATION CHALLENGED* and *A NATION AT WAR*. In order to exclude these instances, the search was set to extract only instances of *nation* and

nations in lower case, and the results are as given in table 4.1.   As for *country*, the count

included a small number of instances of *country* as part of a compound noun (i.e. noun

premodifier), as in *country road(s)* (47 instances in total) and *country house* (31 instances).

These instances were later manually deleted when concordance lines were examined to identify

premodifiers.

The next step was to consult the collocate list in order to build a collocational profile.   In

addition to the list of collocates, Wordsmith Tools also offers a useful function called Patterns.

The Patterns mode displays collocates in columns which correspond to the position in which

each collocate occurs in relation to the node word, as illustrated from figure 4.1 below:

L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
THE	IN	A	EUROPEAN	COUNTRIES	AND	THE	THE
OF	THE	THE	DEVELOPING	COUNTRY	IN	A	TO
IN	OF	OTHER	ARAB		TO	TO	AND
TO	AND	IN	POOR		THE	IS	A
AND	TO	MOST	AFRICAN		THAT	HAVE	OF
A	A	AND	MUSLIM		HAVE	IN	IN
IS	FROM	FROM	NEIGHBORING		OF	SAID	THAT
THIS	THIS	OF	WESTERN		BUT	HAS	WORLD
STATES	OTHER	TO	MEMBER		ARE	THAT	IS
FROM	IS	THIS	ASIAN		LIKE	AS	SAID
THAT	THAT	AN	NATO		WITH	NOT	FOR

Figure 4.1

Premodifiers are most likely to be the collocates which occur in the L1 and L2 position of the

node words *countries, country, nations* and *nation*.   The premodifiers collated from the

Patterns mode are grouped into different semantic categories, which will be introduced shortly.

What is observed from the collocate list or the Patterns mode needs to be clarified and informed

by examining the actual concordance lines.

Extracting concordance instances of *country, countries, nations* and *nation* preceded by premodifiers was the next task.   The procedure started with producing concordance lines of *country, countries, nations* and *nation*.   *Country* and *countries* were searched as one set and *nation* and *nations* as the other set.   As shown from the total number of occurrences of these keywords given in table 4.1, examining all the concordance lines manually would be a rather daunting task for the analyst.   However, a way to reduce the number of concordance lines so that they can be manually examined can be achieved by utilising the Context word feature of Wordsmith Tools.   The Context word function enables the analyst to specify words for inclusion or exclusion within a given span of the search word.   Up to 20 context words can be specified.   In the case of *country* and *countries*, a second search of *country* and *countries* was carried out by setting the following 20 context words for exclusion: *the, a, other, this, two, his, their, our, both, of, many, that, those, own, in, any, my, to, some, from*, which occur in the L1 position.   These context words were identified from the original search of *country* and *countries*, and deemed ineligible for inclusion, since they constitute the deictics and numeratives which the current analysis is not concerned with.   Out of a total of 58,650 instances of *country* and *countries*, the search excluded 37,395 instances where these context words occur in the L1 position, leaving 21,255 occurrences for manual examination.   Although 21,255 concordance lines were still a large number to manually go through, the task was made feasible by the fact that these premodifiers immediately adjoin the node word.   From the 21,255 concordance lines of *country* and *countries*, a total of 14,087 premodified instances of *country* and *countries* were subsequently identified.   The same procedure was applied to *nation* and *nations*.   The results are as follows:

Keywords	Total occurrences	Premodified instances
country/ countries	58,650	14,087
nation/ nations	18,333	7,975
Total	76,983	22,062 (28.6%)

Table 4.2. The frequency of the premodified instances of *country, countries, nation* and *nations*

Overall, over a quarter of the occurrences of *country, countries, nation* and *nations* were found to be premodified.

4.3. Semantic profile of collocates of *country, countries*, *nation* and *nations*

Before turning to the concordance lines, the collocates occurring to the L1 position to *country, countries, nation* and *nations* with a frequency of 50 and more were examined in order to build a semantic profile of the collocates.   The semantic profile can reveal what semantic criteria are most frequently used to classify and label countries and act as a guide for shaping further analysis.   The collocates have been grouped into a number of semantic categories.   It needs to be mentioned that the categories are arbitrary to an extent in that they are intuitively drawn from the collocates.   Table 4.3 below presents the results of groupings of the collocates:

Semantic category	Collocates	Frequency
Geography	*European* (1,482), *African* (954), *neighboring* (545), *Western* (540), *Asian* (486), *American* (356), *Gulf* (150), *island* (130), *Eastern* (97), *Andean* (68), *Caribbean* (67), *Balkan* (61)	4,936
Economy	*developing* (1,094), *poor* (786), *industrialized* (398), *poorest* (338), *rich* (338), *industrial* (290), *developed* (230), *wealthy* (198), *exporting* (165), *impoverished* (144), *donor* (132), *poorer* (118), *producing* (106), *richest* (101),	4,514

	prosperous (76)	
Politics/ international relations	*member* (571), *NATO* (380), *communist* (248), *union* (193), *third* (187), *new* (168), *independent* (151), *democratic* (133), *world* (122), *council* (93), *powerful* (93), *one* (90), *host* (90), *free* (81), *EU* (80), *allied* (77), *sovereign* (64), *rogue* (64), *bloc* (64), *friendly* (63), *separate* (62), *ravaged* (55), *major* (57), *isolated* (53), *divided* (52), *stable* (50)	3,341
Religion/ ethnicity	*Muslim* (787), *Islamic* (302), *Catholic* (121), *Arab* (1,147), *Basque* (76)	2,433
Size	*populous* (335), *small* (198), *largest* (153), *smaller* (80), *big* (69), *vast* (65), *tiny* (54)	954
Others	*foreign* (266), *home* (149), *different* (100), *great* (67), *affected* (64), *outside* (55)	

Table 4.3. The main semantic categories of the collocates of *country, countries, nation* and *nations*

Concerning the inclusion of *one* in the 'politics and international relations' category, only the those instances meaning 'unified' (not the numerative) were included:

```
ng Kong a problem. Under its "one country, two systems" policy, China promised
t Beijing is reneging on its "one country, two systems" promise that would all
     can be reintegrated into one country under one constitution. A Western d
```

As for *third*, only those instances meaning 'neutral' were included:

```
   ay to turn Mr. bin Laden over to a third country in exchange for an end t
   hem to leave for South Korea via a third country on humanitarian grounds. I
 ave the two suspects face trial in a third country. Libya had argued the tw
```

As can be seen from table 4.3, the four main semantic categories emerge from the collocates:

'geography', 'economy', 'politics and international relations', and 'religion and ethnicity'. The total number of the collocates belonging to the four semantic categories is 15,205 which accounts for 68.9 % of the total 22,062 occurrences of the premodifers. This demonstrates how salient these semantic categories are as criteria for mapping the countries into different groups.

A number of other observations may be made from the collocates. Firstly, the category 'size' includes collocates describing the size of countries in terms of either population or geography. Below is a sample concordance lines of the collocate *populous*:

```
  ith the leader of the world's most populous country. About a third were fro
ing to 25. Germany, the union's most populous country, and France insist that
iopia, sub-Saharan Africa's two most populous countries, as crucial American
cally modified crops. The three most populous countries in Asia -- China, Ind
arms that Latin America's third-most populous country is being destabilized a
```

It is noted that size is often linked to political or economic power, or lack of it:

1. rhetoric against the U.S. "double standard." And **several small countries** were left sputtering denials that their votes were bought by Japanese foreign aid.

2. ce, Mr. Bush's national security adviser, went so far today as to accuse France of trying to take NATO hostage and of threatening **smaller countries** that had backed the White House position on the war.

3. he 25 current and future members of the European Union failing to find a formula to satisfy **medium-size countries** worried that their voices and votes would be swamped by larger countries in an expanded union.

75

4. Others were disturbed at the prospect of **big countries** joining together to try to dictate the results of a free and open election that gave Mr. Haider 27 percent of the vote.

5. China is **Asia's largest country** and now wants to act like it. But its transformation into a regional power challenges the dominant position that the United States has held in Asia since the end of World War II.

This shows that the premodifers of size not only perform a classifying function but also an evaluative one. In this context, the category could be subsumed under the 'politics and international relations' category. The category is quite narrow in that the collocates are concerned with one specific aspect, namely, size. As the fifth most frequent semantic category, this demonstrates how important literal or figurative 'size' is in classifying and evaluating countries.

The collocates in the 'economy' and 'politics and international relations' categories can be further grouped into a number of subcategories. Section 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 will discuss the sub-semantic categories drawn from the collocate list and what interpretation can be drawn from the categorisation. Section 4.3.3 will discuss how premodifiers of 'religion and ethnicity' are used, with particular focus on *Muslim, Islamic* and *Arab*. The high frequency of *Muslim* and *Islamic* may be partly topical because the corpus covers the period before and after the events of September 11, as touched upon in section 3.4 of Chapter 3.

4.3.1. Premodifiers in the ' geography' group

In the corpus, countries are most frequently categorised according to their geographic location

or geographic characteristics.   The premodifiers given in table 4.4 are geographic references indicating location:

Arctic, (East, South) Africa, African, Alpine, Amazon, America, American, Arabian, Asia, Asian, North Atlantic, Balkan, Baltic, Caribbean Basin, Congo Basin, Nile Basin, Andean, Caspian, Caucasus, Southern Cone, Danube, Danubian, Europe, European, Eastern (European), Middle East, Far Eastern, Middle Eastern, far-Northern, (Persian) gulf, Persian Gulf, Northern Hemisphere, Western Hemisphere, Himalayan, Latin, Mediterranean, Micronesian, Mideast, Mideastern, Nordic, northeastern, northern, Pacific, Pacific Rim, Saharan, Black Sea, Red Sea, southern, southern most, sub-Saharan, down-under, Western

Table 4.4. Premodifiers in the 'geography' group

These premodifiers are more or less straightforward in the sense that they represent the physical geography of the world perceived from a certain position, namely, the Western perspective. Among the geographic premodifiers mentioned above, *European, African, Asian, Western, American, (Persian) Gulf, Middle Eastern/ Middle East* occur more than 100 times, and the number of total occurrences are given below**:**

European Europe/	African/ Africa	Western	Asian/ Asia	American/ America	(Persian) Gulf	Middle Eastern/ East
1,484	1,019	537	506	359	153	107

Table 4.5. Geographical premodifiers which occur more than 100 times

What can be revealing is to examine the submodifiers preceding these geographic classifiers. The submodifiers may tell us how each geographic division is characterised in the corpus. Table 4.6 lists the submodifiers occurring with these seven geographic premodifiers.   The submodifiers have been divided into positive, negative and neutral evaluation.   These distinctions have not taken into account the context in which the submodifiers occur, and

therefore are only tentative. Some of the submodifiers which are categorised as neutral here are found to carry negative evaluation (e.g. see *ethnically diverse* in section 4.3.4):

Premodifiers	Submodifiers		
	Positive	**Negative**	**Neutral**
European/ Europe	*advanced, developed, major continental, democratic, more developed, most prominent, key, industrialized, leading, major, pivotal*	*more expensive, (grimy,) little, poorer, (rich but) unemployment-plagued, once-powerful, reluctant, skeptical*	*big, Central, ethnically diverse, Eastern, East, euroskeptic, formerly Communist, more crowded, fellow, individual, large, largest, NATO, nearby, neighboring, normal, North, northern, old, ordinary, more pro-American, rabies-free, selected, smaller, small, Southeast, Southeastern, Southern, remote, West, Western*
African/ Africa	*important, influential, powerful, richer, stable and relatively prosperous, relatively wealthy, (strong, united and) peaceful, well-run*	*affected, AIDS-afflicted, badly bruised, conflicted, impoverished, nominally democratic, least developed, (poorer,) embattled, famine-threatened, hunger-stricken, incredible shrinking, once-prosperous, (deeply) poor, poorer, poorest, once-stable, shattered, (tiny,) deeply splintered, struggling, restive, more troubled, troubled,*	*American allied, Arab-dominated, Arab majority, big, Central, distant, East, eligible, flood-spared, French-speaking, (small/ tiny) newly independent, large, mineral-rich, Muslim, overwhelmingly Muslim, nearby, neighboring, neutral, North, northeast, (tiny and) potentially oil-lush, most popular, (slender,) vertical, selected, small,*

		turbulent, undeveloped, war-ravaged, war-torn, war-battered	sprawling, formerly socialist, South, Southwest, southern, sub-Saharan, tiny, undecided, vast, West
Western	big, developed, highly developed, leading, major, powerful, smaller, rich, richer, wealthy, most wealthy		allied, gasoline-hungry, instant
Asian/ Asia	critical, poor but proud	crisis-torn, energy-starved, impoverished, poorer, (deeply) poor, poorest, reluctant, repressive, unstable, turbulent	Central, East, far-flung, large, mountainous, non-Arab, neighboring North, oil-rich, populous, small, South, Southeast, sprawling, surrounding
American/ America	politically important, major	besieged, doubtful, flood-ravaged, hardest-hit, heavily indebted, debt-ridden, impoverished, poor, poorest, poverty-stricken, troubled	Central, largely Catholic, predominantly Roman Catholic, more distant, fellow, individual, Latin, landlocked, larger, largest, neighboring, North, traditionally nonaligned, oil-producing, small, South, sprawling, Texas-size, vast, young
(Persian) Gulf	crucial friendly, important, more open, quiet, rich, wealthier, wealthy	relatively poor, relatively undesirable	allied, Arab, family-run, neighboring, oil-producing, pro-western, small, smaller, tiny
Middle Eastern/ East	major, pivotal, normally safe	most repressive	large, neutral, strategic

Table 4.6. Submodifiers of the geographical premodifiers

The first thing to note is that *African/ Africa* attracts far more variety of submodifiers than the other premodifiers of geography, and the majority of them express negative evaluation concerning political and economic instability. A similar negative evaluation is observed in most of the modifiers occurring with *Asian/ Asia, South American/ America.* On the other hand, the modifiers of *Western* are non-negative if not positive. In the case of *European/ Europe*, the modifiers are also largely on the non-negative side. It is also notable that certain modifiers do not or only occur with *Central/ Eastern/ East European.* The modifiers indicating political importance, such as *key, leading, major, pivotal, once powerful, most prominent* do not occur with *Central/ Eastern/ East European.* On the other hand, *poorer*, which is the only modifier of indicating poverty occurring with the premodifier *European*, occurs only with *Central/ East/ Eastern European.*

4.3.2. Premodifers in the 'economy' group

As shown in section 4.1, premodifiers which classify countries in terms of various aspects of economy constitute the second most frequent semantic category. The collocates are further grouped into four semantic sub-categories. Firstly, there are premodifers which describe how economically advanced countries are, including *developing* (1,094), *industrialized* (398), *industrial* (290), *developed* (230). Secondly, there is a group of premodifers which describes how rich or poor countries are, including *poor* (786), *poorest* (338), *rich* (338), *wealthy* (198), *impoverished* (144), *poorer* (118), *richest* (101), *prosperous* (76). There are also two collocates *producing* (106) and *exporting* (165), which classify countries as a producer. Lastly, there is the collocate *donor* (132) which classifies countries as a financial provider. The categorisation illustrates how countries are divided and ordered according to their economic

status. An examination of the concordance lines has identified other premodifiers related to economy, and the majority of the premodifiers fall into one of the four semantic categories set out above. Table 4.7 presents a complete list of the premodifiers which classify countries in terms of how economically advanced they are:

How economically advanced countries are
(more/ most/ economically/ technologically) advanced, (newly/ more/ most) developed, high-tech, industrialized, industrial, over-developed, upper-income, high-income, high-paying, high-wage, urbanized, urban, (economically) healthy, economically powerful
booming, developing, emerging, emerging market(s), fast/ fastest-growing, fast-developing, rapidly developing, late-developing, rapidly-growing, middle-income, modestly endowed, middle-ranking, middle-class, urbanizing, less expensive, healthier, economically viable, viable, self-sufficient
less advanced, underdeveloped, undeveloped, less-developed, least-developed, backwater, low-income, lower-income, low-wage, lower-wage, lowest-wage, lower-paying, economically marginal, uncompetitive

Table 4.7. Premodifiers which describe the level of economic development

One noteworthy observation to be made is the role that the premodifiers play in construing hierarchy of countries which is partly expressed in a comparative or superlative form. The next group of premodifiers shown in table 4.8 on the next page concerns the second category of how rich or poor countries are:

Rich	(newly) affluent, better–off, (newly/ relatively/ most/ reasonably/ more) prosperous, long-prosperous, rich, richer, richest, wealthy, wealthier, wealthiest, less-wealthy, flourishing, newly prospering, money-rich, well-provided for
Poor	aid-dependent, (most/ hopelessly/ economically) backward, depleted, derelict, desolate, destitute, dilapidated, dirt-poor, emaciated, (bitterly/ desperately) poor, poorer, poorest, hungry, (deeply/ notoriously) impoverished, long-impoverished, indigent, malnourished, badly-nourished, needy, needier, neediest, hard scrabble, poverty-stricken, poverty-ridden, (less) prosperous, stricken, starving, worst-off, most-disadvantaged, most deprived

Table 4.8. Premodifiers which describe wealth and poverty

Similar to the premodifiers describing economic development, varying degrees of wealth and poverty are expressed in a comparative and superlative form or an adverb (e.g. *hopelessly, desperately, deeply, notoriously*).   What is also notable is the relatively high lexical variety in describing the level of poverty.   For example, the premodifiers such as *emaciated, hungry, badly-nourished, malnourished, starving* are striking in terms of imagery evoked to express the extreme level of poverty:

```
cure the flow of food and aid to the starving nation, American officials said.
apan has not resumed food aid to the starving country that it stopped in 1995.
ank and others who could provide the starving country with a chance to rebuild
s nuclear program, the only card the starving country has to play to compel t
 to take a range of steps to aid the starving nation -- from gradually easing
ontrol of this powerless, penniless, starving country to a United Nations tru
tained, may prove to be a grace in a starving nation of three million, where w
into a paste, feeds much of that malnourished country. The first time he was d
 into the region, seeking to allay the hungry countries' concerns. Genetically
praise but no promises of rice for his hungry country as he ended a three-day
e United States is wrong to bomb an emaciated country. "Five billion dollars,"
nts over how to prevent a starving, desperate nation from lashing out. When So
```

The premodifiers transmit a view of the economically polarised world. This polarisation is also conveyed by another category of premodifiers represented by the collocate *donor* introduced earlier. The premodifers divide the world into countries which possess financial resources and countries which do not, as shown in table 4.9:

| **Donor** | *creditor, contributing, contributor, donor, generous, shareholder, shareholding* |
| **Recipient** | *beggar, beneficiary, borrowing, client, debtor, recipient; (highly/ heavily/ deeply/ most/ most heavily/ most severely/ most publicly/ overly) indebted, over-indebted, debt-ridden, debt-burdened, debt-laden, debt-strangled, heavily/ highly indebted poor* |

Table 4.9. Premodifiers which describe countries as givers and beneficiaries

The next group is represented by the collocates *producing* and *exporting* introduced earlier, and includes other premodifers as follows:

| **Producer** | *cattle-producing, coca-producing, cocaine-producing, cocoa-producing, coffee-producing, cotton-producing, diamond-producing, drug-producing, oil-producing, opium-producing, refugee-producing, rice-producing, silver-producing, steel-producing, producing, producer; cocoa-growing, tobacco-growing, (agricultural) exporting, banana exporting, drug exporting, petroleum-exporting, oil-exporting, grain-exporting tobacco-exporting, food-exporting; oil-rich, resource-rich, gas-rich, commodity-rich, diamond-rich, energy-rich; diamond-dependent, trade-dependent, nuclear-dependent, richly endowed, oil-lush, farming, mining, fishing, trading, manufacturing, selling, carmaking, agricultural, agrarian, cattle, oil, coffee, export* |
| **Consumer** | *consumer, drug consumer, consuming, oil-consuming, non oil-producing, drug-consuming, resource-poor, importing, oil-hungry* |

Table 4.10. Premodifiers which describe countries as producers and consumers

As an individual group, the premodifiers related to oil (shown in a box) are most frequent with

the combined frequency of 173 without counting the occurrences of *petroleum-exporting* which is part of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). It is hardly surprising that the oil-related premodifiers are most frequent, given that it is the commodity which drives the world's economy and politics. This may explain the observation that the premodifer *oil-rich* is often used to label a country when this fact is extraneous to what is being discussed:

1. Molina's confrontation with Chavez seems a parable of the divisions in **this oil-rich but socially fragile country**, divisions that Chavez has put in service of the self-declared revolution that his detractors say

2. axpayer money in 1995, U.S. officials pledged it would help promote freedom of the press in Kazakhstan, **an oil-rich Central Asian country** that the State Department was hailing as "an emerging democracy."

3. ernment of Brunei, **a tiny, oil-rich nation** on Borneo, announced that it had begun legal proceedings against Prince Jefri, the younger brother of Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah, accusing him of misuse of state funds

Lastly, table 4.11 presents a group of premodifers describing economic hardship or instability:

Economic hardship
(nearly/ virtually/ all but) bankrupt, near-bankrupt, cash-shy, cash-strapped, ailing, (economically) collapsed, crisis-hit, crisis-stricken, desperate, (financially) distressed, (economically) devastated, famine-ridden/ scarred/ stricken, financially foundering, economically broken, economically rattled, economically stressed, economically stricken, (economically) struggling, economically suffering, economically troubled, recession-plagued, ruined, sick, long-suffering, once-prosperous, once-thriving, once-wealthy, once a stable and largely self-sufficient, once-vigorous, vulnerable

Table 4.11. Premodifiers which describe economic hardship

No individual collocate in this semantic group occurs more than 50 times. Despite this, the

range of the premodifiers is comprehensive enough to constitute a discrete semantic group.

This section has examined the premodifiers in the 'economy' group, which have been grouped into the four semantic sub-categories. While it may be considered hardly remarkable that countries are classified by premodifiers which are related to various economic factors, the examination has provided insight into how a sense of polarisation and hierarchy among countries is transmitted. These premodifiers often make use of comparative and superlative forms and adverbs. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that negative economic aspects such as poverty and economic hardship tend to be expressed in a wider variety of lexical items which are also often emotively charged.

4.3.3. Premdofiers in the 'politics and international relations' group

The third most frequent semantic category identified from the premodifers is concerned with politics and international relations. The collocates with the minimum frequency of 50 given in table 4.3 (p. 75 - 76) are sub-categorised and presented again below:

- membership: *member* (571), *NATO* (380), *union* (193), *council* (93), *EU* (80), *new* (168)
- sovereignty: *independent* (151), *one* (90), *sovereign* (64), *separate* (62)
- international relations: *world* (122), *powerful* (93), *major* (57), *allied* (77), *friendly* (63), *rogue* (64), *isolated* (53), *communist* (248), *bloc* (64)
- internal socio-political state: *democratic* (133), *free* (81), *divided* (52), *ravage* (55), *stable* (50)
- *third* (187), *host* (90).

In the case of the collocate *new*, it is included in the 'membership' category because it mainly

occurs in the following context:

> ```
> A rift between France and Germany over aid to farmers was resolved today,
> allowing the leaders of the European Union to begin talks on integrating
> 10 new countries into their club by 2004.
> ```

However, the collocate is also used to refer to a newly independent or created country:

> ```
> In the coming months, Bishop do Nascimento said, with Dili a charred
> ruin 80 miles to the west, Baucau, a city of 27,000, could become the
> temporary capital of the emerging new nation of East Timor.
> ```

The 'membership and sovereignty' categories are relatively neutral and non-evaluative in themselves. For this reason, the discussion will chiefly focus on the premodifiers which are related to international relations and internal socio-political state.

The first set of premodifiers *world, powerful, major* expresses how powerful or not countries are. The collocate *world* is mostly part of the phrase *third-world,* while there are a couple of instances of *first-world,* as in the following concordance line:

> ```
> he was interested in the relationship of Third World countries to First
> World countries, according to an official at CDS International, which…
> ```

Table 4.12 on the next page shows other collocates which express power-relations between countries:

Political hierarchy
big power, core, elite, key, lead, leading, important, influential, significant, critical, crucial, dominant, pivot, pivotal, powerful, heavy-weight, main, major, primary, principal, strong, stronger, strongest, top, first world, unilateral, veto-bearing, larger, more muscular and more meddlesome, conquering
middle power, middle-ranking, bantam and middleweight, americanized, coolie, forgotten, ghost, nowhere, periphery, second-class, second-rank, semi-colonial, sold-out, tag-along, third-world, third-rate, underdog, insecure, insignificant, little known, obscure, (normally/ often-) overlooked, often-ignored, needlessly ignored, lesser, powerless, weak, often-attacked, often-conquered, newly occupied, invaded, threatened

Table 4.12. Premodifiers which describe hierarchy among countries

As the premodifers in the 'economy' group reflect hierarchy among countries, the premodifers in the 'international relations' group also signal hierarchy among countries. Again, the premodifers describing, in this case, the politically less important are lexically more varied and descriptive. The expressions such as *coolie, second-rate, sold-out, tag-along, third-rate* are explicitly disparaging. A closer look at the context in which these premodifiers occur shows that the evaluation is made by a speaker regarding other countries' perception or treatment of the speaker's own country, with the exception of *third-rate* in example 6. The speakers are shown underlined:

1. "Sukarno said to stop being **a coolie nation** was the very reason we had to become independent, rather than become stuck on the lowest rung," Mr. Adi said.

2. Mexico's ambassador to the United Nations has been dismissed after saying the United States regards Mexico as **a second-class country**, government officials said Tuesday.

3. "Mr. Chirac's words were more or less like the words we heard from the Kremlin for the previous 50 years of Communism -- that you are not equal partners…that you are **a second-class country**," said Andrzej Kapiszewski, a professor of sociology and political science at Krakow University in Poland.

4. [he refers to the British Prime Minister Tony Blair] the change he seeks, he said, is to make British influence felt, not as **a tag-along nation** playing catch-up to French and German initiatives, but as a leader.

5. r that country, which also used the dollar and was viewed by many Latin Americans as a de facto 51st state. Ecuador is becoming "**a sold-out country**," said Llanes. "I fear we will pay with more than our pride."

6. "The Chinese are the ultimate realists, and they know Russia is now **a third-rate country** economically, technologically and politically," said Michel Oksenberg, a China scholar at Stanford University.

The next set of collocates *allied* and *friendly* signifies another aspect of international relations, that of countries taking sides or taking an opposing stance. Other collocates include:

Friend	*alliance, allied, American-allied, brother, coalition, comrade, administration-favored, fellow, fraternal, friendly, friendlier, friendliest, like-minded, partner, pro-American, pro-Israeli, pro-Western, pro-war, pro-whaling, cooperating, supportive, Western-oriented, Westward-leaning, Westward-looking, willing, can do*
Foe	*anti-Nato, anti-war, antiwar, anti-American, anti-whaling, antiwhaling, enemy, Euroskeptic, rival, once-brother, unfriendly, bitterly estranged, hard-line, hostile, holdout, dissenting, non-cooperative, objecting, won't do*
Neutral	*neutral, nonaligned, cautious, doubting, fence-sitting, reluctant, skeptical, swing, uncommitted, undecided, wavering*

Table 4.13. Premodifiers which describe a divide among countries

The political divide construed by the two sets of premodifers shown in table 4.12 and 4.13 is twofold; the power divide among countries is reflected in the first set of premodifers and the ideological divide of 'us' and 'them' is conveyed in the second set of premodifiers.

The next high frequency collocate to introduce from the 'international relations' group is *rogue*. The word is mainly used by the US government to officially label countries which it deems to be so-called 'sponsors of terrorism':

> Institution, said the administration limited its options by referring to
> **rogue nations.** The term is often applied to the seven countries listed by
> State Department as sponsoring terrorism: Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North
> Korea, Sudan and Syria.

More generally and occasionally, it refers to other undemocratic or dictator-ruled countries:

> 1996 for debt relief. But ultimately it could help 34 more nations, from
> Tanzania to Zambia and Ivory Coast to Nicaragua and Honduras to **rogue**
> **nations like Myanmar,** if they are willing to meet the conditions.

Clearly the term is not appreciated either by the 'closest ally' of the US or a citizen of one of the 'rogue' countries:

> 1. But Straw, speaking for the United States' closest ally in the Iraq war,
>   declined to label Syria a **"rogue nation,"** a term officials in
>   Washington used on Monday. "Syria has an opportunity to prove that it's
>   not in that category,"
>
> 2. broadcast on the public airwaves. They're pirated, of course, but
>   nobody has any shame about it. "We're already called a **rogue nation,"**
>   said one Iraqi video merchant. "What difference does it make?"

There are other premodifiers which label countries as dangerous or difficult to deal with which include:

Countries behaving badly
aggressor, bad boy, bad-guy, bully, bullying, cannibals, crazy, lunatic, offending, outlaw, problem, rights-abusing, outcast, outsider, pariah, rogue, suspect, aggressive, antagonistic, bad, barbarian, bellicose, criminal, crooked, dangerous, deadliest, decertified, defiant, delinquent, difficult, evil, irresponsible, (heavily/ most) militarized, nuclear weapons, nuclear-armed, problematic, proliferant, pro-terrorist, quarrelsome, recalcitrant, stubborn, terrorist, terrorist sponsor, terrorism sponsoring, terror-sponsoring, terror-supporting, threatening, unpardonable, unpredictable, unreliable, wayward, arms-embargoed, most-sanctioned, most-advised, uncompromising, violating

Table 4.14. Premodifiers which describe countries as a 'bad guy'

The rather colourful premodifer *cannibals* is used by the North Korean government to describe the US:

```
Today, calling the United States "a cannibals' nation" and charging the
Bush administration with "escalating its provocative and reckless
diatribe" against the North, the Communists pledged a "thousandfold
revenge" if "the U.S. imperialists turn to confrontation."
```

It is noted that the premodifer *nuclear-armed* which occurs 41 times in total, is used mainly in the context of India and Pakistan. Pakistan's being nuclear armed is linked with instability and poverty of the country:

```
1. The attack today was a further reminder of the potential instability of
   Pakistan, an impoverished, nuclear-armed nation of 145 million people
   that is an  important arena in the United States-led campaign ag
```

Another context in which the premodifier occurs is the political and military antagonism between India and Pakistan:

2. Indian officials reacted angrily tonight to the speech by Pakistan's president, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, dashing hopes that <u>his address would help ease tensions between **the nuclear-armed nations** and reduce the talk of war</u>.

The only other individual country labelled as *nuclear-armed* in the corpus is Iraq in a hypothetical situation:

3. While its chemical and biological arms posed a terrifying threat, the paramount concern in the West was over the shift in world strategic power that would occur <u>if Iraq became **a nuclear-armed nation**</u>.

It seems that the premodifier *nuclear-armed* is used to single out countries which are deemed not fit to possess nuclear weapons by the US, thus carrying an implicitly negative evaluation.

Moving on the next set of collocates *bloc* and *communist*, they occur mainly as part of phrases such as *former Soviet-bloc* or *former communist*:

```
  of the young in the former Communist countries of Central and Eastern E
 f the most Stalinist of the East Bloc countries. American support is consider
  to nearly every other post-Communist country in Central Europe. "Whatev
over competition from former East bloc countries with cheaper labor, progress
mmunists do in other former Soviet-bloc countries -- Mr. Gysi said Germany's m
```

Meanwhile, the premodifier *Communist* in the contemporary context occurs as a label for North Korea and Cuba:

1. Last fall, Mr. Yang was appointed governor of a new special economic
   zone in North Korea that briefly attracted attention as a sign that **the
   isolated Communist nation** might emulate China's economic model.

2. he United States was Cuba's No. 1 source of imported food last year,
   selling about $140 million of agricultural products to **the Communist
   country.** It is projected to remain the top provider to the island this

The premodifiers which refer to the politics and international relations of the past include the following:

Past political connection
former countries of the Soviet bloc, former communist bloc, former East bloc, former Eastern bloc, former Communist, formerly Communist, formerly Communist-bloc, former Soviet, former Soviet bloc, former Warsaw Pact, formerly socialist, former slaving, ex-Communist, ex-Soviet, onetime Soviet bloc, Cold war, colonial, Condor, Nazi-occupied, axis-occupied, French-speaking, now-dissolved, post-Colonial, post-Communist, post-Soviet, post apartheid, post-independence, once-colonized, once-communist

Table 4.15. Premodifiers which describe the political past of countries

The premodifiers mainly refer to the Communist past or the colonial past of countries. For example, '*French-speaking*' in the example below is seemingly a neutral classifier but also a reference to the colonial past of the countries:

    decades of military governments. During the 1990s, **many of Africa's
    French-speaking countries** -- Senegal, Guinea, Burkina Faso and others --
    have passed laws aimed at decentralizing governmental powers.

The catch may be that countries are labelled and identified in terms of their past which countries themselves would rather jettison, as expressed by the President of Latvia:

*As president, Vike-Freiberga has had little patience for Moscow's objections to Latvia joining NATO. She said she would like Latvia to <u>"get rid of the tag" of being called a "former Soviet country" forever.</u> But she has also reached out to the country's large Russian minority. (*quoted from an article, *'Latvia shining example for new NATO nations'* originally appeared in *Boston Globe* on 11/24/2002, taken from the website, http://www.iub.edu/~bafsa/tidbits.html*).*

The premodifiers in table 4.16 are represented by the two high frequency collocates *isolated* and *democratic* from the 'politics and international relations' category. They label and appraise countries with reference to what can be conceptualised as 'openness' or 'non-openness':

	Non-openness	Openness
International-relations	*closed, insular, hermit, hermitic, impenetrable, isolated, inward-looking, introspective, opaque, reclusive, sealed, secretive*	*diplomatically active*
Socio-political	*ascetic, anti-Islamic, anti-Semitic, authoritarian, autocratic, tightly/ rigidly controlled, centrist, centralized, conservative, extreme, extremist, feudal, semi-feudal, inhumane, nationalist, nationalistic, oligarchic, puritan, puritanical, racist, right-wing, segregated, strait-laced, stoic, stratified, Stalinist, oppressive, oppressed, repressive, suppressed, nondemocratic, undemocratic, totalitarian, unequal, unjust, xenophobic*	*cosmopolitan, democratic, democratizing, diverse, divergent, egalitarian, equal, equitable, forward-looking, free, free-living, just, liberal, moderate, open, tolerant, pluralistic, progressive*

Table 4.16. Premodifiers which describe openness and non-openness

Again, the premodifiers which express a negative aspect, in this case, non-openness, are lexically more diverse and frequent. It was found that the premodifers indicating non-openness in the context of international relations occur most frequently in reference to North

Korea (67 out of the total 115 occurrences).   As can be seen from the concordance examples

below, the premodification is often intensified (e.g. *world's most isolated*) and over-lexicalised

(e.g. *tightly controlled, highly secretive*):

```
st the firing had prevailed in Pyongyang or the reclusive country had bluf
uggested that the quickest progress in opening the sealed country might come
ks with the United States. The leadership of the isolated nation apparently
 s representative to the airline which links the "hermit nation" with only s
 utreach, after years of heading the world's most closed country, is evidence
  North Korea, one of the world's poorest, most isolated countries, is a dif
eady one of the world's least developed and most isolated nations, if it re
eans thinking? With a tightly controlled, highly secretive country that is h
a Russian or Soviet head of state to the closed, secretive country, said th
    orea remains among the world's most isolated and opaque countries. Indepe
```

This kind of intensive premodification of negative aspects may contribute to the stereotyping of

countries by accentuating the negative image of countries conveyed by the premodifiers.   This

is illustrated further in the examples below:

```
1.  Musharraf is a modern-day reformist wrestling with an economically
    ailing, corrupt and violence-ridden nation in an era when military
    dictators are decidedly out of fashion in the West.

2.  system, the best civil service and the highest literacy rate in
    Southeast Asia. It since has become one of the world's poorest, least
    developed and most disastrously governed countries.

3.  Now a plan is taking shape to turn over control of this powerless,
    penniless, starving country to a United Nations trusteeship -- a kind
    of world government.
```

The countries talked about in the examples are Pakistan (1), Burma (2) and Liberia (3).

The last group of premodifiers to introduce is concerned with the internal socio-political stability or rather instability, and is represented by the high frequency collocates *divided* and *stable* from the 'politics and international relations' group introduced earlier.   Table 4.17 below presents all the premodifiers signalling stability and instability, which are identified from the concordance lines:

Stability	*culturally cohesive, fully-integrated, orderly, peaceful, safe, safer, safest, secure, settled, stable, sleepy, somnolent, tranquil, unperturbable, well-functioning, well-organized, well-run, (ethically/ socially) unified*	
Instability	**Socio-political instability**	
	anarchic, bickering, chaotic, politically charged, racially charged, complicated, confounded, confusing, confused, coup-prone, corrupt, corruption-plagued/blighted/ fatigued, crime-plagued/ ridden / weary, divided, disintegrating, disorganized, dysfunctional, dissolved, failed, faltering, feuding, floundering, foundering, fractious, fractured, fractionalized, fragmented, (ethnically/ politically/ socially) fragile, barely functioning, goner, disastrously governed, improvised, irreconcilable, lawless, politically precarious, politically primitive, restive, restless, riot-torn, rudderless, shaky, shredded, stitched-together, polarized, politically tense, tormented, tortured, troubled, turbulent, uncertain, unruly, unstable, unsteady, unsettled, unwieldy, once stable, once-stable, once-promising, once-vigorous	
	War and conflict related instability	
	battered, battle-scarred/ ravaged/ shattered, bleeding, blood-soaked, bloodied, bloody, heavily bombed, brutalized, conflicted, conflict-racked, crushed, destroyed, embattled, shell-shocked, strife-ridden, violence-ridden/ wracked/ racked/ weary, violent, volatile, war-battered/ beaten/ damaged/ divided/ devastated/ plagued/ ravaged/ riven/ ruined/ scarred/ shattered/ torn/ weary/ wracked, warring, wounded	

Table 4.17. Premodifers which describe stability or instability

It is again demonstrated how negative aspects of things are conveyed in a more lexically varied

and descriptive manner.   The expression such as *blood-soaked* is highly graphic.   What is also observed is that the phrase occurs not only in a superlative form, but also in the pattern *one of ~* as shown below:

```
Liberian rebels have reached within 15 miles of Monrovia, their nation's
capital, auguring a return to fighting in one of the most blood-soaked
ountries in the region. Charles Taylor, a warlord turned elected president
```

The use of the superlative not only intensifies the description, but also highlights the fact that there are other 'blood-soaked' countries in the region, namely Africa.   A similar pattern is found in the use of the collocate *stable* in the context of Africa:

```
igiously tolerant and relatively stable country on Africa's northern coast.
 iterate. In Kenya, a relatively stable country whose neighbors have almo
in what was the most politically stable country among France's former African
 vory Coast was perhaps the most stable country in West Africa until 1999, wh
East Africa and remains the most stable country in the region. The defeat
 d traditionally one of the most stable countries in western Africa, tu
 s of Ivory Coast, once the most stable country in West Africa, have been
ocoa producer, the region 's most stable country and French-speaking Africa's
g considered one of Africa's most stable nations. Three days of violent street
st, another of West Africa's most stable countries, the military overthrew
```

Out of the total 50 occurrences of *stable*, 31 instances are concerned with Africa and mostly occur in this semantic pattern which conveys relative degrees of stability (26 out of the 31 instances).   The pattern occurs four times in reference to countries from other regions, namely Arab world (1), South America (2, 3) and Asia (4):

```
1.    tics of one of the Arab world's most stable nations, Palestine refugee
2.    "Finally we now have one of the most stable countries in the region fo
3.  United States, as it remains the most stable country in the key Andean
4.  ir, Malaysia has been one of the most stable countries in Asia. There h
```

What is implied in these lines is that the region in question as a whole is not stable.   Another context in which *stable* occurs is how countries are yet to achieve stability, or striving to do so:

```
into the international system as open, prosperous, stable nations;" protec
re now showering on the poor will result in a more stable country. While C
rposes with Afghans' desires to build a secure and stable nation. Mohammed
ple of Afghanistan and Iraq as they build free and stable countries. The te
e complete, Mr. Bush added, until Afghanistan is a stable country. "I mean,
re that after the war in Iraq, what comes out is a stable country, equipped
   s. Its interest, like America's, is in having a stable nation here on its
ession states will look on us with confidence as a stable country," he said.
```

Overall, *stable* is used in the context which signals instability and occurs most frequently in the context of countries in Africa.

4.3.4. Premodifers in the 'religion and ethnicity' group

The premodifiers which denote religion and ethnicity are identified as the fourth most frequent semantic category in the corpus.   The premodifiers referring to various forms of religion include *Buddhist, Calvinist, Catholic, Christian, Confucian, Hindu, Islamic, Lutheran, Muslim, Orthodox (Christian)*.   As mentioned in section 4.1, the frequency of *Muslim* and *Islamic* far outnumber the other premodifiers with the total occurrences of 787 and 302 respectively followed by *Catholic* (121) and *Christian* (35).   In fact, *Islamic* and *Muslim* are identified as

keywords of the corpus, even though they were not chosen for the initial sets of keywords to be analysed (see section 3.4 of Chapter 3).

The analysis focuses on the three most frequent premodifiers *Muslim, Islamic* and *Catholic*. Firstly, submodifiers preceding the three premodifiers are examined in order to see what they can reveal about the construal of countries classified as *Muslim, Islamic* and *Catholic*. The most frequent group of modifiers which is also shared by the three collocates is that of expressing the dominance of the religion in question, such as *predominantly, mostly, largely, overwhelmingly, mainly, most populous, largest, majority, heavily*:

```
th Indonesia, the most populous predominantly Muslim country, but respect for
ari's presence might affect own predominantly Muslim country, seemed equall
use anger here as in many other predominantly Muslim nations. "We call on the
ld "prefer" soldiers from other predominantly Muslim countries. http
heast in 1999. Turkey, the only predominantly Muslim country that is a member

n broad approval in this overwhelmingly Roman Catholic country. Jolo, whose r
huge celebration in this overwhelmingly Roman Catholic country, commerce ex
the size of Iraq's, this overwhelmingly Roman Catholic country is free of
ty today for one of this overwhelmingly Roman Catholic country's most unusual
led to an outcry in this overwhelmingly Roman Catholic country, and some
```

The next frequent group of modifiers preceding *Catholic* signal intensification and grading, and countries are classified in terms of how Catholic they are. The modifiers include *very, deeply, fervently, firmly, devout(ly), strongly*, and *most*:

```
s provoked outrage among those in this firmly Catholic country who argue for a
priests than any other part of this fervently Catholic country, that is not th
ility for a crime that outraged this devoutly Catholic nation. It also dims h
```

```
it Mexico, one of the largest and most devout Catholic countries in the world.
nations. Now so has the church in this deeply Catholic country; last week, the
nflict. Civil war is worsening in this deeply Catholic country, and although
res were available. Even in Ireland, a deeply Catholic country where divorce
lic bishop charged with genocide, in the most Catholic nation in Africa, Mi
ll looks and feels like western Europe's most Catholic country -- an estimated
```

Meanwhile, what characterises the modifiers preceding *Muslim* and *Islamic* is the socio-political and economic angle, as can be seen below:

Semantic group	Submodifiers
International relations	*fellow, friendly, neutral, pro-Western, rival, strategic, Western-leaning, Western-oriented*
Openness/ non-openness	*conservative, (most) democratic, fundamentalist, hard-line, laissez-faire, male-dominated, military-ruled, (exemplar/ more/ most/ overwhelmingly/ relatively) moderate, modern, most open-minded, most orthodox, tolerant, oppressed, secular, strict*
Stability/ instability	*insecure, largely isolated, nuclear-armed and traditionally unstable, unified, volatile*
Political influence	*big, crucial, leading, major, richest pivotal, powerful*
Economy	*low-income, (achingly/ relatively) poor, poorer, economically fragile, rich*

Table 4.18. The semantic groups of submodifiers of *Muslim* and *Islamic*

Incidentally, of all submodifiers featuring in table 4.18, only the adjective *conservative* is found to occur with *Catholic*. The lexical items premodifying *Muslim* and *Islamic* indicate what aspects of Muslim/Islamic countries may be of an issue in the newspapers. In order to see whether there is any pattern in the contexts in which *Catholic* and *Muslim*/*Islamic* occur, a sample of concordance lines was studied in detail. One consistent context in which *Catholic* is used is how countries are faced with social issues closely connected with the Catholic Church

doctrine and conflicts with the Catholic Church, as illustrated in the examples below:

1. Until now, that was the last time the Mexican media extensively examined sexual abuse by priests, which is still largely a taboo topic in **this overwhelmingly Roman Catholic country.** But as a scandal over pedophile priests

2. The new law makes France **the first traditionally Catholic nation** to recognize homosexual unions. But even as the law proceeded through its last debate, protesters staged a noisy demonstration outside the National Assembly.

3. The case has provoked outrage among those in **this firmly Catholic country** who argue for a woman's right to an abortion, and has shed an unwelcome spotlight on the reality of abortion in Portugal, where many omen have the operation but few are willing to discuss it.

As mentioned above, the topic in these examples is social issues involving the Catholic Church, and the context puts the Church in the antagonistic position against the state and society.   It is not the country but the Catholic institution that is negatively evaluated.   A similar context is found occasionally in the use of *Muslim/Islamic,* as in the example below:

lso note the difficulties faced by a female politician in **a conservative, male-dominated Muslim country,** a situation Wahid successfully exploited to win legislative backing for his presidential bid.

On the other hand, it is observed that *Muslim/Islamic* occurs in several other contexts.   The second context in which *Muslim/Islamic* is used construes Muslim countries as not sharing, or living up to perceived Western values, such as market economy, democracy and human rights:

1. Turkey, a member of NATO, straddles the divide between the Middle East and Europe. Though it is **an Islamic nation**, it has a secular government that has staked its credibility on building a Western-style market economy.

2. The Norwegian Nobel Committee, which administers the prize, said Ebadi's selection was intended to promote human rights and democracy in **Islamic countries** and the world as a whole.

3. pledging "real democracy" in place of corrupt civilian rule, democratic freedoms in **this volatile, nuclear-armed and mostly Muslim nation of 150 million** remain tenuous and in some areas may even be in retreat,

Thirdly, Muslim/Islamic countries are contextualised as a source of instability and danger:

1. The volatility of Pakistan, **the only Muslim country known to have nuclear weapons**, has long been a concern to the West. General Musharraf, who is chief of staff of the army, seized power in 1999. Military

2. h administration would resume direct military training aid to Indonesia for the first time in a decade, in a move aimed at bolstering the efforts against terrorism in **the world's most populous Muslim nation**.

3. Backlogs in the new security and fraud checks -- which require the F.B.I. and the C.I.A. to review the names of refugees fleeing terrorist hot spots --have delayed the arrival of tens of thousands of refugees worldwide, particularly those from **predominantly Muslim countries** in A

Lastly, in the next group of examples, the context is the tension between the US interest of gaining support of Muslim countries and the Muslim countries' anti-American sentiments:

1. the United States has hoped for months to persuade **big Muslim countries** like Turkey and Pakistan to contribute troops to the occupation, <u>both to lighten the burden on American soldiers and to dispel the perception of mostly Christian troops occupying a Muslim country.</u>

2. <u>The administration's military campaign is extremely sensitive politically because</u> **Islamic countries** <u>are to be used as a base of operations for many of the major attacks.</u> Not only are aircraft to be

3. In Indonesia, **the world's largest Islamic country**, <u>the war in Iraq is widely seen as a war on Islam, and recent opinion polls indicate that only 17 percent of the population holds a positive view of the United States.</u> Just a few years ago, that number was 60 percent.

The underlying factor in this context is the resentment of Muslim people concerning the US attitude and treatment of Muslim countries (example 3). In contrast to the premodifier *Catholic* which is used to evaluate the Catholic Church, *Muslim/ Islamic* is mainly used in the context which sets Muslim/Islamic countries in juxtaposition to the interests and values of the West and the US.

Moving on the premodifiers of 'ethnicity and race', firstly, countries are categorised by their racial or ethnic composition. These premodifers include:

Race and ethnicity
black, black-ruled, ethnically diverse, ethnically divided, racially divided, ethnically fractious, racially fractious, ethnically mixed, mongrel, mono(-) ethnic, multiethnic, multiracial, near-monoethnic, single-race, tri-ethnic, white, white-ruled, white-skinned

Table 4.19. Premodifiers which describe race and ethnicity

What underlies the modifiers appears to be a sense of conflict and tension. The words like '*fractious, divided*' overtly indicate conflict and tension. It is also observed from an examination of the concordance lines that seemingly neutral words such as *multiracial, multiethnic,* or *ethically mixed* often occur in a contentious context, as borne out by the examples below:

1. Karsten Voigt, head of trans-Atlantic cooperation at the Foreign Ministry, points outs that <u>Germany is **a highly multiethnic country,** where Muslims "can simply hide more easily than in New York</u>." He also noted Germany's efforts, now being rapidly modified, to protect privacy and religious belief, even if religion is used to advocate hatred or raise money for terrorism.

2. said that of all racial groups, colored people were the most <u>pessimistic about the country's future as **a peaceful and prosperous multiracial nation.**</u> In some ways, people of mixed race had the most to lose with the end of apartheid. The white ruling elite kept its wealth even as it relinquished political control.

3. Tens of thousands of displaced people <u>could threaten to destabilize **the two impoverished, ethnically mixed countries**</u> on Yugoslavia's southern border and draw them into the Kosovo conflict.

In example 1, being a multiethnic country is presented as somewhat problematic in the fight against terrorism. In example 2 and 3, being a multiracial or multiethnic country is linked to instability. However, it is noted that being a single race or mono-ethnicity country is also negatively evaluated. In the examples below, being single race is attributed to a cause of non-openness or hostility towards others:

1. the head of Scotland Yard, agreed that "institutional racism" exists in his department. Police have a "sense of shame" about their failures in the Lawrence case, he said. And yet, for all the attention paid the subject today, race is much less a matter of public concern here than in the United States -- because Britain remains **an overwhelmingly single-race nation**

2. e first racially motivated killing on record in Norway, shorter sentences than the prosecutor had sought. Ending a six-week court case that has shaken the moral self assurance of **this relatively white-skinned country**, a five-judge panel pronounced Joe Erling Jahr, 20, and Ole Nicolai Kvisler, 22, guilty in the unprovoked knife attack last year on Benjamin Hermansen, 15, an African-Norw

There are also referents of individual racial or ethnic groups premodifying the keywords *countries/ nations/ country/ nation*. Most of them are not submodified at all. However, one referent, namely *Arab,* which occurs 1,147 times, attracts a range of submodifiers. The modifiers are as follows, and several semantic patterns emerge from them:

Semantic group	Submodifiers
International relations	*apostate, divided, fellow, friendly, hard-line, ostracized, most supportive, pro-Western, rejectionist*
Openness/ non-openness	*autocratic, extreme, moderate, (secular,) modern, restrictive, most politically tolerant, restrictive, most tenacious (in clinging to tradition)*
Stability/ instability	*edgy, peaceful, united, war-afflicted, wary*
Political influence	*big, important, most influential, key, leading, major, pivotal*
Economy	*rich, less privileged, wealthiest, poor, oil-producing*

Table 4.20. The semantic groups of submodifiers of *Arab*

In terms of the semantic groups, the submodifiers of *Arab* are similar to those of *Muslim/*

Islamic shown in table 4.18.   This suggests similarity in the overall portrayal of Muslim and Arab countries.   However, an examination of the collocates of *Arab countries/ country/ nations /nation* reveals a central semantic group which characterises the representation of Arab countries. They are to do with 'relationship-building' and include:

- *support* (32)*, relations* (29)*, ties* (18)*, coalition* (18)*, pressure* (16)*, help* (14)*, meeting* (12)*, diplomatic* (9)*, normalization* (9)*, resolution* (9)*, effort(s)* (9)*, allies* (9)*, summit* (8)*, talk(s)* (8)*, diplomats* (6)*, offered* (5).

To a lesser degree, this semantic group is also found in the collocates of *Muslim/ Islamic countries/ country/ nations/ nation*.   They include *support* (14)*, help* (8)*, relations* (8)*, ties* (8)*, meeting* (7)*, summit* (6).   A sample of concordance examples for *Arab countries/ country/ nations/ nation* are given below:

```
ion has gone to great lengths to win support among Arab nations, portraying t
tration's subsequent effort to rally support among Arab nations, the comments
productive meeting in order to build support among Arab countries for an anti
 progress toward peace here to build support among Arab nations for a coaliti
 President's Bush has tried to build support among Arab nations. Mr. Sharon ad

er Meets With Syria's, Hoping to Improve Ties With Arab Nations BYLINE:
Spain, which has traditionally had close ties with Arab nations, was the host
romise Israel full normalization of relations with Arab countries, in exch
occupied in the 1967 war for normal relations with Arab nations. Over the last
." France prides itself on its good relations with Arab countries in the M

e number of peace agreements signed by Israel with Arab countries. It is two
ies in the relationship that Mr. Bush now has with Arab countries, which have
in Violence Threatens U.S. Diplomatic Efforts With Arab Countries BYLINE: Lee
he President, a longtime advocate of dialogue with Arab nations. "It is not a
powerful military, and too little cooperation with Arab nations, which do not
```

The prominence of the 'relationship-building' collocates associated with *Arab countries/ country/ nations/ nation* highlights the relationship as the main feature in the construal of the Arab countries, whereas the examination of the contexts in which *Muslim/Islamic* occurs has shown largely negative construal of Muslim countries as ideologically and politically antagonistic towards the US and the West.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the premodifers of the four keywords *countries, country, nations* and *nation*.   The premodifiers were chosen for analysis because of their classifying and evaluative functions.   Classifying is not a neutral act, it is suggested, but rather a reflection of a particular point of view.   The analysis of the collocational and contextual patterns of these keywords has demonstrated that the way in which countries are classified accords with the perspectives and values of the US.   One recurring feature is that the US places countries in a hierarchy of most aligned and least aligned with US interests and values.   It has also been shown that the collocates concerning the negative aspects, such as poverty and economic and political instability, tend to be not only lexically richer, but also over-lexicalised.   The overlexicalisation (Fowler, 1991: 85) of negative aspects of countries shows how certain countries are singled out as a problem and may contribute to the stereotyping of the countries, as suggested in section 4.3.3.

Methodologically, what has been demonstrated in this chapter can be termed 'incremental collocations method'.   This has involved the multi-layer analysis of 1) collocational patterns of the collocates of the keywords, 2) collocational patterns of the sub-collocates of the collocates,

and 3) contextual patterns of the collocates and the sub-collocates. The analysis has largely been quantitative, focusing on the semantic groupings and collocational patterns of the premodifiers, while a longer stretch of text is also examined in an effort to bring some depth to the interpretation of the categorisations in discussion of a number of individual premodifiers. The method is painstaking, but the details of results would not have been gained from just looking at the general collocation list. The incremental collocations method is employed throughout the rest of the thesis and characterises the methodological approach of the current study.

CHAPTER 5

REPRESENTATION OF ARAB LEADERS AND EUROPEAN LEADERS: COLLOCATIONAL PATTERNS OF THE KEYWORD *LEADERS*

5.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the collective representation of leaders from the two regions, Europe and the Middle East.   This is prompted by an observation that the top 100 keyword list of the corpus produced by Wordsmith Tools feature various references to political or religious leaders or proper nouns referring to individual leaders.   The keywords include generic references such as *president, leader, leaders, prime minister*, and individual names of leaders such as *Arafat, Bush, Clinton, Hussein, Putin*.   The aim of analysing this group of keywords is to shed some light on the way foreign countries are represented by looking at the way leaders are depicted as representatives of their country.   The current chapter focuses on the plural generic reference, *leaders*, while the representation of individual leaders will be discussed in Chapter 6.   Arab leaders and European leaders are selected because *Arab* and *European* are identified as the two most frequent geographical or regional references on the list of the top ten lexical collocates of *leaders*, which are *said, political, opposition, part, Arab, military, European, Palestinian, meeting, government*.   Additionally, *EU leaders* and *European Union leaders* are included for analysis as subcategories of European leaders. They will be collectively referred to as *Euro leaders* henceforward.   The main discussion section will cover the following:

- top 50 lexical collocates of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders*
- representation of *Arab* and *Euro leaders* as a sayer
- representation of thought with *Arab* and *Euro leaders* as a senser
- representation of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* as a goal.

5.2. Lexical collocates of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders*

In order to extract from the corpus the collocates of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders*, the following search was undertaken using Wordsmith Tools. *Arab* and *European/ EU/ European Union* were used as the context word of *leaders*, and the search yielded 758 occurrences of *Arab leaders* and 669 occurrences of *Euro leaders*. A scan of the concordance lines revealed some irrelevant examples like *Israeli Arab leaders*, leaving the total 743 and 663 instances of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* respectively for analysis. The collocate list of each group of phrases was then examined to see whether a certain pattern of representation of the two groups can be drawn from the collocates. The top 50 lexical collocates of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* are given in table 5.1:

Arab leaders	*Euro leaders*
said, meeting, israeli, palestinian beirut, israel, president, united, arab, summit, moderate, bush, american, iraq, arafat, mubarak, support, cairo, states, peace, palestinians, east, saudi, talks, war, fellow, european, middle, say, washington, called, expected, generation, hussein, meetings, public, egypt, jordan, met, officials, u, calls pressure, s, administration, analysts, bush's, came, days, diplomatic, expressed	*meeting, today, said, bush, summit, president, united, european, agreed, american, called, france, support, brussels, expressed, blair, plan, u, western, helsinki, made, meet say, states, clinton, iraq, putin, urged, want, decided, east, europe, expected, meetings, missile, officials, political, s, war, agree, back, campaign, chirac, decision, endorsed, military, russia, schroder, administration, arab*

Table 5.1. The top 50 lexical collocates of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders*

On the one hand, the comparison of the collocate lists of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* shows that some collocates are shared by both groups of phrases. One group of the shared collocates refers to the activity of meeting, such as *meeting, meetings, meet, met, summit*. Another shared group of collocates are speech acts such as *say, said, called, expressed, support*. There is also a number of shared collocates related to the US, such as *Bush, American, United States, US*. On the other hand, one notable difference is the presence of collocates such as *plan, want, decided, decision* which represent mental process, and of speech act verbs of agreement, such as *agreed, agree, endorsed* in the collocate list of *Euro leaders*. These are absent from the collocate list of *Arab leaders*. The absence of collocates such as *decided, decision* on the list does not necessarily mean that Arab leaders do not engage in decision-making. There may be other verb forms which signal decision-making. There may well also be instances of other verbs which perform an act of agreement occurring with *Arab leaders*, even though they do not feature on the top 50 lexical collocate list. Therefore, the information gained from observing collocates needs to be interpreted with caution. Nevertheless, profiling of high frequency collocates serves as a useful pointer for deciding what to analyse further or what can be expected from detailed analysis of concordance lines. The observations made from the collocate lists of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* indicate differentiated linguistic treatment of the two groups of leaders.

The collocate lists show different types of 'process' attributed to the two groups of leaders. These include the verbal process represented by *said*, the material process represented by *meeting*, and the mental process represented by *decided*. Bearing in mind what was observed in the collocate lists, the next step of analysis was to manually examine all the concordance lines of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* in order to build an overall picture of representation of

the two groups of leaders in terms of activities associated with them.   Each concordance line of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* was examined with the focus on identifying noun, verb and adjectival phrases co-occurring with *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders*.   These were then grouped according to kinds of activities associated with them.   Firstly, each instance of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leader* was examined in terms of whether it occurs as an agent or a goal of a process.   Secondly, instances in which *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* occur as an agent, are grouped into three different process types: verbal, material and mental processes.

For clarification, the concept of 'process' is borrowed from Halliday (2004) to describe and refer to different types of activities and actions attributed to the two groups of leaders. However, processes in the Hallidayan sense are only realised in the verb phrases, while the current analysis also includes nominalised processes.   This means that *summit* and *meeting* in the underlined examples below, have been grouped as a material process:

```
med like powerless bystanders. At a summit of European leaders in September,
eres said today that he had been meeting with European leaders, and that they
king to the BBC before a meeting of Asian and European leaders in Seoul, Fore
ty for consultations comes in Portugal, where European leaders are meeting th
```

As for the mental process category, the following examples would usually be categorised as a relational process in the Hallidayan sense:

```
 . These officials say that most Arab leaders would be happy to see Mr. Hussein overthr
    es of action argue that most Arab leaders would be glad to see Mr. Hussein go, but
```

However, the current grouping is semantically-oriented rather than form-oriented, and they have

been included in the mental process group, in that these adjectives represent the mental state of feeling.   Examples such as below, which can be paraphrased into a mental process, are also categorised as the mental process:

- `r, the far-right Austrian politician, who` **`is persona non grata to many European leaders.`** `➔ Euro leaders consider the far-right Austrian politician persona non grata.`

- `George Tenet, had to be carried out before talks resumed.` **`That formula is sounding increasingly empty to some Arab leaders`**`, even after Mr. Bush made a ➔ Arab leaders find that formula increasingly empty.`

Overall, the current analysis is closer to that of representation of speech and thought by Semino and Short (2003).   The results of the analysis of the concordance lines are summarised in table 5.2 below:

		Agent				
	Total	**Process types**			**Goal**	**Others**
	occurrences	**Verbal**	**Mental**	**Material**		
Arab leaders	743	246 (33%)	143 (19%)	111 (15%)	169 (23%)	74
Euro leaders	663	278 (42%)	140 (21%)	83 (13%)	139 (20%)	23

Table 5.2. The frequency of the process types attributed to *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* (the percentage given in brackets indicates the proportion of the number of instances of each process type against the total number of occurrences of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders*)

The discussion will focus on the most frequent three groups. They are: 1) verbal processes occurring with *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* as an agent; 2) mental processes occurring with *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* as an agent; 3) all processes types occurring with *Arab leaders*

and *Euro leaders* as a goal or a beneficiary.   The 'Others' group is a miscellaneous collection,

from which one further semantic group stands out: *Arab leaders* frequently co-occurs with

lexical items which signal a problem or difficulty, as can be seen from a sample of concordance

examples:

```
      . Had that occurred, the Arab leaders would have faced a crisis over
         sts grew more violent, Arab leaders would face "a serious threat." "A
   e and threatened that other Arab leaders would face the wrath of their peo
    lly sensitive issue for the Arab leaders whose support he needs.
     poses awkward problems for Arab leaders, who privately acknowledge they w
   prove difficult for moderate Arab leaders. "Nobody will have the courage to
    a Strip. "The dilemma of the Arab leaders is on one hand to be able to prove
     scored the dilemma faced by Arab leaders in managing the outrage among the
                  ds HEADLINE: Arab Leaders Face Troubling Choices In Aiding P
      em is a high-wire act for Arab leaders -- especially Mr. Mubarak -- who
   Sharon's offensive had dealt Arab leaders a serious blow. "It puts them in a
```

In the case of the material process in which *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* are construed as an

actor, it was found that 48 out of the total 111 occurrences for *Arab leaders* and 51 out of the 83

occurrences for *Euro leaders* are concerned with the activity of meeting:

```
consultations comes in Portugal, where European leaders are meeting this week. Mr. Clinton is leading the
 in Spain are holding a sit-in near where European leaders are meeting. (Associated Press) LOAD-DATE: Ju
adrid in June. As is always the case when the EU leaders get together, the session produced a virtual Matte
e powerless bystanders. At a summit of European leaders in September, Mr. Prodi was furious when Prime
own these quarterly summit meetings of European leaders, with promises to streamline the agenda and to re
uncil meetings. And at a December summit of EU leaders, the Bush administration lobbied hard for Turkey t
e against Iraq. At the first meeting of the European leaders before dinner, the two men avoided each other at
nt-elect, to invite him to an informal summit of EU leaders in the southwestern French resort of Biarritz next
act, the entire emergency conference of European leaders, held to hammer out a common position on Iraq, v
. DATELINE: ISTANBUL, Dec. 8 BODY: European leaders will gather for a summit meeting this weekend an
```

The activity of meeting is also represented in the instances in which *Arab leaders* and *Euro*

leaders are construed as a goal:

s reason is that he must leave early for Middle East meetings with Arab leaders and then the Israeli and Palestinian prime r

his first moves. In the first of a planned series of meetings with Arab leaders, Prime Minister Ehud Barak won a powerful

with Assad. The rosy rhetoric and a flurry of meetings with Arab leaders have cleared some of the sour air that accu

rafat." Secretary Powell is to leave Sunday night for meetings with Arab leaders in Morocco, Egypt and Jordan, and with Eu

Minister's office today that he would hold a series of meetings with Arab leaders and President Clinton in the coming days.

Pg. A17 LENGTH: 859 words HEADLINE: Barak Set to Meet With Arab Leaders; Israeli to Talk With Arafat, Mubarak BYLI

tangible measures" to build peace. Mr. Bush's meetings here with Arab leaders and in Aqaba, Jordan, with Ariel Sharon an

Bush is expected to hold a separate meeting in Egypt with Arab leaders, Egypt's Middle East News Agency reporte

cause, and on to meetings with a succession of unspecified Arab leaders. Mr. Arafat has usually made such tours af

in this part of the world, Mr. Bush spent 90 minutes alone with the Arab leaders, leaving Secretary of State Colin L. Powell

The material process of meeting ties in with other process types which convey activities which

can be termed 'relationship-building'.   There are examples of the verbal process of dialogue as

shown below:

officials, who had spent most of the day consulting with European leaders about expanding the military mission in Y

ts, toured at least five different sites. In consultations with European leaders last week, Mr. Blix and Dr. ElBaradei also

meeting of the European Union, he will sit down again with European leaders, though the focus of their discussions is I

Pact. Kostunica said that in discussions with some European leaders he detected an uneasiness about their co

of the Socialist International and was talking with other European leaders to seek a common position on the matter

Bush finished what he called candid talks with European Union leaders in an 18th-century country manor nine mi

and Jordan to discuss the Middle East crisis with Arab and European leaders. On Friday, he began by meeting privately

case after Mr. Bush's recent consultations with Arab and European leaders. "On the top of Sharon's agenda is reform

of pretending to negotiate with Kosovar Albanians and European leaders this winter even as he moved "from village

The next set of examples given below include different process types (e.g. material process: *is*

working with~, relational process: *has close ties to~*) but all semantically relate to relationship-

building:

al-Shara, to visit Moscow this month, and he is working with Arab leaders to push for an end to United Nati
services. The files document Mr. Hussein's relationship with Arab leaders and foreign governments, he sai
Barak's predecessor, Benjamin Netanyahu, whose relations with Arab leaders were tinged with mistrust. "We h
To the suggestion that he should be mending his fences with Arab leaders in the region, Mr. Chalabi bristle
peace conference this summer and a deepening engagement with Arab leaders. He chose a path strongly encou
recognize that it had not done enough preparatory diplomacy with Arab leaders before the meeting. "There is no
relationships Mr. Mordechai as Defense Minister developed with Arab leaders. Israeli Arabs, who usually vote 1
it as an integral part of their lives. Hamas also has close ties to Arab leaders throughout the Middle East, and
He has managed to establish friendly relations with a number of Arab leaders, including Jordan's late King Hus
inclined to work with Mr. Arafat, in collaboration with moderate Arab leaders who put pressure on him to mak

This semantic category of relationship-building accounts for 69 out of the total 169 instances of *Arab leaders* as a goal and 56 out of the 139 occurrences of *Euro leaders* as a goal. Combined with the instances of the material process of meeting occurring with *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* as an actor, the relation-building group accounts for 16% (117) of the total occurrences of *Arab leaders* and 16% (107) of the total occurrences of *Euro leaders*. Relationship-building appears to be a recurring theme in the representation of foreign countries, as it was also found to be the central semantic theme in reporting of foreign countries in the South Korean press (Bang, 2003).

5.3. Representation of Arab leaders and Euro leaders as a sayer

It has been shown in the previous section that the examples where the leaders are construed as a sayer constitute the single biggest category in the sets of concordance lines both for *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* accounting for 33% (246) and 42% (278) of the total occurrences respectively. Below is a sample of concordance examples:

mption of peace talks, Arab leaders **said** today that they would freeze all but

st Iraq. At each stop, Arab leaders **have greeted** him with complaints about th

in stop after stop, Arab leaders **publicly challenged** the American emphasis

ns brought on stage. Arab leaders, including Mubarak, **have cautioned** that su

REGIONAL STABILITY; Arab Leaders **Call on** World To Contain Israel's Advances

peace proposal, some Arab leaders **said.** In a lengthy and impassioned call fo

e **criticism** from some Arab leaders that he was not getting to the Middle Eas

rew **support** from some Arab leaders who said they could not support a unilate

us are angry." Some Arab leaders **blame** Iraq for the current crisis. Among t

ny Europeans and some Arab leaders **had asked** them not to make a unilateral de

Though some European leaders **have publicly expressed concern** about a Berlus

of Yugoslavia, European leaders tonight **called on** President Slobodan Milosevic

desirable. The European leaders also **called** on the Security Council to give th

ied them out. The 15 EU leaders **expressed "total solidarity"** with the United S

r Plan," which European leaders **say** could cost $5 billion to $6 billion a y

nture capital, which EU leaders **said** must be rectified by tax breaks and inves

ranks. The 14 European leaders **said** they would cut bilateral ties to Austria

real question European leaders **are asking** is whether they can or should press

esponse. European Union leaders are expected to **raise the case** when Mr. Putin

st Yugoslavia, European leaders today **vowed** to provide the leadership and mone

The percentage differences in frequency of the total occurrences of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* as a sayer indicate that the leaders of Europe are given more voice than those of Arab countries in the newspapers.

The next step of analysis was to examine what kinds of verbal processes occur with *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* and how the representation of the two groups of leaders as a sayer is characterised by them. The concordance lines of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* were again examined, coded and grouped into different semantic categories using the Set function of Wordsmith Tools. Instances where the same verb or noun is used, or where a semantically

similar verb or noun is used, were given a label which is representative of the speech act performed by the relevant group.   For instance, the expressions highlighted in the concordance examples of *Euro leaders* below were grouped and coded as the verbal process of 'agreeing':

```
ir cost would skyrocket. European leaders recently agreed on a plan to reduce

day, Dec. 11 BODY: European Union leaders reached an agreement early this morn

   LENGTH: 634 words HEADLINE: EU Leaders Reach Accord On Schedule for Expansi

rritorial integrity. While the EU leaders here agreed easily that the United Nations

r all the uncertainties, European leaders have shown little disagreement about how

     0 words HEADLINE: 4 European Leaders Form Pact To Boost Defense Cooperation

   echoed by many other European leaders. The "United States of Europe" that
```

The groupings are not clear-cut in some cases, but aimed to be consistent enough to be able to demonstrate whether there is any distinguishing tendency in presenting the verbal activities of the two groups of leaders.   The results of the analysis are presented in table 5.3 (the number given in square brackets is the total number of occurrences of each group):

Verbal process	*Arab leaders* (246)	*Euro leaders* (278)
Agreeing	*agree that/ to sth (3), consensus among* **[4]**	*agree that/ to/ on (25), agreement of, reach accord, reach (an) agreement (3), echoed by, form pact to, show little disagreement about* **[33]**
Disagreeing/ opposing	*publicly challenge sb, do not condone, disputes among, vigorously dispute that, question sth, question whether, object to sth, repeated objections from, oppose, protest (2), quarrel (openly) over sth (2), reject, refuse to do sth* **[15]**	*clash over, decline to, disagree openly, differ sharply over, dwell on disputes, express sharp differences, oppose (7), opposition from, challenge, express unwillingness to, express doubts, publicly question, flatly reject, snub, less blunt in voicing their doubts, win no agreement from* **[22]**
Approving	*approve (5), approved by, diluted endorsement of, use their remarks to*	*approve (4), approval, endorse (8), give the final go-ahead, stop short of*

	endorse, hail, praise, welcome (4), welcomed by, lionize **[16]**	*explicitly endorsing, fail to fully endorse, applaud, greet enthusiastically, hail, praise (3), welcome (3), call sth a turning point* **[26]**
Criticising	*blame sb for sth (3), call sth a threat, complaints from (3) complaints voiced by, greet sb with complaints about sth, condemn (5), go further in condemning, condemned publicly by, statements condemning, condemnation from, official condemnations issued by, criticism among/ from (5), criticize, (sharply) criticized by (2), denounce, denunciations by, expressions of disappointment and regret from, excoriate, express growing anger over, express outrage that, express their deep resentment and deprecation of, hold sb responsible for sth (2), ostracism by, public statements by attacking, rebuke sb for sth* **[40]**	*bristle about, complain that, criticize (5), (public) criticism by/ from (2), issue a statement criticizing, end their harsh criticism, blame, charge that, condemn (2), denounce, step up their denunciations of, dismiss (2), rail against, zingers from, express outrage* **[22]**
Supporting	*backed by (2), support (3), (apparent, unofficial, broader) support among/ of (7), repeatedly express support for, offer support, register united support of, respond with tepid support, voice support for (2), hew to* **[19]**	*back (5), (fresh) backing from (3), give unanimous backing to, support (4), support from (2), declare one's unequivocal support, lose no time in expressing support, unusual pledge of support from, offer firm assurances of support for, rally behind, rally in support of, rush to one's side, voice support (2), express total solidarity* **[25]**
Discussing/ arguing	*advise that, argue that (3), affirm that (3), grave assessment from,*	*argue/ assert/ contend (2)/ declare (2)/ emphasize/ suggest (2)/ signal/ stress*

	confirm that, consultations among/ between (2), contend, declared that, discussed (privately, seriously) among (3), emphasize sth, an opinion expressed by, express belief that, have difficulty explaining how, absorbed in their most intense consultations over sth, hold a series of consultations on sth, indicate that, insist that (4), insistence by, join with sb to weigh in on the issue, issue statements that, statement issued by, make (it) clear that (4), make a point (2), negotiated by, note that, signal that, stiffen in their defense of, stress sth, stress that, suggest that, talk of **[45]**	*that, assert sth, cite sth as an obstacle, cite sth as reasons, discuss (10), discussions of, discussion among, express hope that, haggle over, hold pre-summit dialogues, insist that/ on (5), issue a declaration, issue a statement declaring that, make (it) clear (that) (4), negotiate, offer suggestions, push for a deal, raise the case, reaffirm, struggle to resolve disputes, statements that, struggle with questions of, talk about (3), wrestle over scores of internal issues, 'opinions* **[58]**
Asking for sth or sb to do sth	*ask/ caution/ call on (2)/ encourage/ lobby/ press (3)/ pressure (2)/ bring pressure on/ put pressure on/ push/ remind/ tell/ urge (3) sb (not) to do sth, appeal for sth, make a last-ditch appeal, ardent appeals made by, ban, calls from AL to do sth(2), unusual chorus of AL calling for sth, demand that, demand sth, demands of/ by (2), demand revenge, renew their demands for sth, extreme demands included in the resolutions of, lobby sth, pleas from, pressed by AL to do sth, pressure from (3), pressure sb, bring pressure to bear on sb, prodded in telephone calls from AL to do sth, put conditions on, request of AL, telephone calls from AL*	*beg/ call for/ call on (3)/ press (2)/ urge (2)/ warn sb (not) to do sth, entice sb into doing sth, call for sth (4), press sb on sth, push for sth, enlist sb for sth, urge, urge sth (3), urge that, make last-ditch calls for sth, release a statement calling for sth, pressure from, urgent appeal from* **[29]**

	urging, **[45]**	
Promising	*pledge sth, pledged that~, pledge by AL to do sth, promise quiet if~, threaten to do sth, vow to do sth, vow sth, issue statements committing themselves to do sth* **[8]**	*promise/ pledge (2)/ threaten (3)/ vow (6)(not) to do sth* **[12]**
Proposing	*issue an offer of peace and recognition, offer a peace proposals, offer peace initiative, offer recognition, proposals by AL for sth, propose formally full diplomatic and trade ties, hold out the possibility of doing sth* **[7]**	*offer to, dangle the prospect of membership, offer* **[3]**
Warning	*caution that (2), express concern, that, express a greater fear of, express great alarm over, warn (sb) that (5), warn (sb) over, warn of, 'warnings that* **[13]**	*express alarm (3), express concern (4), issue joint declaration warning, warn of (2)* **[10]**
Neutral reporting verbs	*say, tell* **[24]**	*say, tell* **[22]**
Others	*repeatedly asked by AL, messages that should be going back and forth between AL and~, calls from (telephone senses), barely call sb (telephone sense), lack of reactions by, refer to sb as adjective, soften the language on sth, speak the truth about sth, tributes from, radical language long abandoned by* **[10]**	*ask the real question, ask themselves whether~, congratulate themselves (2), mute their anxiety about, 'words, appoint, named by, announce that, dig in to defend, blundering public statements by, message already delivered by, take their turns addressing, invite, the language used by, announced one's nomination* **[16]**

Table 5.3. The semantic categories of verbal processes attributed to *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders*

The following observations can be made from the analysis of the concordance lines:

- no semantic category of verbal processes is exclusively associated with either group of the leaders, but some categories occur relatively more frequently with one group or the other
- the top three most frequently occurring categories of verbal activities for *Arab leaders* are 'asking' (18.2%), 'discussing' (18.2%) and 'criticising' (16.2%), while for *Euro leaders*, the equivalent categories are 'discussing' (20.8%), 'agreeing' (11.8%) and 'asking' (10.4%)
- the top three most frequent categories of verbal activities for *Arab leaders* account for 53% of the total occurrences of *Arab leaders* as a sayer, while the top three most frequent categories for *Euro leaders* make up 43% of the total number of occurrences of *Euro leaders* as a sayer
- the frequency of the neutral reporting verbs occurring with *Arab leaders* is slightly higher than the frequency of those occurring with *Euro leaders*.

It is worth noting firstly that the neutral reporting verbs occur proportionally more frequently with *Arab leaders* (9.7%) than *Euro leaders* (8.2%), even though the differences in frequency are only marginal. In terms of the distribution of the different types of verbal activities attributed to the two groups of leaders, Euro leaders seem to be represented as relatively more balanced than Arab leaders, as suggested by the comparison of the combined frequency of the top three categories given above. It can be argued that the primary image of Euro leaders conveyed as a performer of the acts of 'discussing/ arguing', 'agreeing', 'disagreeing' and 'approving' is that of a negotiator and decision-maker. On the other hand, while the 'discussing/ arguing' group is one of the main types occurring with *Arab leaders*, the other two main verbal processes of 'asking' and 'criticising' attributed to them construe Arab leaders as vocally demanding, and as more of a responder to a situation than an initiator of a decision-making process. The relative low frequency of the 'agreeing' (1.6%) category attributed to Arab leaders can also be regarded as contributing to this image.

5.4. Representation of thought with Arab leaders and Euro leaders as a senser

This section examines a group of lexical items which represent a variety of mental activities of the leaders such as thinking, feeling, liking. A sample of concordance examples is given below:

```
ccupied Palestinian land. . . . Arab leaders hold Israel responsible for returning the
ce plan is to be discussed. The Arab leaders figured that the Israelis would have diff
Dick Cheney has discovered that Arab leaders expect the United States to stanch the bl
. These officials say that most Arab leaders would be happy to see Mr. Hussein overthr
  ow the preferred platform for Arab leaders who want to make a regional or internatio
    lsewhere in the world. Few Arab leaders would regret to see President Hussein's g
  es of action argue that most Arab leaders would be glad to see Mr. Hussein go, but
ce process. Various neighboring Arab leaders are also planning to confer among themsel
y of the grandiose ambitions of Arab leaders a generation ago, the slum began as a hug
Israeli occupation. Repeatedly, Arab leaders today sought to put Israel on the diploma
```

Table 5.4 presents the semantic categories of mental processes identified and grouped from the concordance lines of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* (the number of instances of each sub-group is given in square brackets):

Semantic Category	*Arab leaders* (143)	*Euro leaders* (140)
Accepting/ refusing	*acquiesce in, adjust, adopt, build on this ideas, embrace, refuse, tolerate, delude themselves, ignore* **[11]**	*adopt, follow the suggestion, come to terms with, not have the flexibility, receptivity to sth among EL; more open to, (less) conciliatory toward, (creative and) compromising, (less) congenial to* **[11]**
Agreeing/ disagreeing	*consensus among, no resonance with, criticism and skepticism among,*	*vacillate and disagree on, doubts among EL, skeptical about, take*

	hardening position of, skeptical, antagonism between, deep divisions among, divided (and fearful), rivalries among **[11]**	*widely different stands, divide between hawks and doves, serious contention between EL, deep fissures between EL, gap, differences of tone among EL; at loggerheads over, deeply divided about* **[11]**
Deciding	*decide if/ that/ to, make a historic decision to, choose to, consider, determined to* **[8]**	*decide that/ whether/ to, decision by EL to, chosen by, ponder, resolve, to, have no choice but to consider, set out an agenda to, set as the target date* **[27]**
Planning	*plan to; grandiose ambitions of* **[2]**	*plan, plan to, aim to, come up with a compromise plan, envisage, start dreaming about, envision, develop a criteria for, EL's aspirations, goals of, EL's grand design, dream of, intent on* **[17]**
(not) Wanting	*(not) want (sb) to, hope that/ to/ for, hopes among, would like to, expect sb to, show an increasing willingness to, show any public enthusiasm for, avoid, recoil form, regret to, expectations of, seeming willingness of AL to, (not) eager for/ to, glad to, happy to, inspired to, serious about, willing to, unwilling to, seek, seek to, (how far) AL be prepared to go, political desperation by* **[37]**	*(not) want to, hope to, hope, hold out hope that, seek to, sought by EL, seem eager to, seem more squeamish about, anxious to, more tentative about, unwilling to, military will of, desires of, EL's desire to* **[22]**
Understanding / judging	*figure that, see that, take a note of, believe (that), consider sb adjective, find it hard/ easier to, make individual calculations about, predict that, perceive/ regard/ see/ view sth (sb) as, place a high value on, weigh whether, wonder whether, feel that, inclined to suspect that, maintain an ambiguous*	*know that, think that, believe that, consider, bank on, get an opportunity to size sb up, recognize, recognized as adjective by EL, consider sth adjective, interpret/ see/ viewsth (sb) as, feel compelled to, find it difficult, attach the importance to, feel that, take a cautious stance toward, make a*

	stand toward, grave assessment from, attitudes of, view of, reviews from, impression among, recognition by, policy among, mentality of, centrality of the issue to AL, sound increasingly empty to AL, symbolism not lost on AL, it become obvious to AL that, become aware of, seem conscious that, **[42]**	*careful distinction between, position shared by, looked on with suspicion by EL, remain suspect to EL, soul-searching among, views of, aware of, catch EL unawares, forced into a recognition that, how sth play with EL, fully united in their belief that, seem green to EL, persona non grata to EL, another priority for EL, another important factor for EL* **[31]**
Liking/ disliking	*preferred for, respected among, love to, appreciate, hate* **[5]**	*relish, revere, remain unhappy about, jubilant over* **[4]**
Worrying	*worry about, alarmed that, afraid of, growing fear among, (broad) anxiety among, concerns of, remain wary of, fear of, thoughts of, fear that, in a state of panic, concerned that, wary of, frightened, worried that, afraid, uncomfortable with, worry that, uneasy with* **[21]**	*worry about, fear that, EL's fear that, anxiety among EL, apprehension of EL, relief from, concerned that, distressed by, troubled by, worried about* **[11]**
Feeling angry	*angered by, frustrated, frustration of* **[3]**	*furious about, frustrated that, grow impatient with* **[3]**
Others	*observe, reflect, feel intense pressure* **[3]**	*pay attention to, pride point for EL* **[3]**

Table 5.4. Semantic categories of mental processes attributed to *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders*

The three most frequently occurring semantic categories of mental processes for *Arab leaders* are 'understanding', 'wanting' and 'worrying', while for *Euro leaders*, they are 'understanding', 'deciding' and 'wanting'. In terms of the distribution of different categories, 71% of the mental processes occurring with *Arab leaders* are represented by the top three categories, while 60% of those occurring with *Euro leaders* are represented by the top three categories. This again suggests more balance in the depiction of Euro leaders. When the relative frequency

differences are considered, the mental processes of 'deciding' and 'planning' are more frequently attributed to Euro leaders than to Arab leaders:

	Deciding	Planning
Arab leaders	5.7%	1.4%
Euro leaders	18.8%	11.8%

Table 5.5. The relative frequencies of the 'deciding' and 'planning' categories occurring with *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders*

A sample of concordance examples are given below:

```
ontinent. European leaders have already resolved to change European treat
 ime, the European leaders decided to go home and revisit the issue later
inki, and European leaders decided to send Mr. Solana immediately to Anka
ecember." European leaders decided Thursday night to reassess in 2004 whe
 the euro, European leaders decided that a three-year transition was neces
cy, European Union leaders decided last June on the need to set up their
s soon as European leaders decided last May which countries would take pa
  n where European leaders decided in 1991 to tear down trade barriers an
   " European Union leaders decided in Cologne last June to take concrete
last time European leaders considered Turkey's application was in 1997. T
```

```
h its problem, European leaders plan to work hard to secure a more positive re
rming, several European leaders plan to demand that he take tough new measures
  nomy. There, European leaders plan to press Bush and Koizumi face to face to
ambitions that European leaders had envisioned for it. Defying predictions tha
     for now, European leaders' grand design to have a constitution that wou
   a dream of European leaders for the last 30 years, but it is also the bigg
  und in what European leaders envisaged as one huge market. Rates of unempl
  the European Union's leaders developed a "criteria" for membership: a candi
  he recent summit, EU leaders came up with a compromise plan for bringing i
   example of European leaders' aspirations came tonight, in the opening ho
```

This observation ties in with the finding in the previous section that Euro leaders as a sayer are most frequently construed as being engaged in a verbal process of decision-making. Meanwhile, the 'understanding', 'wanting' and 'worrying' groups are relatively more frequently associated with Arab leaders than with Euro leaders:

	Understanding	**Wanting**	**Worrying**
Arab leaders	30%	26.4%	15%
Euro leaders	21.6%	15.3%	8.3%

Table 5.6. The relative frequencies of the 'understanding', 'wanting' and 'worrying' categories occurring with *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders*

Below is a sample of concordance examples for the 'wanting' group:

```
scovered that Arab leaders were not eager to pursue his agenda to mobilize
  the ledger. Arab leaders were hoping that Mr. Bush or Secretary Powell woul
  f Iraq. The Arab leaders wanted to stop the fighting, help the Palestinians
an said. "The Arab leaders want to hear what America will be doing in the com
  eturn. Many Arab leaders want him to stay put because they worry that Mr.
     er. With Arab leaders unwilling or unable to develop their own plan for
        ly, Arab leaders today sought to put Israel on the diplomatic defen
        aq, Arab leaders might be inspired to allow open debate, free elect
       tend. Arab leaders hoped that a meeting with Vice President Dick Che
   conflict. Arab leaders are also hoping that Washington will restrain Mr.
```

It is of note that the verbs *want*, *plan* and *decide* are categorised as 'desiderative' by Halliday (2004: 210). While they may be functionally in the same category, being represented as someone who 'plans' and 'makes decisions' is certain to be perceived differently from being represented as someone who 'wants'. The category of 'understanding' and 'worrying' are related to evaluation and opinion-giving on things and people:

```
    say many Arab leaders have traditionally placed a high value on secret communi
     Israel. Arab leaders generally regard Libya and its leader, Col. Muammar el-Q
    in July. Arab leaders generally have viewed the proposals as weighted against
      everal Arab leaders feel their time is nearing its end, including Egypt's,"
        ow, Arab leaders "don't see themselves as having any viable political opt
    t other Arab leaders consider him eccentric, at best. On a recent state visit
    roposal, Arab leaders clearly regarded it as in their own interest. It could a
    moderate Arab leaders became increasingly aware of an urgent need to break the
       Many Arab leaders are inclined to suspect that Israel will not comply full
     e, many Arab leaders appear to believe that any option that removes Mr. Husse

    eace overture. To address the concerns of Arab leaders that the war could be p
            remarks reflected anxiety among Arab leaders that the Bush administ
        nderscored a growing fear among some Arab leaders that the failure of th
     t he said he shared the concerns of many Arab leaders that Israeli peace talk
               n March 27, even though many Arab leaders remain wary of Mr. Araf
```

As with the verbal process of 'criticising' introduced as the main category occurring with *Arab leaders* in the previous section, it can be said that the mental processes of 'understanding' and 'worrying' construe Arab leaders as an opinion-giver reacting to events and situations.

Overall, the different semantic categories of the verbal and mental processes used with *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* are quite evenly distributed in terms of frequency with no single category exclusively occurring with either group of the leaders. However, some categories occur more frequently with either *Arab leaders* or *Euro leaders*. The verbal processes of 'discussing' and 'agreeing' and the mental processes of 'deciding' and 'planning' are found to occur more frequently with *Euro leaders*, while the verbal processes of 'asking' and 'criticising' and the mental processes of 'worrying', 'understanding' and 'wanting' occur more frequently with *Arab leaders*.

5.5. Representation of Arab leaders and Euro leaders as a goal

So far, the discussion has been on the representation of Arab and Euro leaders as an agent or actor.   This section focuses on how the two groups of leaders are construed in a non-agentive position, that is, as a goal or beneficiary.   The semantic position of a goal or beneficiary is usually realised grammatically in the position of the object of a verb or preposition.   Accordingly, what was firstly done was to gather all the occurrences of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* as a grammatical object of the verb or preposition.   In order to do this, the concordance lines were sorted by the L1 and L2 position of the node words *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders*. The examples in which the node words are grammatically positioned as the object of the verb and preposition, but not semantically interpreted as a goal or beneficiary, were excluded from analysis, as in the concordance lines below:

```
sounding  increasingly  empty  to  some  Arab  leaders,  even  after   Mr.  Bu
        pecially sensitive issue for the Arab leaders  whose support he
      d to appeal over  the heads of the Arab leaders, to Arab public opinio
```

As introduced in section 5.1, *Arab leaders* occurs as a goal 169 times (23%) and *Euro leaders* occurs 137 times (20%) as a goal.   It is of note that *Arab leaders* are more frequently positioned as a goal than *European leaders*, but the frequency differences between the two groups are small.   The semantic category identified as most frequent for both *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* when occurring as a goal is the relationship-building group, with 69 and 56 instances for *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* respectively.   The semantic group is represented by instances such *meetings/ talks/ engagement/ relations/ working with Arab leaders/ Euro leaders*.   This category will not be discussed further in this section.

The concordance lines of *Arab lead*ers and *Euro leaders* were further examined in order to discover what types of processes construe *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* as a goal. The results are given below:

Goal of	*Arab leaders (AL)* (100)	*Euro leaders* (EL) (83)
Verbal process		
Persuading	*call on/ call upon/ press/ push/ urge AL to, affirm/ assure/ reassure/ pledge to/ prove to AL that, reach out to AL, defend sth to AL, dissuade AL from, sell sth to AL, cite decision and interest to AL, AL be encouraged by one's words, frank pleas to AL for, badgering of AL, demands for AL to, the demands sb make of AL, AL face pressure to* **[29]**	*urge/ press/ ask/ push/ implore/ persuade/ warn/ call on/ call for/ line up/ bring EL around to, warn EL not to, assure/ convince/ persuade, make the case to EL that, bring AL around to, sway EL, court EL, call EL and press one's case for, lobbying of EL, lobby EL (for), reassure EL of, give EL a reasoned set of argument, pledge given to EL not to, EL come under increasing pressure for* **[35]**
Criticising	*criticize/ denounce/ assail/ chastise/ deride/ fault/ hurl invective at AL for, rail against AL, characterize AL as infidels, brand AL as far from God, lambaste AL as impotent, AL be jabbed liberally, portray AL as weaklings,　poke fun at AL, verbal assault on AL, say of AL, attacks on AL, insulting rhetoric hurled at AL,, denunciations of AL* **[22]**	*accuse EL of, criticize, denounce, denunciation of EL, EL face scathing criticism* **[5]**
Informing/ explaining	*present the options to AL, tell AL broad outlines of, tell AL that, inform AL that* **[5]**	*advise, brief, explain one's position to EL, reiterate to EL the thoughts that, tell EL that, inform EL about,* **[8]**
Other verbal process	*remarks to AL, telephone AL, place calls to AL, statement aimed at AL, communicated to AL, mention AL by*	*contact, summon EL for meetings, schmooze, echo, say to EL, join EL in pressing, warn EL that, warning to*

	name, rally AL around, pointed warnings to AL, broader warning to, reminder to AL, message to AL **[11]**	*EL that, speech to EL, telephone calls to* **[12]**
Mental process		
	affect, frustrate, provoke, scare, expect AL to, want AL to, count on AL to, fuel the hatred towards AL, AL be held responsible for, AL seen to be in league with the West, reminder to AL, a bow to AL, all eyes be on AL **[14]**	*antagonize, upset, vex, raise hackles of EL, divide, show respect to EL, made EL aware of, EL be associated with, be compared to EL, make a positive impression on EL, find EL forma and pompous, find EL (less) accessible* **[13]**
Other process types		
	bring AL together to, allow AL to, get AL to, lead AL to, have AL offer **[6]**	*line up EL to, allow EL to, prompt EL to, compel EL to, set the stage for EL to* **[6]**
	AL be forced to confront, AL be succeeded by, get rid of AL, protect AL, oust AL, unite AL, not listen to AL, timetable for reform be sent to AL, proposal to be presented to AL, proposal to be brought before AL, invaluable source for AL, serve as a bridge to AL, leave AL alone **[13]**	*give EL the same ability, (bomb) mailed to EL* **[4]**

Table 5.7. Semantic categories of process types which construe *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* as a goal

It can be seen from table 5.7 that both *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* are predominantly used as a goal of verbal processes. While no semantic category is uniquely assigned to either *Arab leaders* or *Euro leaders*, the most noteworthy difference is found in the verbal process of 'criticising', which is mainly used with *Arab leaders*. A sample of concordance examples is given below:

```
ah movement, and assailed Arab leaders for "watching while Palestinian women"
 ,analysts here criticize Arab leaders for inaction. "We are losing Iraq, j
   ho hurled invective at Arab leaders for hosting the U.S. forces that invade
 en and denouncing fellow Arab leaders for failing to give adequate support to
 Egypt sharply criticized Arab leaders for failing to respond, and as of today
 rab world, and chastised Arab leaders for blocking antiwar demonstrations. "E
 ds of protesters derided Arab leaders for aiding U.S. plans for a war again
   their denunciations of Arab leaders critical of President Hussein and renew
  diplomacy and portrayed Arab leaders as weaklings unable to defend their int
 Israel for characterizing Arab leaders as weak and vulnerable. He accused Mr.
```

It is interesting to see that Arab leaders are construed as a goal of criticism in the light of the

earlier finding that one of the main verbal processes associated with Arab leaders as a sayer is

'criticising'.   As a goal of another verbal process, 'persuading', the frequency differences are

minor between the two groups, and the lexical choices largely overlap.   Below is a sample of

concordance examples of 'persuading' occurring with *Euro leaders*:

```
n administration began to lobby European leaders at the highest levels, inclu
     satisfied that he had given European leaders a reasoned set of arguments
        Mr. Erdogan has courted European leaders in an effort to gain entry in
  Bush also failed to convince European leaders that he made the right decis
    r. Bush has already called European leaders and pressed Turkey's case for
 e Yugoslav president assured European leaders that the Milosevic era is fi
 explain Israel's positions to European leaders. Until now, Israeli pundits a
        er reiterated to the EU leaders "the thoughts that he had express
   fense staffs to advise the European leaders, who would decide when and w
    even bother to brief other European leaders, breeding ill will. Now, tho
    ters in Brussels to inform European leaders about the administration's pl
 e," Solana said after briefing EU leaders on the results of his Middle East d
```

One characteristic noticed from the verbal processes occurring with *Euro leaders* is how Euro

leaders are represented as being persuaded by reasoning. Euro leaders get '**advised, briefed, explained, and given a reasoned set of arguments**, and have **a case made to** them'. In section 5.3 and 5.4, it was found that the verbal and mental process types most frequently used with *Euro leaders* are 'discussing', 'agreeing' and 'deciding'. Taken all together, the semantically construed image of Euro leaders here is a decision-maker who can or need to be persuaded with reason.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the representation of Arab and European leaders. The starting point of analysis was the keyword *leaders*, and *Arab* and *European* were chosen as the two top ten lexical collocates of *leaders*. The initial profiling of the top 50 lexical collocates of *Arab leaders and European/ European/ EU leaders* was followed by a detailed analysis of all the concordance lines of *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders* in order to discover the overall semantic patterns in representing the two groups of the leaders. The analysis has focused on identifying and comparing of the different process types occurring with *Arab leaders* and *Euro leaders*, and has revealed the following main representational patterns of Arab leaders and Euro leaders:

- As a sayer, Arab leaders are characterised by the verbal processes of 'asking' and 'criticising', while Euro leaders are characterised by the verbal processes of 'discussing/ arguing' and 'agreeing'
- As a senser, Arab leaders are characterised by the mental processes of 'wanting', 'understanding' and 'worrying', while Euro leaders are characterised by the mental processes of 'deciding' and 'planning'
- As a goal, Arab leaders are notably more frequently construed as a goal of the verbal process of 'criticising', while Euro leaders are most frequently construed as a goal of 'persuading'.

It is however, noted that the most of the semantic categories overlap. The differences should be viewed in the context of the similarities. It may be suggested that the portrayal of the two groups of leaders is more nuanced rather than clear-cut. If news articles are individually examined, this kind of subtle but consistent differences in the representation of the leaders may not be observed. Equally, the extent of similarity might go unnoticed in analysis of the individual texts. This cumulative aspect of representation would be difficult to observe by analysing a handful of individual texts. Chapter 6 will further demonstrate the cumulative use of language by analysing one specific aspect in the representation of two individual political leaders, focusing on the representation of the speech.

CHAPTER 6

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE SPEECH OF LEADERS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES: THE KEYWORDS *BLAIR* AND *HUSSEIN*

6.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the representation of the speech of leaders of foreign countries, focusing particularly on that of Tony Blair, the former British Prime Minister and Saddam Hussein, the former Iraqi President.   As mentioned in the previous chapter, this is part of the investigation of the representation of political leaders in the corpus.   While Chapter 5 has examined the collective representation of the leaders of the Arab region and Europe, this chapter focuses on the representation of the two individual leaders, Tony Blair and Saddam Hussein.   The names of political leaders feature prominently in the keyword list of the corpus, as discussed in section 3.4 of Chapter 3.   In this keyword list, the first fifty proper nouns referring to people are all names of political leaders with the exception of Osama Bin Laden, who is on the 'list of most wanted terrorists' as a leader of a terrorist organisation by the US government (taken from http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/fs/2001/5317.htm).   The list also includes the names of the two US (former) President, *Bush* and *Clinton*, and of the three top (former) US officials, *Powell*, *Rumsfeld* and *Albright*.   Having excluded the names of the US President and officials, the top ten names of foreign leaders in the list are identified as follows:

> *Arafat, Hussein, Milosevic, Putin, Sharon* (*Ariel Sharon*, the Israeli Prime Minister)*, Barak* (*Ehud Barak*, the former Israeli Prime Minister)*, Saddam, Blair, Musharraf* (*Pervez Musharra)*, the Pakistani President), *Chaves* (*Hugo Chaves*, the Venezuelan President)

Table 6.1. The top ten names of leaders of foreign countries in the keyword list

Keywords, among other things, can show what a corpus is about. The current corpus is a collection of foreign news articles, and the activities of leaders of foreign countries, as elite social actors, no doubt constitute a major topic in foreign news reportage. The prominence of the names of political leaders in the keyword list clearly reflects the topic area of the corpus. The mere fact that the names of the leaders of foreign countries occur as keywords may not reveal much about how foreign countries are portrayed by the newspapers. However, given that the leaders are representative of their countries, investigating the representation of the leaders may shed light on the portrayal of the country which they represent. Briefly, a couple of observations can be made about the names of the leaders identified as keywords above. The leaders represent the countries of newsworthiness in terms of the US relations with them, for example, either for being a politically or economically elite country (e.g. Britain), for being an important ally (e.g. Britain, Israel, Pakistan), for being in confrontation with the US (e.g. Iraq, Russia, Venezuela), or for being in economic or political turmoil (e.g. Palestine, Serbia). This confirms, in quantitative terms, Galtung and Ruge's observation (1965) that the newsworthiness of a country largely depends on geographical proximity, economic or political eliteness and economic or political problems. For example, Venezuela is not only geographically a neighbour to the US but also confrontational towards the US, hence it commands a high degree of newsworthiness. On the other hand, Iraq, despite being geographically distant, is highly newsworthy because of the US invasion of the country. The presence of the names of the two Israeli leaders can be

interpreted as reflecting the high news value of Israel as a close ally of the US in addition to being involved in military conflicts with Palestine.

6.2. Methodology and discussion

6.2.1. Names of leaders as keywords and implications

Corpus methods are best suited to finding out what is frequent and recurrent. It is sometimes seen as a weakness of corpus methods that infrequent linguistic items are difficult to study or that what is absent from a corpus tends to be overlooked. This is a valid point to a certain extent, but also is rather unfair in that no general corpus will ever be large enough to contain every aspect of language in sufficient numbers since language is ever-changing and expanding. The absence of given linguistic items may be a random phenomenon due to the rare occurrence of those items in general. However, from the perspective of a critical study of language, the absence or presence of certain items may be indicative of a certain bias in the representation of different social groups or events. What has been observed from the keyword list is that no names of leaders of countries in Africa are present. Table 6.2 shows all the names of leaders featuring in the keyword list including some first names:

Region	Names of political leaders
Africa	None
America	*Chavez, Fujimori*
Asia	*Kim, Jiang, Koizumi Wahid, Karzai, Musharraf*
Europe	*Blair, Chirac, Kostunica, Milosevic, Putin, Schroder, Slobodan, Vladimir, Yeltsin*
Middle East	*Abdullah (King Abdullah of Jordan), Abbas, Arafat, Ariel, Barak, Hussein, Netanyahu, Saddam, Sharon, Yasir*

Table 6.2. Regional representation by the names of the leaders

The absence of any name of African leaders in the keyword list indicates that no individual African leader has been represented frequently enough to feature as a keyword. This suggests that leaders from countries in Africa are given less coverage individually and may be relatively under-represented as a whole in the corpus. This can be further explored in relation to the treatment of African countries in the newspapers. The observation is only tentative, but adequately demonstrates how revealing simple frequency information can be, and how it can alert the researcher to things that warrant further attention and investigation.

6.2.2. Frequency of the names of leaders

As indicated at the outset, the analysis will focus on the representation of the speech of Blair and Hussein. This decision has been reached following the typical steps of a *corpus-infused* approach. The first step, as described above, was to consult the keyword list and identify a group of names of political leaders as candidates for analysis. The keywords were automatically generated. It was then decided that the analysis would be limited to the names which occur more than 5,000 times. This left the names of seven foreign leaders for investigation as follows:

Hussein	*Saddam*	*Arafat*	*Milosevic*	*Sharon*	*Putin*	*Barak*	*Blair*
13,083	7,359	12,079	10,480	9,431	9,402	6,424	5,694

Table 6.3. The frequency of the names of the seven leaders

The next step of analysis was to use these names as a search word and extract the concordance lines. When the concordance lines were produced and scanned through, one unforeseen problem came to the analyst's attention. Initially, it was assumed that the names *Hussein* and *Saddam* referred to the former Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein. However, the
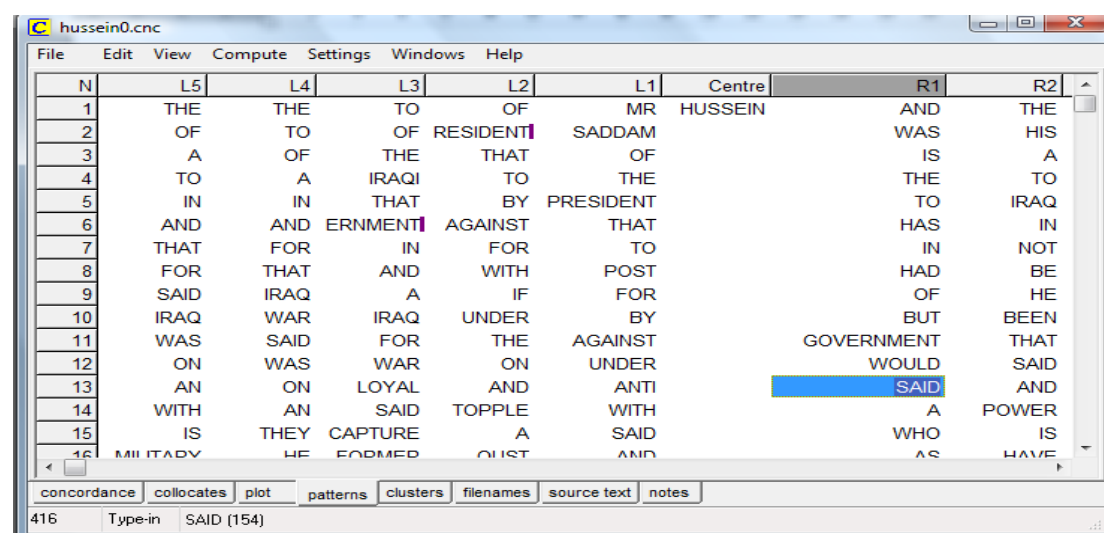
search of *Hussein* yielded many other Husseins.   It seemed that *Hussein* was a very common first or last name for Middle Eastern males.   This posed a minor, but practically cumbersome problem of eliminating instances of *Hussein* not referring to the Iraqi President.   Each of the 13,083 concordance lines of *Hussein* was manually inspected.   Instances in which Saddam Hussein was referred as *Saddam Hussein* or *President Hussein*, or the full name of a person such as *Adel Hussein* was given were not problematic.   However, the instances of *Hussein* and *Mr. Hussein* had to be individually checked in wider contexts, sometimes quite extensive contexts, and deleted if found not to refer to Saddam Hussein the Iraqi President.   In the case of *Saddam*, the aim was to search for only the instances of *Saddam* because the search for *Hussein* had already included those of *Saddam Hussein*.   This was done by using the Context word function of Wordsmith Tools.   In searching for *Saddam*, *Hussein* was given as the context word which must not be present in the L2 position.   This deselected all the examples of *Saddam Hussein*.   The search yielded 1,577 instances of *Saddam*.   The total number of occurrences did not make the cut-off point of 5,000, and it was subsequently decided not to include *Saddam* in analysis.   The search of the other names generally proved much less complicated, even though some manual deletion was still required (e.g. the search for *Blair* yielded the examples such as *Mr. Denis Blair* the name of an US admiral).   The deletion of these irrelevant examples resulted in the reversal of the frequency order for *Putin* and *Sharon*.   The search for *Sharon* picked up instances not only of *Ariel Sharon* the name of the former Israeli Prime Minister, but also of *Sharon LaFraniere*, which turned out to be the name of a correspondent for the *Washington Post*.   The resulting adjusted frequency of the names is as follows:

Arafat	*Hussein*	*Milosevic*	*Putin*	*Sharon*	*Barak*	*Blair*
12,025	11,546	10,436	9,396	9,127	6,397	5,478

Table 6.4. The adjusted frequency of the names of the seven leaders

6.2.3. Frequency of verbs of saying as collocates of the names of leaders
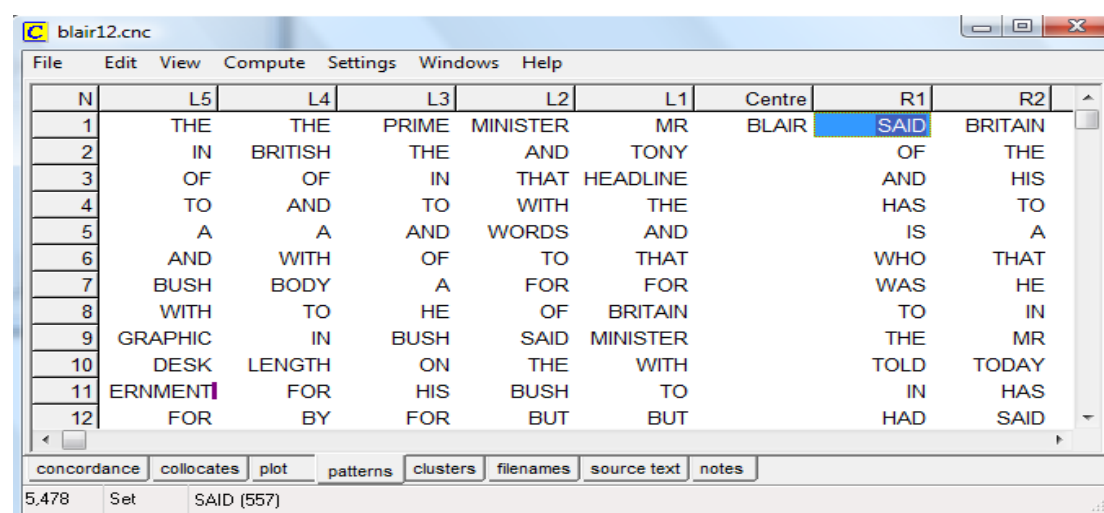
Following the concordance search and the clean-up of the concordance lines, the next step was to examine the collocates of each word.   When the collocates in the Patterns mode for each of the seven names were examined, it was observed that there are considerable differences in the frequency of the collocate, '*said*' occurring in the R1 position, as can be seen from figure 6.1 and 6.2 given below:

N	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2
1	THE	THE	TO	OF	MR	HUSSEIN	AND	THE
2	OF	TO	OF	RESIDENT	SADDAM		WAS	HIS
3	A	OF	THE	THAT	OF		IS	A
4	TO	A	IRAQI	TO	THE		THE	TO
5	IN	IN	THAT	BY	PRESIDENT		TO	IRAQ
6	AND	AND	ERNMENT	AGAINST	THAT		HAS	IN
7	THAT	FOR	IN	FOR	TO		IN	NOT
8	FOR	THAT	AND	WITH	POST		HAD	BE
9	SAID	IRAQ	A	IF	FOR		OF	HE
10	IRAQ	WAR	IRAQ	UNDER	BY		BUT	BEEN
11	WAS	SAID	FOR	THE	AGAINST		GOVERNMENT	THAT
12	ON	WAS	WAR	ON	UNDER		WOULD	SAID
13	AN	ON	LOYAL	AND	ANTI		SAID	AND
14	WITH	AN	SAID	TOPPLE	WITH		A	POWER
15	IS	THEY	CAPTURE	A	SAID		WHO	IS
16	MILITARY	HE	FORMER	OUST	AND		AS	HAVE

concordance | collocates | plot | patterns | clusters | filenames | source text | notes

416 | Type-in | SAID (154)

Figure 6.1

N	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2
1	THE	THE	PRIME	MINISTER	MR	BLAIR	SAID	BRITAIN
2	IN	BRITISH	THE	AND	TONY		OF	THE
3	OF	OF	IN	THAT	HEADLINE		AND	HIS
4	TO	AND	TO	WITH	THE		HAS	TO
5	A	A	AND	WORDS	AND		IS	A
6	AND	WITH	OF	TO	THAT		WHO	THAT
7	BUSH	BODY	A	FOR	FOR		WAS	HE
8	WITH	TO	HE	OF	BRITAIN		TO	IN
9	GRAPHIC	IN	BUSH	SAID	MINISTER		THE	MR
10	DESK	LENGTH	ON	THE	WITH		TOLD	TODAY
11	ERNMENT	FOR	HIS	BUSH	TO		IN	HAS
12	FOR	BY	FOR	BUT	BUT		HAD	SAID

concordance | collocates | plot | patterns | clusters | filenames | source text | notes

5,478 | Set | SAID (557)

Figure 6.2

The grammatical relations of the node word with its collocates can be predicted by the columns in which the collocates occur in the Patterns mode. For example, the node word is likely to be the subject of the verb collocates occurring in the right columns to the node word. That is, the node words *Hussein* and *Blair* can be expected to be the subject of the collocate *said* occurring in the R1 position. Table 6.5 shows the frequency rank of *said* as a collocate occurring in the R1 position of the node words, the names of the seven leaders:

Hussein	*Arafat*	*Milosevic*	*Putin*	*Sharon*	*Barak*	*Blair*
13th (154)	8th (340)	14th (133)	1st (718)	2nd (623)	2nd (410)	1st (557)

Table 6.5. The frequency of the collocate *said* in the R1 position

The collocate list also includes other verbs of saying than *said*. Any verb which describes the use of language is referred to as a 'verb of saying', including reporting verbs, speech act verbs, or other verbal processes (Halliday, 2004). Below are the verbs of saying identified in the R1 position of the node word *Blair* (the verbs are lemmatised and shown in upper case henceforward):

TELL, SPEAK, PROMISE, DECLARE, NOTE, CALL, INSIST, URGE, ASK, RESPOND, EXPRESS, CONCEDE, DEFEND, WARN, ADD, ANNOUNCE, DISMISS, DELIVER, AGREE, ARUGE, REPLY, ACCUSE, ASSERT, ADDRESS, DESCRIBE, PROPOSE, SIGNAL, OFFER, DENY

Table 6.6. Verbs of saying occurring in the R1 position of *Blair*

Table 6.7 on the next page presents the total number of occurrences of all verbs of saying in the R1 position of each name with a minimum frequency of 5. (TO represents the total number of occurrences of each name, VS represents the total number of occurrences of the verbs of saying, and the last row shows the percentage of the occurrences of the verbs of saying against the total number of occurrences of each name):

	Hussein	*Arafat*	*Milosevic*	*Putin*	*Sharon*	*Barak*	*Blair*
TO	**11,546**	12,025	10,436	9,396	9,127	6,446	**5,478**
VS	**364**	762	407	1,495	1,296	742	**979**
Percentage	**3**	6	4	16	14	13	**18**

Table 6.7. The frequency of all verbs of saying occurring in the R1 position of each name

Even though it is assumed here that each name is used as a sayer of the verbs, it has to be mentioned that the count will include examples in which the node word is not actually the subject of the verbs; however the overall proportion of frequency differences across the names should not be significantly affected by these instances.   The figures in table 6.7 show that the three most frequent names *Arafat, Hussein,* and *Milosevic* collocate least frequently with the verbs of saying, while *Blair*, the least frequently mentioned name, occurs with the most number of verbs of saying.   The observation leads to the issue of the representation of speech in newspapers.   Newspapers are essentially about reporting who said what.   Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 304), observing that 'news is what is said', argues for the ideological implication of the representation of speech as follows:

> The choice of who is given voice depends on the importance given to some people instead of others. But again here the selection of the speakers reflects cultural belief systems and power structures.

Here, Caldas-Coulthard's interest is in finding out which social group or individual is given or denied voice by the press.   As elite social actors, these leaders are expected to be given voice, so it is not so much a question of whose voice gets represented.   What is more at stake is whose voice is given more coverage, hence more weight, and how it is represented by the newspapers.   Concerning whose voice is given more coverage, the counts given above clearly point to the unequal representation of the speech of different leaders in the corpus.

Before touching upon the results of the counts, it seems timely to mention a previous study which illustrates Caldas Coulthard's point on how ideology is transmitted through the issue of whose voice is represented and further, how it is represented.   As part of a study on the representation of foreign countries in the South Korean press, Bang (2003) shows that the representation of the speech of the US presidents reflects and possibly reinforces unequal power relations between South Korea and the US.   It was found that the US presidents' speech was not only given far more coverage than that of the leaders of other countries, but also distinctive in terms of the representation of what was said.   The speech of non-US leaders was mostly restricted to conventional expressions such as thanking:

```
     President Bagabandi commended the people of the Republic
 ks. President Bagabandi expressed his full understanding and support
 me. President Bagabandi expressed gratitude and accepted the invitation
  ring the meeting, Zeng conveyed his President Jiang Zemin's regards to
 time. President Yeltsin accepted the invitation with gratitude.
 inister Yoshiro Mori also congratulated President Kim
 ter Keizo Obuchi Thursday expressed "remorseful repentance and heartfelt
```
er Tomiichii Murayama, who expressed "deep remorse and heartfelt apology

(Bang, 2003: 69)

On the other hand, one distinctive function performed by the verbal acts of the US presidents was to comment on or evaluate on-going economic or political situations in South Korea as illustrated in the example below:

```
U.S. President Bill Clinton said Tuesday (early Wednesday morning,
Korean Standard Time) that Korea may reduce its defense budget in order
to  devote  more  funds  to  combatting  social  problems  including
unemployment. In a joint press…
```
(ibid: 72).

Given the professed close relations between South Korea and the US, a higher coverage of

what is said by the US presidents may be expected from the South Korean newspapers. However, the fact that the US presidents comment on South Korea's domestic policy-making, but not the vice-versa reveals an asymmetry in the so-called alliance and partnership of the two countries.

Turning to the relative under-representation of Arafat, Hussein, and Milosevic as a sayer, one explanation for the under-representation of Hussein as a sayer could be that he was a secretive, controlling leader, and it may have been difficult for the media, especially the Western media to gain access to him (e.g. through press conferences or interviews). However, this does not apply to Arafat, who was not a reclusive, media-shy leader. Nevertheless, his voice is relatively under-represented, even though the name *Arafat* is the second most frequent out of the seven names. One thing that can be said about Hussein, Arafat and Milosevic is that there is a lack of perceived credibility or status as the leader of a country. From the West's point of view, Hussein was a dictator to be got rid of. Milosevic was being tried of crimes against humanity during the period covered by the corpus, hence lacking legitimacy as the leader, while Arafat was the leader of the Palestinian territories which is yet to be internationally recognised as an independent state. The fact that he was antagonistic towards Israel, a close US ally, may have also played a part in his being given less voice. On the other hand, Putin, Sharon, Barak and Blair are leaders with credibility enjoying their status either as a traditional ally of the US or a powerful resurgent rival. It seems reasonable to infer a link between the representation of the speech of the leaders and their perceived status as the leader and the relations with the US of the country represented by the leaders.

6.3. Representation of the speech of Tony Blair and Saddam Hussein

The rest of this chapter will discuss the representation of the speech of Blair and Hussein in

detail.   Hussein and Blair have been chosen for analysis because the representation of the speech of the two leaders appears to be at the extreme end of the scale in terms of coverage. It has been shown earlier that the name *Blair* is the least frequently mentioned out of the seven names above the 5,000 frequency threshold, but that it proportionally attracts most verbs of saying as collocates, while the name *Hussein* collocates least frequently with verbs of saying.   The section will quantitatively demonstrate the following observation by Bell (1991: 207):

> There is a relationship between who is speaking and the speech verbs used, with verb choice assigning news value to the source.

It will be shown that the choice of verbs assigns Blair credibility and stature as a leader, while it assigns Hussein the negative news value as a dictator and an enemy.   Further and more significantly, the analysis will show the subtle and nuanced nature in the way verbs are attributed to the two leaders.

6.3.1. Verbs of saying occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein*: neutral reporting verbs SAY and TELL

All verbs of saying attributed to the two leaders, which occur at least once, are identified by examining each concordance line of *Blair* and *Hussein* as a node word.   Before the discussion gets underway, one thing that needs to be mentioned is that using the surname, for example *Blair*, as a node word cannot identify instances of Blair referred to by other means of reference such as pronoun *he*.   This will no doubt leave out a significant number of instances referring to Blair.   Manually identifying these examples is not a viable option because of the sheer volume of the data to deal with.   It would be ideal if they could be automatically extracted by tagging.   However, this type of discoursal tagging cannot be fully automated

requiring a considerable amount of manual input which might defeat the purpose of the whole exercise.   While the omission may be perceived as a limitation of the quantitative approach to discourse study, it is argued that the size of data used is adequate enough to warrant validity of analysis.

Table 6.8 gives the total number of occurrences of all the verbs of saying occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein* with the total occurrences of SAY and TELL and all other verbs of saying (TO means total number of occurrences):

	Blair (5,477)	*Hussein* (11,546)
TO of verbs of saying	1,894 (34.6%)	672 (5.8%)
TO of SAY/ TELL	849 (44.7%)	121 (17.9%)
TO of other verbs of saying	1,045	551

Table 6.8. The total number of occurrences of SAY and TELL and all other verbs of saying for *Blair* and *Hussein*

Several points can be made from the findings.   Firstly, the frequency differences of the verbs of saying occurring in the R1 position of the node word *Blair* and *Hussein* correctly reflect the frequency differences of the total number of occurrences of the verbs of saying occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein*.   Table 6.8 shows that about 35% of all occurrences of *Blair* occur with the verbs of saying, while only about 6% of occurrences of *Hussein* do.   This means that Blair's speech is represented approximately 6 times more than Hussein's, even though the total number of occurrences of *Hussein* is double that of *Blair*.   This kind of information would be difficult to obtain by qualitative methods which typically deal with a small number of texts.   Although certain differences in the coverage of the two leaders' speech can be identified and analysed by the qualitative approach, the strength of the corpus methodology is the capacity to reveal how consistent and extensive these differences or similarities are, as

illustrated in this case.

The second point concerns the frequency of SAY and TELL and the issue of how Blair's and Hussein's speech are represented. As can be seen from table 6.8, 45% of the total number of verbs of saying occurring with *Blair* comprise SAY and TELL. On other hand, the two reporting verbs count for only 18% of the verbs of saying for *Hussein*. The count includes instances of SAY/ TELL followed by a *that*-clause or by a direct quote:

1. hijackers to al Qaeda. In his Oct. 4 statement, Blair had said there were clear connections between the organization and "at least three" of the hijackers. A British government statement released today also said that a "

2. country's filling stations dry, Mr. Blair grimly told a news conference that despite the pledge he had made on Tuesday of showing progress within 24 hours, the situation had only worsened. Mr. Blair, by refusing to accede

3. Day address to serve notice that Iraq is primed to fight. "As we watch the hissing of snakes and barking of dogs accompanied by continued aggression in the north and south of the country," Mr. Hussein said, referring to the no-flight zones imposed after the Persian Gulf war, "we act with the confidence of the assured whose actions are not hasty or confused."

As a rhetorical strategy, the function of the representation of speech is to give legitimacy and reliability to what is reported (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994: 303). However, the representation of speech, as with any representation, is rarely a neutral process and involves choices as to whose speech is represented, and how it is represented. A person's speech can be reported with varying degrees of overt interference from a reporter. The significance of the frequency differences of SAY and TELL used with *Blair* and *Hussein* lies in the fact that SAY and TELL

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are neutral reporting verbs. The choice of SAY and TELL as a reporting verb incurs minimum intervention on the reporter's part in representing a person's speech. Nonetheless, it is well-known that what is reported by using SAY and TELL is not always or exactly verbatim of what was said. Even a direct quote of one's speech is rarely replicated verbatim (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994, Thompson, 1996). In indirect reporting introduced by a *that*-clause or *to*-infinitive, the content of speech is paraphrased according to what the reporter considers to be appropriate for the reporting context (Thompson, 1996: 515). As for direct reporting, quotes may be invented for dramatic effect as in the case of headlines. Quotes can also be selected and edited by a reporter. To take an example of a direct quote in a cricket report from the BBC website (http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/cricket/england/7038489.stm):

> (England team captain said,) "This team are young, learning all the time, and as long as we keep our feet on the ground we can go anywhere."

The recording of the interview from which the quote was taken is available on the website and what was actually said is as follows:

> "This team are young, learning all the time, and as long as we keep our feet on the ground, we keep moving in the right direction, we can go anywhere."

Evidently one sentence has been omitted in the quote. The editing is most likely intended for economy of space and does not alter the meaning of the message in any serious way. Nevertheless, this demonstrates the point that even direct quotes are not always what they claim to be. Another point to bear in mind is that Hussein's words are all translated into English from Arabic, and this means that his speech cannot be reproduced verbatim in any case. The current discussion is not concerned with the distinction between the direct and indirect reporting, but with the implications of choices of verbs of saying for Blair and Hussein. The choices may not be necessarily conscious ones; however, the choice of verbs

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cannot simply be dismissed as random if there is a consistent pattern. As they are the most commonly used reporting verbs, there is nothing noteworthy about the finding that SAY and TELL are the most frequently used individual reporting verbs both for *Blair* and *Hussein*. Equally, random occurrences of SAY and TELL in several texts would be innocuous. However, the results given in table 6.8 are based on the data spanning over the five years. The observed differences in frequency of SAY and TELL used with *Blair* and *Hussein* are not obvious to the naked eye. The significance is that the results show consistently differentiated treatments of the two leaders' speech. As mentioned earlier, when a person's speech is reported using SAY and TELL, the reporter's interference in what is said and how it is said is minimal. It is evident that Blair's speech is represented with little overt interference, whereas Hussein's speech is more subject to interpretation by the reporter. One way of interpreting the results is that Blair's words carry more weight than Hussein's and are given more prominence in the newspapers. The interpretation may be obvious when Blair and Hussein's status as the leader is considered. It can also be predicted that there will be differences in the way the two leaders' speeches are represented. What is demonstrated here is how these differences can be empirically uncovered and measured, and how some differences only become apparent when quantitative data is analysed.

6.3.2. Other verbs of saying (1): mediated verbs of saying followed by a *that*-clause

The next group of verbs of saying which I wish to discuss are other verbs of saying (than SAY and TELL) which are followed by a *that*-clause or a direct quote. Some concordance examples are given below:

```
on, Prime Minister Tony Blair has announced that Parliament will be recal
nd in the infantry. Mr. Blair has argued that combat troops are not an op
    the United Nations. Blair has argued that progress in the Middle East
    more generally." Mr. Blair has argued that an appearance of a less-tha
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   ns unpublished, but Mr. Blair confirmed in Parliament that it reports no
    And a somewhat chastened Blair contends he has gotten the message. Last we
   ve given leadership," Mr. Blair continued. "That is something history will
   cally right for Britain." Blair has hinted that he will call a national ref
   ment when we see it." Mr. Blair explained that it was still "extremely diff
   ussian role in Chechnya," Blair observed. Blair has been criticized by some

Iraq Still Prominent, Hussein Asserts; 10 Years After War, An Appeal to Arab
followed by Iraq. Mr. Hussein contended that the European opposition to an A
nce President Saddam Hussein declared that the no-flight zones were a viola
it fell before," Mr. Hussein predicted, referring to the city's sacking in
      President Saddam Hussein warned Iraqis today that they might have to en
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For reference, this type of verbs of saying will be referred to as mediated verbs of saying.

Table 6.9 shows all the mediated verbs of saying, which occur at least once:

Blair (246)	*Hussein* (65)
ACKNOWLEDGE, ADD, ADDRESS, AGREE, ALLOW, ANNOUNCE, ANSWER, ARGUE, ASK, ASSERT, ASSURE, CAUTION, CHIME IN, CHARGE, CLAIM, COMPLAIN, CONCEDE, CONFIRM, CONFIDE, CONTEND, CONTINUE, CONVINCE, DEFEND, DECLARE, DEMAND, DENY, DISCLOSE, EMPHASIZE, EXPLAIN, EXPRESS CONFIDENCE THAT, EXPRESS A BELIEF THAT, HINT, INDICATE, INSIST, INSTRUCT, MAKE (IT) CLEAR, MENTION, NOTE, OBSERVE, SIGNAL, PERSUADE, PLEDGE, POSTULATE, PREDICT, PROCLAIM, PROMISE, PROPOSE, PUT IT, REITERATE, REMIND, REPLY, REPORT, RESPOND, RETORT, STATE, STRESS, SUGGEST, TESTIFY, URGE, VOW, WARN	ADD, ADDRESS, ADMIT, ALLEGE, ANNOUNCE, ANSWER, ASSERT, ASSERTIONS THAT, CHARGE, CLAIM, REITERATE ONE'S CLAIM THAT, CONFIRM, CONTEND, DECLARE, DEMAND, DENY, OFFER NO PUBLIC DENIAL THAT[3], GROWL, HINT, DROP HINT THAT, INDICATE, GIVE NO INDICATION THAT, INFORM, INSIST, ORDER, PREDICT, REITERATE, REPLY, RESPOND, SIGNAL, STRESS, SUGGEST, VOW, WARN, REPEAT WARNINGS THAT

Table 6.9. Mediated verbs of saying occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein*

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[3] The groupings are semantically oriented and OFFER NO PUBLIC DENIAL is treated as a form of DENY.

The frequency differences are quite striking, but not so surprising given the overall differences in frequency of the verbs of saying attributed to *Blair* and *Hussein* (shown in table 6.8). The mediated verbs of saying imply more interference on the part of the reporter than SAY and TELL in interpreting the proposition being represented or the manner in which it is delivered. In this regard, a couple of points should be made about the range of the verbs of saying associated with the two names. The first feature to note is how many of the verbs occur with both *Blair* and *Hussein*. There are a total of 60 different types of verbs for *Blair* and 29 for *Hussein*, and 24 verbs are shared by both (these are highlighted in a shaded box in table 6.9). There are only 5 verbs that are exclusive to *Hussein*: ADMIT, ALLEGE, GROWL, INFORM, ORDER. What the observation shows is that the verbs of saying used with *Hussein* are fairly similar to those used with *Blair*, despite the fact that the overall frequency of the verbs occurring with *Hussein* is much lower in comparison to those occurring with *Blair*. This indicates a greater level of similarity in representing what Blair and Hussein say than one might expect. Approached from individual texts, this similarity in the range of verbs of saying attributed to *Blair* and *Hussein* is likely to be overlooked. For example, a conclusion drawn from encountering a chance occurrence of GROWL used with *Hussein* would present a very different picture of how Saddam Hussein is represented. Again, this can be argued as one of the benefits of a quantitative approach.

The verbs used with *Hussein* are considerably more limited in range, partly due to the low frequency of the verbs of saying occurring with *Hussein* in general. The data shows that there are only 5 verb types occurring more than 5 times for *Hussein* (ANNOUNCE, CLAIM, DECLARE, INSIST, WARN). The limit in the range of the verb types leads to the second point concerning what effect it may have on the way Saddam Hussein is perceived in the newspapers and what image of Hussein and Blair is constructed through the choice of these verbs of saying. The number of verb types exclusively occurring with *Blair* (highlighted in

a box in table 6.9) is 36.   The relative variety of the verb types occurring with *Blair* can be partly explained by the overall high frequency of the verbs of saying attributed to him, but also suggests that Blair is construed as a multi-faceted sayer.   However, the differences in the use of individual verb types need to be treated with some caution.   There is no occurrence of EMPHASIZE for *Hussein*, but there is an instance of STRESS which is semantically similar. Conversely, there is no instance of ORDER occurring with *Blair*, but INSTRUCT is an act of ordering with lesser degree of imposition.   Distinctive though the individual verbs may be to one or the other name, there may be some common semantic threads which link these individual items.   As mentioned earlier, interpretation should not be based on single or chance occurrences of individual items (this is not to dismiss a potential impact of individual instances on a given text).   However, the focus of the current analysis is to gauge an overall pattern of representation across texts.   One way of ascertaining the overall representational patterns is to identify semantic patterns shared by the individual verbs occurring with each name.   Accordingly, all the instances of the mediated verbs of saying followed by a *that*-clause or direct quote have been examined and grouped into different semantic functional categories.   It must be mentioned that the semantic groups are intuitive and necessarily ad-hoc.   The results are as follows:

Semantic group	*Blair* (246)	*Hussein* (65)
Evaluating	**129 (52.4%)** ADD, ARGUE, ASSERT, ASK, CAUTION, CHIME IN, CHARGE, COMPLAIN, CONTINUE, DECLARE, EMPHASIZE, EXPRESS A BELIEF/ CONCERN/ CONFIDENCE THAT, HINT, INDICATE, INSIST, MAKE (IT) CLEAR, NOTE, OBSERVE, PROCLAIM, PREDICT, PUT IT, REMIND, REITERATE, REPLY, RESPOND, SIGNAL, STRESS, SUGGEST, VOW, WARN	(17) ALLEGE, ANNOUNCE, ARGUE, ASSERT, CLAIM, CHARGE, CONTEND, DECLARE, INSIST, PREDICT, WARN

Stating a fact or future action	(60) ADD, ANNOUNCE, ANSWER, ASK, CHIME IN, CLAIM, CONFIRM, CONTEND, DISCLOSE, EXPLAIN, HINT, INDICATE, INSIST, NOTE, MAKE (IT) CLEAR, REITERATE, REMIND, REPORT, SIGNAL, SUGGEST, STATE	38 (59.3%) ADD, ANNOUNCE, ANSWER, CLAIM, REITERATE ONE'S CLAIM CONFIRM, DECLARE, HINT, DROP ONE'S HINT, INDICATE, GIVE NO INDICATION, INFORM, INSIST, PREDICT, REITERATE, REPEAT, REPLY, RESPOND SIGNAL, STRESS, SUGGEST, VOW, WARN
Admitting/ denying	(25) ACKNOWLEDGE, AGREE, CONCEDE, CONFIDE)/ DENY (4)	ADMIT (1)/ DENY (5)
Promising	(17) ASSURE, GIVE A PLEDGE THAT, POSTULATE, PROMISE, PROPOSE	PROMISE (1)
Persuading	(6) CONVINCE, PERSUADE, URGE	0
Miscellaneous	ASK (1), DEMAND (1), INSTRUCT (1), RETORT (1), TESTIFY (1)	DEMAND (1), GROWL (1), ORDER (1)

Table 6.10. Semantic groups of the mediated verbs of saying followed by a *that*-clause or direct quote occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein*

A couple of differences are immediately apparent from table 6.10. Firstly, the most frequent semantic functional group of the verbs for *Blair* is 'evaluating', while it is the 'stating a fact or future action' for *Hussein*. Secondly, there is no instance of the verbs of 'persuading' occurring with *Hussein*, and only one instance of the verbs of 'admitting' and 'promising' respectively. Overall, *Hussein* occurs not only with a more restricted range of verbs of saying but also with a more limited range of semantic functional groups. The rest of the section is an elaboration on these observations.

As can be seen from table 6.10, in the case of the semantic functional groups of 'evaluating' and 'stating a fact or future action', verbs such as ADD, CLAIM, INSIST are found in both groups. This is because the evaluative and stative functions attributed to the verbs are context-bound rather than intrinsic to the verbs themselves. Thus, the distinction requires an

examination of the proposition delivered in the '*that*-clause' or the quote. For instance, *hinted* in example 1 below is followed by an evaluation of a political situation, while *hinted* in example 2 is followed by a statement on when a certain political event is intended to take place:

1. Mr. Blair **hinted** that international approval would be necessary for any military action, saying of the American-led strikes in Kosovo and Afghanistan…

2. Blair **has hinted** that he will call a national referendum on the euro sometime in the next three years.

What is intrinsically signalled by the verbs is the reporter's attitude or interpretation of the proposition in terms of its veracity and the manner in which the proposition is conveyed. Firstly, the verbs given in table 6.11 imply the disputability of the truthfulness or validity of an utterance from the reporter's point of view:

	Blair	*Hussein*
Verbs with an issue of truthfulness	CHARGE 1, CLAIM 1, INSIST 26/ ARGUE 22	CHARGE 1, CLAIM 6, ALLEGE 1, INSIST 9/ ARGUE 1

Table 6.11. Verbs with an issue of truthfulness

The verbs ALLEGE, CHARGE, CLAIM, or INSIST are chosen to represent a proposition which may not be necessarily agreed or believed as true by others:

1. Mr. Blair **insisted** that if Iraq's disarmanent could not be achieved through the United Nations weapons inspectors "it should happen with the full consent and authority of the United Nations by force."

2. Mr. Hussein **has insisted** that Baghdad has no links with Osama bin Laden's network.

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The verb, INSIST can also signal a sense of being obstinate or unreasonable:

> Mr. Hussein **has insisted** that he will never step down, and it appeared highly unlikely that the United Arab Emirates' call would change his mind.

On the other hand, the verb ARGUE, by definition, entails giving reasons for stating that something is the case (Sinclair et al, 2001: 751).   Thus, a sense of rationality and logic is implied in the verb.   There are 21 instances of ARGUE for *Blair*, and only 1 instance is attributed to *Hussein*, which is as follows:

> Washington said this enabled **President Hussein** not only **to argue that the program was punishing all Iraqis**, but also to exploit loopholes to buy many military goods.

In this example, the US arms embargo policy on Iraq is used as a basis for Hussein's arguing. The validity of the basis for arguing is not explicitly disputed, but the motivation for his argument is negatively evaluated as exploitative.   In the following example, the reasoning behind Blair's arguments is positively evaluated by providing supportive remarks from a well-known British political commentator:

> **Blair argued that higher fuel taxes help the environment by reducing the number of drivers.** "It took some courage for a prime minister to explain why taxes are high, instead of just ducking," said Polly Toynbee, a columnist for the Independent and Guardian newspapers.

In another example below, Blair provides the US government's assurance and the planned British government action as reasons for his argument.   A positive evaluation is implied by fronting the phrase '*faced with tough questioning from across the political spectrum in*

Parliament today':

> Faced with tough questioning from across the political spectrum in Parliament today, **Blair argued that the prisoners in Cuba "are being treated humanely."** "The Americans assure us," Blair said, "that the International Red Cross will go and see them. A British team will visit those who claim British citizenship."

The use of ARGUE with *Blair* seems to hint at an articulate and rational image of Blair which will be shown to be a recurrent theme in the representation of Blair. Blair is also represented as 'claiming' and 'insisting' as there are total 27 instances of CLAIM and INSIST used with *Blair*. With the combined use of these two types of verbs of saying, Blair as a sayer seems to be portrayed in a balanced fashion.

An evaluation or a statement can be interpreted in terms of different degrees of firmness and certainty, and the choice of verbs reflects the reporter's interpretation in what manner the evaluation or statement is conveyed. The verbs include:

	Blair	*Hussein*
Verbs with different degrees of certainty or firmness	(65) ASSERT, CONTEND, DECLARE, EMPHASIZE, MAKE (IT) CLEAR, NOTE, OBSERVE, PROCLAIM, REMIND, REITERATE, SIGNAL, STRESS, SUGGEST, VOW, WARN	(15) ASSERT, CONTEND, DECLARE, REITERATE, STRESS, VOW, WARN

Table 6.12. Verbs with different degrees of certainty or firmness

In the example below, *announced* is an official act in its manner and the content is a proposed plan of an aid increase:

> During a visit to the Brazda camp, British Prime Minister Tony Blair
> **announced** that Britain will double its refugee aid contributions to $
> 64 million and take in more Kosovo Albanians.

Hinted in the example below signals a lack of certainty in which the statement is made:

> President Saddam Hussein **hinted** today that Iraq might be willing to
> comply with a new U.N. Security Council resolution proposed by the
> United States that calls for more stringent weapons inspections,
> apparently reversing earlier opposition to any changes in the…

In contrast, the use of WARN in the example below highlights the firm manner in which the evaluation on the public sentiment is given:

> Mr. Blair **warned** that the public was becoming frustrated with the
> bewildering deadlock and would have no sympathy for failure. "The
> entire civilized world will not understand if we cannot put this
> together and make it work," he said.

In the next example, the statement, which turned out to be true, was not believed by the US government and the choice of DECLARE seems to illustrate that the focus of reportage here is more on the defiant manner in which Hussein made the statement rather than on its veracity:

> Mr. Hussein **declared** that Iraq is "clear of all nuclear, chemical and
> biological weapons." But he made no pledges to cooperate with United
> Nations arms inspectors who are preparing to return to Iraq after a…

In the next example, the same proposition is described as a claim which explicitly signals doubt over its credibility, while the choice of the verb REITERATE indicates a negative interpretation of the manner in which the proposition is conveyed as being persistent in saying

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something that is not considered truthful:

> In the meeting with Haider, Hussein **reiterated his claim** <u>that Iraq does</u>
> <u>not possess weapons of mass destruction.</u> He asserted that "America's
> main goal is to create a pretext and an attempt to cheat public opini…

The negative evaluation on both the truthfulness and the manner is not limited to Hussein's speech as can be seen from the next example in which Blair and Bush's proposition is labelled as a claim. The negative evaluation is further accentuated by the use of the modifier *insistently*:

> Nor did he touch more than glancingly on the crunch issue -- whether
> Iraq will admit to having some banned weapons programs, as **Mr. Bush and**
> **Britain's prime minister, Tony Blair, have claimed insistently,** or deny
> the existence of any clandestine weapons work, as…

Lastly, there are verbs of saying whose function is discourse signalling (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994: 306) rather than semantic. These include the following:

	Blair	*Hussein*
Verbs with a discourse organisational function	(21) ADD, ASK, ANSWER, CHIME IN, REPLY, RESPOND, CONTINUE	(5) ADD, ANSWER, REPLY, RESPOND

Table 6.13. Verbs with a discourse organisational function

The examples include:

1. Mr. Bush began laughing as Mr. Blair **cheerily chimed in**: "it looks
   like it." The prime minister had no discernible reaction when Mr. Bu…

2. "Party members must stay true to the oath they have taken," Hussein
   added. It was unclear when or where the videotape was produced.

Moving on to the semantic functional group of 'admitting or denying', Blair is represented as performing more 'admitting' (25 occurrences) than 'denying' (4 occurrences). The examples are as follows:

1. Blair **acknowledged** tonight that there were "deep divisions of opinion in our country." But he pleaded for national unity, saying the choice saying was clear in dealing with Saddam Hussein…

2. After today's talks, Blair **conceded** that there was no visible progress. But he said the latest glitch in the peace process was hardly the end of the road. "There's been a setback," Blair said.

On the other hand, the 'admitting and denying' group of verbs occur 6 times with *Hussein* in total with the 5 occurrences of the 'denying' group of verbs. The only example of Hussein's admitting shown below is in fact hypothetical, something that is demanded of him as a condition for negotiation:

At the top of Mr. Blair's list of conditions was a demand that Saddam Hussein **admit** on television in Arabic that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction and that he will give them up.

It may be argued that the attribution of the verbs of 'admitting' construes Blair as a fallible but reasonable person.

Finally, the semantic groups of 'promising' and 'persuading' occur primarily with *Blair* with only one instance of the 'promising' group and no instance of the 'persuading' group occurring with *Hussein*. The examples are as follows:

1. government militias and security forces. Blair also **promised** that water, which was cut, would soon be restored to the city.

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2. Hussein **promised** <u>the sentence would be commuted </u>-- and it was.

3. Mr. Blair **persuaded** <u>Mr. Clinton that he was intervening to soften the hard-line European stance on both the beef and banana case and the tax case.</u>

As will be introduced in section 6.3.3, however, there are a number of instances where *Hussein* occurs with the 'persuading' group in the grammatical sequence 'verb + (noun) + *to*-infinitive'.   The absence of the 'persuading' group for *Hussein* occurring in the sequence of 'verb + *that*-clause/ direct quote' could be considered incidental.   However, Bang and Hunston (2008) argue that the use of a *that*-clause represents Blair as speaking for himself, while the act of persuading conveyed in the sequence 'verb + (noun) + *to*-infinitive' is more coercive.

The three categories of 'promising', 'persuading', and 'admitting' can be interpreted in a similar vein as the use of ARGUE with *Blair* earlier in the section.   That is, these acts transmit a positive image of a person being articulate and conciliatory.

This section of the discussion has examined the semantic functional groups of the mediated verbs of saying followed by a *that*-clause or direct quote.   To sum up, the following has been observed and argued:

- the verbs of saying occurring with *Blair* are associated with a wider range of semantic functional types which results in a more balanced representation of Blair's speech
- the most frequently occurring semantic functional type for *Blair* is evaluative, and as an evaluator, Blair is construed as an articulate and credible leader
- the most frequently occurring semantic functional type for *Hussein* is stative, and his statements are often represented in such a way that they are seen as lacking credibility.

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6.3.3. Other verbs of saying (2): mediated verbs of saying followed by *to*-infinitive

The next group of mediated verbs of saying to be discussed comprises the verbs followed by the sequence '(noun) + *to* + infinitive', which is also categorised as indirect speech. This group of the verbs usually perform an act of promising or refusing to do something. The verbs include; AGREE, DECLINE, OFFER, PLEDGE, PROMISE, REFUSE, THREATEN, VOW. The total number of the occurrences is 48 for *Blair* and 42 for *Hussein*. Below are some concordance examples for *Blair* and *Hussein*:


```
and Prime Minister Tony Blair refused to negotiate his country's right to
ers after midnight, Mr. Blair declined to specify the new proposals beyon
Officials said Bush and Blair had agreed during their last session at Cam
sh prime minister, Tony Blair, had offered to act as an intermediary for
ION Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain vehemently pledged to reverse Yu
  had in politics." Mr. Blair has promised to decide before the summer of
ugh Prime Minister Tony Blair has promised to put any future deal before
t least five years. Mr. Blair has vowed to put the question to a referend

    n the ground. Mr. Hussein has refused to recognize the no-flight zo
    g more. President Hussein has refused to open Iraq to unrestricted
  he gulf war, Saddam Hussein threatened to "completely burn half of Is
a decade after Saddam Hussein agreed to give up weapons of mass destruc
 newspaper story that Hussein had offered to pay Libya billions of doll
 it. President Saddam Hussein has promised to prevent it. When two doze
ons programs that Mr. Hussein pledged to halt as part of the cease-fire
q. In his speech, Mr. Hussein vowed to beat back any invasion. "The peo
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Table 6.14 on the next page shows the frequency of each semantic functional group of 'promising' and 'refusing' associated with *Blair* and *Hussein*:

	Blair (49)	*Hussein* (44)
Promising	(38) AGREE, OFFER, PLEDGE, MAKE A PLEDGE TO, PROMISE, VOW	(13) AGREE, OFFER, PLEDGE, PROMISE, VOW
Refusing	(11) REFUSE, DECLINE	(25) REFUSE/ (6) THREATEN

Table 6.14. The frequency of the verbs of 'promising' and 'refusing' occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein*

The overall frequency of this meaning group for *Blair* (48 occurrences) is relatively minor accounting for 2.5% of the total 1,894 occurrences of the verbs of saying, while for *Hussein*, the number of the verbs occurring in this group accounts for about 6% of the total 673 occurrences of the verbs of saying.   As can be seen from table 6.14, Blair is represented as performing more 'promising' and Hussein as doing more 'refusing'.   Notably, the verb THREATEN is only used with *Hussein*.

Another sequence 'verb + noun + *to* + infinitive' performs the function of 'getting someone to do something' or 'allowing someone to do something', as shown below:

```
nt this year when Blair authorized British forces to join the U.S. milit
ance inside Iraq. Blair persuaded the House of Commons to vote in favor
ted next May. Mr. Blair today called on his restive party to "stand firm
for 18 years. Mr. Blair cajoled her to stay in government once the war b
   on Friday, Mr. Blair called for Russia and the 19-member NATO allianc
ce days after Mr. Blair called for stricter measures to be taken against
ime Minister Tony Blair today warned British troops to prepare for actio
m. Prime Minister Blair urged Britain to steel itself in the face of new

  eports that Saddam Hussein has authorized his military to use poison gas
   nspectors. If Mr. Hussein permits the inspectors to return, the diplomat
   in the Arab world, Hussein also ordered the Iraqi government to pay $ 25,
   e been ordered by Hussein either to attack or to establish defensive pos
  levision today, Mr. Hussein exhorted the fedayeen to continue their attack
qi exile circles, Mr. Hussein forced Nour al-Din Saffi to divorce his wife i
b cause. In Iraq, Mr. Hussein urged Arab oil producers to adopt economic mea
     y that of Saddam Hussein urged Iraqis to resist occupying forces. The t
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Table 6.15 shows the verbs associated with each meaning and the respective frequency:

	Blair (66)	*Hussein* (57)
Getting someone to do something	(65) ASK, CAJOLE, CALL FOR, CALL ON, CHALLENGE, INSTRUCT, INVITE, ORDER, PERSUADE, PRESS, PRESSURE, PUSH, URGE, WARN	(47) APPEAL, ASK, CALL FOR, CALL ON, EXHORT, FORCE, ORDER, RALLY, RECALL, URGE, WARN
Allowing someone to do something	(1) AUTHORIZE	(10) ALLOW, AUTHORIZE, PERMIT

Table 6.15. The frequency of the verbs of 'getting/ allowing someone to do something' occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein*

Proportionally, *Hussein* occurs more frequently in this sequence (8.6% of the total number of occurrences of the verbs of saying) than *Blair* (3.3% of the total number of occurrences of the verbs of saying). Notably, there is only one instance of the meaning group of 'allowing someone to do something' occurring with *Blair*. On the other hand, ORDER as an individual verb occurs 13 times for *Hussein*.

The functions of the verbs occurring in the sequence 'verb + (noun) + *to* + infinitive' are semantically interpersonal in that they involve either offering to do something for someone or getting/ allowing someone to do something. Hussein is clearly represented as being more conflictual and unilateral as his speech is reported with the more frequent use of the refusing and allowing group of verbs such as THREATEN and AUTHORIZE. In contrast, Blair is represented as being more conciliatory as his speech is construed more as offering to do things and as performing persuasive acts of varying degrees.

6.3.4. Other verbs of saying (3): narrator's representation of speech acts and narrator's representation of voice

The last two groups of the verbs of saying to be discussed are what have been called the Narrator's Representation of Speech Acts (NRSA) and the Narrator's Representation of Voice (NV) (Semino and Short, 2004). They are a more summarised form of speech representation compared to direct and indirect speech. NV is the most minimal form of speech representation, and consists of general verbs of saying including nominalisations (e.g. ADDRESS, INTERVIEW, SPEAK, SPEECH, STATEMENT, TALK, TALKS) either with no reference to specific speech acts or referring to speech events participated in by multiple speakers (ibid: 43-45). According to Semino and Short, NV is most 'distanced from the original speech event' (ibid: 44). The frequency of NV occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein* is as follows:

	Blair	*Hussein*
TO of verbs of saying	1,894	672
TO of NV	108 (5.7%)	85 (12.6%)

Table 6.16. The total number of occurrences of NV occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein*

Clearly, Hussein's speech is more frequently reported in this most summarised form of speech representation. There appears to be differences in the way in which NV is used contextually. Some instances of NV are not elaborated in the context in terms of what proposition is made. For instance, in the example below, *addresses* made by Hussein are not specified any further in the text:

1. Since then, Hussein has delivered **two televised addresses** -- the last one Saturday night -- and television has broadcast repeated footage of him attending…

In the next example for *Blair*, the speech event is 'speaking' which carries minimal information regarding what is said:

2. Rice, just as Blair **speaks regularly** with Bush and Foreign Secretary Jack Straw with Secretary of State Colin Powell. The British have wired their partnership with the United States by assiduously developing…

As is the case in example 1, *Hussein* is found to usually occur with (nominalised) verbs like SPEECH, ADDRESS, MESSAGE which are monologic verbal activities. On the other hand, as demonstrated in example 2, Blair is often represented as engaged in interactive verbal activities of speaking, talking, telephoning with leaders of other countries. Some instances of NV are complemented by NRSA in the same clause. In example 1, *called* is elaborated as briefing, and in example 2, *message* is specified as criticising:

1. Mr. Blair **called** President Clinton to brief him on the day's progress. The President has said he is willing, if asked, to contact individual leaders, as he

2. **A message** from President Saddam Hussein delivered through a spokesman criticized leaders who speak "with an Arab tongue" but serve Western interests. But the Iraqi delegation held some of its

Lastly, some instances of NV are preceded or followed by a separate clause in which the speech event is specified. The NV in this type introduces what is to come. In the example below, the speech event is Blair's address to the House of Commons:

Mr. Blair **spoke in the House of Commons** on the eve of an all-day parliamentary debate, in which opponents of the war hope that as many as 100 of the 410 Labor legislators may break ranks with the prime min

It is followed by a specifying SAY-clause which carries an evaluative proposition:

```
Allowing Mr. Hussein more time, he said, is "folly and weakness which
will only mean that when the conflict comes, it will be more bloody,
less certain and greater in its devastation."
```
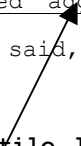
NV can also expand upon the circumstances or manner in which the preceding utterances are delivered. In the example below, Blair's remark is recapsulated into *spoke* whose circumstantial clause gives details on the background against which the preceding statement is made:

```
What we have got to consider, because much of this evidence comes to us
from sensitive sources, from intelligence sources, is how much we can
present to people," the prime minister said.

Mr. Blair spoke as British authorities scramble to determine whether
their country was used as a base by Mr. bin Laden's followers to plan
the Sept. 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Both
```

In the next example, the preceding remarks made by Hussein are reinterpreted and evaluated as *hostile language*:

```
"As we watch the hissing of snakes and barking of dogs accompanied by
continued aggression in the north and south of the country," Mr.
Hussein said, referring to the no-flight zones imposed after the

The hostile language that Mr. Hussein unleashed today was reminiscent
of the Iraqi attitude during the inspections from 1991 to 1998, when
confrontations periodically led to American bombing raids on Iraq.
```

A sample of 50 examples of NV for *Blair* and *Hussein* has been closely examined and the frequency of each type of NV is as follows:

	Blair (50)	*Hussein* (50)
No elaboration	23	23
Elaborated in the same clause	11	19
Elaborated in the text	16	8

Table 6.17. The frequency of the three different types of NV occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein*

The number of instances of NV with no elaboration is the same for both names. The difference is that the verbal activities associated with *Blair* tend to be dialogic, while the verbal activities associated with *Hussein* tend to be monologic as observed earlier. In terms of NV with elaboration, *Blair* occurs more frequently with NV elaborated within the text, whereas Hussein occurs more frequently with NV elaborate within the same clause. This suggests that Hussein's speech is more interpreted and more summarised even within the category of NV compared to Blair's speech which is reported with more details.

NRSA(p) is a form of speech reporting with a 'greater summarizing effect than is normally associated with indirect speech' (Semino and Short, 2004: 53). It can refer to a simple speech act as in example 1 below, or can also convey detailed propositional content in the form of complex noun phrases (these can be quite lengthy) as in example 2:

1. Still, the announcement of Mr. Campbell's departure the day after Mr. Blair **testified** at the inquiry and at a time when the prime minister

2. ng, Blair **has promised** major budget increases for education, welfare and the free cradle-to-grave medical care provided by the National Health Service.

Semino and Short (2004: 52-53) subcategorise this type of NRSA as NRSAp (NRSA with topic). NRSA(p) is found to be most commonly used in newspapers because of its capacity to pack in a lot of information in a limited space (ibid: 73). The frequency of NRSA (p)

occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein* is as follows:

	Blair	*Hussein*
TO of verbs of saying	1,894	672
TO of NRSA(p)	576 (30.4%)	300 (44.6%)

Table 6.18. The total number of the occurrences of NRSA for *Blair* and *Hussein*

NRSA(p) turns out to be the most frequent single category of speech representation for *Hussein*.   In the Semino and Short's corpus, the total number of the occurrences of NRSA (p) is 1,398 of which 667 instances (47.7%) occur in the press section (ibid: 74).   Viewed against this ratio, the frequency of NRSA(p) used with *Hussein* is closer to the average, whereas NRSA(p) is relatively under-used with *Blair*.   This indicates that Blair's speech is less summarised than the average.

All the occurrences of NRSA(p) occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein* have been examined and grouped into different semantic functional groups.   The results are presented below:

Semantic group	*Blair* (576)	*Hussein* (300)
Acknowledging	(12) ACKNOWLEGE	(4) ADMIT TO, ADMISSION, CONFESS TO, CONFESSION
Apologising	(3) APPOLOGIZE FOR, ADD ONE'S APPOLOGY TO, MAKE NO APOLOGIES FOR	(4) APOLOGIZE FOR, ISSUE/ OFFER AN APOLOGY FOR/ TO
Arguing	(23) ARGUE FOR, MAKE THE ARGUMENT, LAY ARGUMENTS, MAKE ALLEGATIONS, ASSERT, CLAIM, DECLARE, ARTICULATE/ MAKE/ OUTLINE/ PRESENT/ SUMMARIZE A (THE/ ONE'S) CASE (AGAINST/ FOR), EXPRESS CONFIDENCE OF, MAKE A POINT, MAINTAIN, PROCLAIM, SIGNAL A BOLDER STANCE	(5) CLAIM, OFFER AN ASSESSMENT, MAINTAIN, PRESS ONE'S CASE AGAINST, REASSERT
Asking/ persuading	(61) APPEAL, APPEAL FOR, BROADCAST AN APPEAL, ASK FOR, CALL FOR, CONVINCE,	(56) APPEAL TO, ASK FOR, CALL FOR, DEMAND, EXHORT,

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	DELIVER A PLEA FOR, LOBBY FOR, ORDER, PERSUADE (OF), PLEAD, PRESS (FOR), PUSH FOR, SELL, SOLICIT, URGE	EXHORTATIONS, INTIMITATE SOMEONE INTO V-ING, ORDER, ISSUE DECREE/ ORDER(S)/ INSTRUCTIONS, ORDAIN, URGE, WOO
Blaming/ criticising	(39) ACCUSE SB OF STH, ASSAIL, ATTACK, BASH, BLAME, LAY BLAME, BLAST, COMPLAIN, CONTRADICT, CRITICIZE, VOICE CRITICISM, DEMONIZE, DEPLORE, DERIDE, EXPRESS FRUSTRATION AND DISAPPOINTMENT, FAULT, LASH OUT, MAKE ONE'S CONTEMPT CLEAR, OPPOSE, REITERATE OBJECTIONS, PROTEST, RAIL AT, VOICE IRRITATION, VOICE PESSIMISM OVER	(40) ACCUSE SB OF STH, ASSAIL, BLAME, CHAFE AT, CHALLENGE, CONDEMN, CRITICIZE, HURL THE INSULTING RHETORIC, LASH OUT AT, MOCK, SCOFF, TAUNTS
Defending	(18) DEFND, JUSTIFY, DELIVER A DEFENSE OF	0
Denying	(41) CONTEST, DENY, DISMISS, DISPUTE, PLAY DOWN, REFUSE, REFUTE, REJECT	(30) DENY, DENIALS, DISMISS, DISPUTE, REBUFF, GIVE A REBUFF, REFUSE, REFUSAL, REJECT, SCORN, SPURN
Describing	(37) CALL + NOUN + NOUN/ ADJECTIVE, CITE AS, DEFINE AS, DEPICT AS, DESCRIBE AS, PORTRAY AS, PRONOUNCE+ NOUN + NOUN, REFER TO AS	(10) CALL/ DECLARE/ PROCLAIME + NOUN + NOUN, DESCRIBE AS, PORTRAY AS
Discussing	(22) CONFER, CONSULT DISCUSS, NEGOTIATE	(1) NEGOTIATE
Emphasising	(7) EMPHASIZE, STRESS	(1) STRESS
Explaining	(22) BRIEF, DEFINE, DESCRIBE, GIVE AN ACCOUNT OF, GIVE AN EXPLANATION, GIVE VIEWS, OFFER AN ASSESSMENT, OFFER NO SPECIFICS, OFFER DISTINCTIONS, OUTLINE, PRESENT THE ACCOUNTING OF, PORTRAY, PUT IT	(5) ACCOUNT FOR, BRIEF, DEPICT, EXPLAIN, GIVE A REASON
Permitting/ forbidding an action	(1) GIVE PERMISSION FOR	(35) ALLOW, APPROVAL, BAN, BAR, ENDORSE, PERMIT
Mentioning	(39) ADDRESS, ALLUDE, ATTRIBUTE, CALL	(8) EVOKE, INVOKE,

	ATTENTION TO, CITE, INVOKE, POINT OUT, POINT TO, REFER TO, MAKE NO REFERENCE TO, MENTION, NOTE	MENTION, REFER TO
Praising	(24) CREDIT, HAIL, PAY TRIBUTE TO, PRAISE, RETURN THE COMPLIMENT	(3) CHAMPION, EXTOLL, PRAISE
Promising/ proposing	(59) OFFER, PLEDGE, PROMISE, VOW/ INSTRODUCE (LEGISLATION), ISSUE (A FORMAL PROGRAM, A PLAN, A SOLUTION), LAY OUT, PROPOSE, PROPOSAL, MAKE/ PRESENT A PROPOSAL, PUT FORWARD, RAISE THE IDEA, SUGGEST	(22) AGREE TO, ASSURE OF, CONSENT TO, GUARANTEE, OFFER (FINANCIAL SUPPORT), ISSUE/ MAKE AN OFFER, MAKE A CONCESSION, PLEGE, PROMISE, THREATEN, VOW/ PROPOSE
Supporting	(55) ADVOCATE, AGREE, BACK, CHAMPION, DECLARE ONE'S SOLIDARITY WITH, ECHO ONE'S LINE, ENDORSE, GIVE ENDORSEMENT, PROMOTE, SUPPORT, DECLARE/ EXPRESS/ GIVE (ONE'S) SUPPORT, WELCOME	(2) VOICE SOLIDARITY, OFFER SUPPORT
Warning	(20) CAUTION AGAINST/ ABOUT, COMMNUNICATE/ EXPRESS/ RAISE/ VOICE (A) CONCERN, EXPRESS DOUBTS, EXPRESS MISGIVINGS, STRIKE A CAUTIOUS NOTE, WARN OF, DELIVER ONE'S WARNING	(5) CAUTION/ WARN AGAINST, PREDICT (MORE TROUBLES), HAVE SB WARNED
Official acts	(59) ANNOUNCE, MAKE AN ANNOUNCEMENT, ACCEPT AN INVITATION/ A PROPOSAL, APPOINT, CALL AN ELECTION/ A MEETING, DECLARE WAR, EVICT, FIRE, INVITE, NAME, POSTPONE, RECALL, SUMMON, SUSPEND	(48) ANNOUNCE, APPOINT, CALL, COMMISSION, DECLARE (JIHAD), DECLARE PUNISHMENTS, DEMOTE, EXPEL, GIVE NOUN A NAME, SACK, SWEAR SB IN, SUMMON/ (23) ANNOUNCE/ DECLARE/ DECREE/ GRANT/ ISSUE/ OFFER/ ORDER/ PROCLAIM AN AMNESTY, PARDON, ISSUE/ DECLARE A PARDON
Questioning/ answering	(20) TESTIFY, ANSWER/ FIELD/ REPSOND/ TAKE QUESTIONS, POSE QUESTIONS/, AGREE, ANSWER ONE'S CRITICS, INQUIRE	(4) GIVE/ OFFER ANSWER/ INFORMATION, QUESTION, INFORM

	ABOUT, RAISE POINTS/ QUESTIONS	
Miscellaneous	(20) AVOID VICTORY TALK, BRAG ABOUT, CLARIFICATIONS, CONFRONT, ECHO (THE RESOLVE), EXPRESS ELATION/ SADNESS/ INTREST, EXAGGERATE, GREET, JOKE ABOUT, OPEN ONE'S TALK WITH A QUIP, REMIND SB OF STH, REPEAT REPORT, TELL A LIE	(16) AGREE, ACQUIESCE, ISSUE A STATEMENT OF ACQUIESCE, EXPRESS (LITTLE) SYMPATHY, GREET, INTERRUPT, QUOTE, RECEIVE WARMLY, RESPOND WITH A JOKE, RESPOND WITH A LIE, SIDESTEP, THANK

Table 6.19. The semantic functional groups of the verbs of NRSA(p) occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein*

There are several discussion points arising from the results. In terms of the range of the semantic-functional groups, *Blair* and *Hussein* are quite similar. As can be seen from table 6.19, the only category for which no instance is found for *Hussein* is 'defending'. On the other hand, a scan through table 6.19 indicates differences in distribution of the verbs across the meaning groups. This is reflected in the ratio of the total number of the five most frequent meaning groups for *Blair* and *Hussein*. For *Blair*, the top five meaning groups account for 51% (286) of the total occurrences, while the top five meaning groups account for 70% (210) of the total occurrences of the verbs for *Hussein*. Not only do the verbs used with *Hussein* belong to the smaller number of the meaning groups, but also some of the meaning groups are found to be over-represented by certain individual verbs. For instance, in the 'blaming/ criticising' group, 22 out of the 40 occurrences feature the verb, ACCUSE:

```
esterday in which Mr. Hussein accused the Bush administration of planning to
n for Iraq, after Mr. Hussein accused the old commission of being an America
     a new high when Hussein accused the inspectors of engaging in "purely
ecessary." Last week, Hussein accused the inspectors of gathering intelligen
ab leaders, President Hussein accused the United States and Israel -- "the Z
```

There are 12, including ACCUSE, different types of verbs of 'blaming/ criticising' used with

Hussein, whereas 22 different types of verbs are used with *Blair* out of the total of 39 occurrences.   As far as the meaning group of 'asking/ persuading' is concerned, the verb ORDER is used in 40 out of 56 occurrences for *Hussein*:

```
ar with Iran that Mr. Hussein ordered the use of poison gas against enemy fo
 Iraqi Kurds that Mr. Hussein ordered the use of chemical weapons against ci
  fore the war Saddam Hussein ordered the construction of elaborate, duplica
en years after Saddam Hussein ordered the vast marshes of southeastern Iraq
  t in 1998, when Mr. Hussein ordered United Nations inspectors out of Iraq.
```

In the case of the official acts group of verbs occurring with *Hussein*, one particular speech act makes up the majority of the occurrences.   23 out of the total 48 occurrences are an act of giving an amnesty:

```
fter President Saddam Hussein declared an amnesty that appeared to have all
 uring an amnesty Mr. Hussein declared last month. He said he was jailed in
  returned home after Hussein granted an amnesty to almost all the country
 from a broad amnesty Hussein had decreed the autumn before the war. "Latif
 ast October when Mr. Hussein issued a blanket pardon after an election in w
```

Although all the semantic functional groups occur with both *Blair* and *Hussein* with an exception of the 'defending' group, it has been shown that the distribution of the meaning groups is far more uneven for *Hussein*.   This imbalance in distribution illustrates the differences in the coverage of Blair and Hussein's speech.   The top ten semantic functional categories for *Blair* and *Hussein* are given in table 6.20 on the next page:

	Blair		*Hussein*
1	Asking/ persuading (61)	1	Asking/ persuading (56)
2	Promising/ proposing (59)	2	Official acts (48)
2	Official acts (59)	3	Blaming/ criticising (40)
4	Supporting (55)	4	Letting (35)
5	Denying (42)	5	Denying (31)
6	Blaming/ criticizing (39)	6	Promising/ proposing (22)
7	Mentioning (34)	7	Describing (10)
8	Describing (31)	8	Mentioning (8)
9	Arguing (23)	9	Arguing (5)
10	Discussing (22)	9	Explaining (5)
10	Explaining (22)	9	Warning (5)

Table 6.20. The top ten semantic groups of the verbs of NRSA(p) occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein*

The most frequent category is 'asking/ persuading' and is shared by both *Blair* and *Hussein*; however, the verbs of 'asking/ persuading' occurring with *Hussein* are relatively limited in variety with the single verb ORDER making up half of the occurrences as mentioned previously. In contrast, the verbs of 'asking/ persuading' occurring with *Blair* are of a wider range and varied in their level of force in the speech act, as can be seen from the examples below:

```
 752 words HEADLINE: Blair Urges Inclusive Afghan Regime; British Leader Se
oing to happen." Mr. Blair, who had lobbied for greater international parti
 serious one for Mr. Blair, who regularly appeals for public trust but whos
ess on Thursday, Mr. Blair will appeal for continued American efforts to en
    ime Minister Tony Blair yesterday called for closer ties with Europe. "B

d Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain ordered several days of bombing again
  Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain has called for a substantial U.N. rol
  Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain has pressed for a resolution that wou
  ther reason why Mr. Blair is pressing for a serious recommitment by the We
```

One semantic feature which characterises the difference in the verbs of 'asking' used with *Blair* and *Hussein*, is that some verbs are more interactional, and other verbs are more unilateral. Verbs like APPEAL, CONVINCE, PERSUADE, PRESS, URGE involve engaging the counterpart in the process of seeking cooperation, but verbs like ORDER or DEMAND are one-directional and preclude a possibility of dialogue. Unilaterality is also characteristic of another semantic group of 'permitting or forbidding an action', the fourth most frequent meaning group for *Hussein*:

```
    said. Even if Mr. Hussein allowed weapons inspectors into the country, h
 become law when Mr. Hussein endorses it. The draft resolution, obtained by
nst Iraq even though Hussein has allowed U.N. weapons inspectors back into
  too. One reason Mr. Hussein has allowed the liquor industry to continue, w

  n of Tikrit. At the same time, Hussein banned the use of tribal names, a
  ational inspections, which Mr. Hussein barred in 1998. Senator Biden,  r
    tion effort in Iraq when Mr. Hussein barred inspectors from his country,
      Najaf judges said. But Mr. Hussein then banned women from the institute.
```

In a similar vein, the meaning groups of 'promising/ proposing' and 'supporting' also transmit a sense of dialogue and engagement. As the second (promising/ proposing) and fourth (supporting) most frequent meaning groups for *Blair*, the verbs in these groups account for 20.5% of the total number of occurrences. For *Hussein*, the 'proposing/ promising' group is the sixth most frequent, and there are only two instances of the verbs of 'supporting'. The verbs in the two groups make up 8.3% of the total number of occurrences. Below are the examples of the 'promising/ proposing' group for *Hussein*:

```
ents and bureaucrats. Hussein guaranteed their interests and provided their
rn of inspectors, Mr. Hussein had effectively agreed to Security Council res
ait and Saudi Arabia. Hussein has also offered financial support to the fami
of whose families Mr. Hussein has pledged a cash payment of $25,000. "Lest w
 of mass destruction. Hussein has recently proposed more talks, but U.S. off
```

What can be noticed from these examples is that the majority of them are concerned with the act of offering (financial) help or promising to accept someone's plan (*agreed to Security Council resolution*), while there is one instance of proposing a plan or policy (*proposed more talk*). In total, there are only two examples of the verbs of proposing for *Hussein* out of the 22 occurrences. The other instance is hypothetical:

```
nner that the United States would be thrilled if Saddam Hussein offered
a cease-fire." The United States cautiously welcomed the agreement.
```

On the other hand, the verbs of 'proposing' occur with *Blair* 39 times out of a total of 59 occurrences. A sample of concordance lines is given below:

```
 fused to agree to a Blair proposal that would deny the right to trial by j
       Minister Tony Blair proposed him for only last Friday. All but three
  rture became known, Blair proposed Robertson for the NATO job, a nominatio
M Prime Minister Tony Blair proposed the biggest reform of the beleaguered N
ister Tony Blair. Mr. Blair proposed the meeting out of his concern that Lon
```

One interpretation from this observation is that the verbs of 'proposing' construe Blair as a policymaker who is open to dialogue and negotiation. As a policymaker, it can also be argued that Blair is attributed with authority and leadership. It is in good contrast with the dictatorial and unilateral image of Hussein construed by the use of the verb ORDER and the verbs of 'permitting or forbidding an action'.

The list of the top ten semantic groups includes six semantic groups related to stating or evaluating things, namely arguing, blaming/ criticising, describing, explaining, mentioning, and warning. For *Blair*, the 'warning' group is actually the 11th most frequent one; however it is included for discussion because it occurs as the 10th most frequent meaning group for

Hussein.   The total number of occurrences of the six meaning groups for each name is as follows:

- *Blair*: 169 (30.5%)/ *Hussein*: 73 (24.4%)

The overall frequency differences between the two are not large, but the issue is again the distribution of each meaning group.   Out of a total of 73 occurrences for *Hussein*, 40 come from the 'blaming/ criticising' group of which more than half are represented by the single verb ACCUSE as shown earlier.   In contrast, the six meaning groups are fairly evenly distributed in the case of *Blair*: 'blaming/ criticising' (39), 'mentioning' (34), 'describing' (31), 'arguing' (23), 'explaining' (22) and 'warning' (20).

The majority of the verbs and meaning groups are shared by *Blair* and *Hussein* and very few individual words and semantic categories occur exclusively with one or the other.   It is the variety of the verb types and meaning groups which distinguishes the representation of Blair's speech from that of Hussein's speech.   The examination of NRSA(p) used with *Hussein* has shown that one or two individual verbs tend to be over-used in certain meaning groups, and some meaning groups are far more frequent than the others.   This limited use of the verbs and meaning groups may cumulatively contribute to the stereotyping of Hussein.   In contrast, the use of NRSA with *Blair* is far more balanced with a wider range of the verbs used and the even distribution of the meaning groups.   As a result, Blair is construed as a more multi-dimensional and credible speaker.

6.4. Conclusion

The aim of the chapter was to find out how the speech of leaders of different foreign countries

is represented in the newspapers on the assumption that that the representation of speech is a process of choice which has ideological implications, and reflects how certain individuals or social groups are perceived in the press.

The first part of the analysis has been to identify the names of leaders from the keyword list and the verbs of saying from the collocate list of the names. The results show that the frequency of verbs of saying collocates seems to correspond to the leader's status and credibility. For example, the name *Blair*, whose frequency is the lowest out of all the names with the minimum total frequency of 5,000, collocates most frequently with verbs of saying, whereas *Hussein,* whose frequency is the highest, collocates with the fewest number of verbs of saying.

The second part of the analysis has focused on the verbs of saying which occur with *Blair* and *Hussein*. The verbs have been identified and categorised according to their grammatical type and semantic function by examining the concordance lines. Table 6.21 gives a summary of the five main categories of speech representation attributed to *Blair* and *Hussein*:

	Blair	*Hussein*
TO of verbs of saying	1,894	672
TO of SAY/ TELL	**849 (44.7%)**	121 (17.9%)
TO of mediated VoS + *that***-clause or** *direct quote*	246 (12.9%)	65 (9.6)
TO of mediated VoS + *to***-infinitive**	115 (6.0%)	101 (14.8)
TO of NRSA(p)	576 (30.4%)	**300 (44.6%)**
TO of NV	108 (5.7%)	85 (12.6%)

Table 6.21. The frequency of the five main categories of speech representation for *Blair* and *Hussein*

Blair's speech is represented most frequently by the single category of neutral verbs of saying

SAY and TELL. On the other hand, Hussein's speech is represented most frequently by NRSA(p) and NV, the two most interpreted and summarised forms of speech representation. It cannot be determined how the frequency of SAY and TELL used with *Blair* fares against the average for the lack of comparable general data. However, it has been shown that the frequency of NRSA used with *Hussein* is in fact closer to the average, and the use of NRSA with *Blair* is below the average frequency in comparison with the overall frequency of NRSA in Semino and Short's newspaper data. The results quantitatively demonstrate the characteristic difference in the way the two leaders' words are treated in the newspapers.

The semantic functional groups of the verbs occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein* have shown that *Blair* occurs with a wider variety of the semantic groups and verbs than *Hussein*. This indicates that the representation of Blair's speech is more balanced and multi-faceted. Overall, Tony Blair is presented as more statesmanlike and reasonable, while Saddam Hussein is presented as dictatorial and single-faceted. The semantic groupings have demonstrated that this image of the two leaders is conveyed through the accumulation of subtle semantic differences rather than through individual examples. Bang and Hunston (2008) suggest that the reader of the newspapers in the corpus might well end up with a different attitude towards these two leaders and, precisely because the representation is achieved cumulatively and relatively balanced, might not be aware of how those attitudes may have been influenced by the newspapers. In this sense, the role of an apparently balanced press might be more influential in creating a stereotype than that of a tabloid newspaper where the prejudices are perhaps expressed more blatantly.

CHAPTER 7

REPRESENTATION OF THE FOUR INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES: THE KEYWORDS *CHINA, JAPAN, NORTH KOREA* AND *SOUTH KOREA*

7.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the representation in the corpus of the US press of four individual countries, China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea. The aim of the chapter is twofold. The first aim is to investigate how these four individual countries are depicted in the corpus. Earlier, Chapter 4 has investigated a set of general nouns *countries, country, nations* and *nation*. The analysis in Chapter 4 has focused on the premodifers which collocate with these nouns, and illustrated a general classification of the world reflecting a linguistically constructed hierarchy among countries. This chapter is intended to complement this macro-approach by focusing on the representation of specific individual countries. The second aim is to develop a methodology for carrying out this investigation. The chapter explores corpus methodologies which prioritise very frequent words such as grammatical words. The use of grammatical words as the basis for analysis has been previously employed in studies which aim to establish the phraseological characteristics of the writing of a specific genre, as discussed in section 2.2.1 of Chapter 2. The current study explores the usefulness of the method for critical discourse analysis.

The four countries, China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea are chosen primarily because

the names of these countries are among the keywords of the corpus identified by Wordsmith

Tools.   Below is the list of the top twenty country name keywords:

1	*Iraq*	6	*Korea*	11	*Serbia*	16	*Colombia*
2	*China*	7	*Mexico*	12	*Yugoslavia*	17	*Indonesia*
3	*Afghanistan*	8	*Iran*	13	*Turkey*	18	*Syria*
4	*Russia*	9	*Taiwan*	14	*France*	19	*(East) Timor*
5	*Pakistan*	10	*India*	15	*Japan*	20	*Lebanon*

Table 7.1. The top 20 country names as keywords of the corpus

For clarification, *Korea* refers to both North Korea and South Korea.   As will be shown later,

North Korea occurs much more frequently.   Another factor in choosing these four countries for

analysis is the countries' relations with the US.   They represent different kinds of relations

which the US has with foreign countries.   The relationship between the US and North Korea is

undoubtedly hostile with North Korea having been branded as belonging to the axis of evil

along with Iran, Iraq and Syria by the US president George Bush during the period covered by

the corpus (1999-2003).   On the other hand, Japan and South Korea are regarded as traditional

allies of the US.   However, the two countries' status as allies is not equal.   Clearly, Japan

commands more economic and therefore more political leverage with the US than South Korea

does.   China is neither an ally of the US, nor is it any longer an outright enemy of the US.   As

one of the military super powers and recently as a rapidly growing economic power, the country

can be positioned as a competing power, rival of the United States.   It needs to be said,

however, that this configuration of relations is a simplification of what are historically,

politically and economically very complex affairs between all the involved countries.   Finally,

these countries have been chosen as an extension of the previous study (Bang, 2003) which, as

mentioned in Chapter 1 and 3, examined the representation of foreign countries in the corpus of

the South Korean press.   The countries identified as the most frequently mentioned in the corpus were North Korea, the US, Japan and China.   It will be instructive to see how China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea are depicted in the corpus of the US press.

The chapter looks at two groups of frequently occurring collocates of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea,* and is divided into two parts.   The topic of the first part (section 7.2) is the neutral reporting verb form *said* which is identified as one of the main lexical collocates of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*.   The analysis includes *say*, *says*, *saying*, which are the other forms of the lemma SAY and another neutral reporting verb form *told*.   The analysis aims to answer the following question concerning the representation of the countries as a sayer:

- are the countries more frequently represented as a sayer or as a topic?
- what kinds of sayers are attributed to the countries?
- what are the characteristics of the sayers representing each country?

The second part of analysis (section 7.3) takes as its starting point a group of prepositions which are among the 20 most frequent collocates of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*. The focus of the analysis is frequency and distribution of different semantic patterns which are identified from the lexical items co-occurring with the prepositions.   The analysis examines the following aspects:

- frequency differences between the locative and agentive uses of the prepositions
- frequency and distribution of semantic patterns of the lexical items collocating with the prepositions *of, to, with, for, from*.

7.2. Representation of China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea as a sayer

The collocate *said* features as one of the most frequent lexical collocates for the four country names. In the case of *China*, *said* is the most frequent lexical collocate. In the case of *North Korea, said* is the second most frequent lexical collocate after *Korea*, while it is the fifth most frequent lexical collocate for *Japan* (following *Korea, United, States, South*). As for *South Korea*, the frequency of *said* is slightly lower ranking ninth after *Korea, Japan, North, United, States, China, American, president*. Not only does the high frequency of *said* as the collocate of all four country names merit a further investigation, but also there is a further reason to explore this aspect of the representation of speech. Chapter 6 has investigated the different types of verbs of saying attributed to the two individual leaders Blair and Hussein and how they contribute to the construal of particular image of the two leaders. In the current section, on the other hand, the analysis focuses on different types of sayers occurring with one specific type of verbs of saying, namely the neutral reporting verbs SAY and TELL. As outlined in section 7.1, the analysis aims to discover different types of sayers attributed to each country and patterns in the way the countries are construed as a sayer.

7.2.1. Methodological considerations

Before discussing the findings, it should first be mentioned that the analysis posed some methodological difficulties. In order to cover as many examples as possible, the analysis included not only the occurrences of the collocate *said*, but also those of the other forms of the lemma SAY *say, says, saying*. *Told* was also included because it is a similar neutral reporting verb, while other forms of the lemma TELL occurred so infrequently that they were not

considered.

The basic task of analysis was to examine concordance lines and identify who is a sayer in each instance of the verb SAY and *told* occurring with *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*. Methodologically, it appeared straightforward enough at first. For instance, it was relatively easy to establish that *China* is a sayer in example 1, and *Taiwan* is a sayer with *China* being a topic in example 2:

1. Bush and President Jiang Zemin of China have not discussed the issue in any detail. **China had previously said** it would increase the size of its nuclear arsenal, and Mr. Bush's announcement may well speed that process.

2. and Beijing are having "special state-to-state relations." November -- **Taiwan says** China has deployed nearly 100 of its newest short-range missiles at a base across from Taiwan. 2000: China hardens stance,

However, this means that other references to the countries were excluded from the analysis. For example, instances where North Korea is referred to as *the North Korean regime* or where Japan is referred to as *Tokyo* were left out of the analysis. A similar problem occurred in the analysis of the representation of speech of Blair and Hussein. For instance, *Iraqi leader* or *he* referring to Saddam Hussein were not included in the analysis, except when a phrase like *the Iraqi leader* occasionally occurs in apposition to *Saddam Hussein* as in *Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein*.

Another difficulty was that it takes a longer stretch of text to identify who is a sayer in many

cases, as illustrated in the example below where *Japan and South Korea* are the topic in a clause projected by *said*:

```
He also said rejection would be a slap in the face to America's Asian
allies, especially Japan and South Korea, both of which have urged
Congress to elevate trade ties with China.
```

The sayer (shown underlined) can only be identified by examining a wider stretch of text. Table 7.2 shows differences in the total number of the occurrences of SAY and *told* identified from the default 80 character span and by consulting a longer stretch of text. *China* is not presented here, but will be discussed separately in section 7.2.2.

	Japan	*North Korea*	*South Korea*
80 character span	708	995	230
Longer text	1,970	2,145	642

Table 7.2. The total number of the occurrences of SAY and *told* identified from the 80 character span and the wider context

The overall differences in the total number of occurrences of SAY and *told* given above demonstrate the need to look at the wider context. The downside is that this is a laborious process to apply to a relatively large amount of data. The number of concordance lines that had to be dealt with for each word is as follows:

Japan	*North Korea*	*South Korea*
10,049	10,433	3,615

Table 7.3. The frequency of *Japan*, *North Korea* and *South Korea*

Such a laborious process would seem to defeat the purpose of using corpus techniques; however it will be demonstrated here that this sort of manual approach is necessary in order to obtain as comprehensive and accurate results as possible within the limitations described here.

Another possible way of identifying whether the country names are used as a sayer is to study collocates in the Patterns mode of WordSmith Tools. As previously shown (section 4.2 of Chapter 4 and section 6.2.3 of Chapter 6), it can be a simple and efficient way of discovering recurring lexical and grammatical patterns. However, the Patterns mode did not appear to be very helpful in this case. Table 7.4 shows the number of occurrences of SAY as a collocate of the node word *North Korea* in the Patterns mode:

	L4	L3	L2	L1	NK	R1	R2	R3	R4
Said	68	58	69	143		177	123	108	73
Says				13		36			
Say	14			31		13		12	10
Saying						13			

Table 7.4. The frequency of SAY with *North Korea* as a node word in the Patterns mode

North Korea is likely to be a subject of SAY occurring in the R1 and R2 positions, but less likely in the R3 and R4 positions. Nevertheless, the occurrences of SAY in the R3 and R4 were counted in order to include potential occurrences such as *North Korea has recently said* or *North Korea and South Korea said*. On the other hand, *North Korea* is likely to be a topic in a clause projected by the occurrences of SAY in the left columns. The numbers add up as follows:

- *North Korea* potentially as a sayer: 565; *North Korea* potentially as a topic: 396

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When the numbers given above are compared with those produced by manually examining each concordance line, the differences become clear. To take the example of *North Korea,* the concordance lines were manually examined in order to identify firstly whether the node word *North Korea* is a sayer (example 1) or a topic occurring in a *that*-clause projected by the verb (example 2):

1. Korean news agency, **North Korea said** the key to the talks would be Washington's willingness to change its "hostile policy" toward Pyongyang, the Reuters news agency

2. weapons program. "We demanded that North Korea faithfully honor all international agreements it has signed," **Rhee Bong Jo, a South Korean spokesman, said** of the meeting today in the North Korean capital, Pyongya

Secondly, the concordance lines were examined in order to identify non-country name sayers which can be regarded as representatives of North Korea as in the example below:

the dispute to the Security Council. Pyongyang's ambassador to Australia repeated that position Tuesday. North Korea is "strongly opposed to any attempt to internationalize the nuclear issue and will never attend any form of multilateral talks over it," **Ambassador Chon Jae Hong said** in a speech in

Here, as in example 2 given above, the node word *North Korea* is a topic, but the difference is that the sayer is the North Korean ambassador. In these instances, it can be argued that North Korea is construed as a sayer by people or organisations acting as representatives of the country. Examples like the one given below are also included where the second clause has no explicit

verb and subject, but it is easy to see from the context that the clause is uttered by the same speaker of the previously occurring verb *said*:

```
case of China, the reforms were made possible because Deng Xiaoping
maintained strong leadership and stability politically," said Park Chan
Bong, the deputy minister in the South Korean Unification Ministry. "In
the case of North Korea, Kim Jong Il is in full control of North Korea.
If he decides to reform, then I think he can do it."
```

There is a group of examples which are not considered here. They include occurrences in which *North Korea* is used as a modifier or in a modifying clause of a sayer, but not as a sayer in itself. For instance, in example 1, *North Korea* occurs as a modifier of *expert*, and in example 2, *North Korea* is part of a relative clause which modifies the sayer, *Hall*:

1. village of Panmunjom. "The threshold of success for this summit meeting
   was a picture of the two men together, some material goods for the
   north for Kim Jong Il to show off, and some news for Kim Dae Jung to
   bring home about separated families," **said Marcus Noland, a North Korea
   expert at the Institute for International Economics in Washington.**

2. But the North Koreans are intractable negotiators, and **Hall,** who has
   campaigned steadily for increased humanitarian aid for North Korea,
   says he is often perplexed at their behavior. "I just try not to figure
   them out," he said.

They are distinguished from the previous two groups of examples in that they are not within the scope of the current analysis which aims to decide whether the node word *North Korea* is a sayer or a thing talked about by others. Therefore, these examples are omitted in the figures given on the next page:

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- *North Korea* as a sayer: 275; *North Korea* as a topic: 1,773

Earlier, the number of the occurrences of *North Korea* as a sayer and as a topic has been estimated from the Pattern Mode.   To repeat the results, they are as follows:

- *North Korea* potentially as a sayer: 565; *North Korea* potentially as a topic: 396

The ratio of *North Korea* as a sayer to *North Korea* as a topic changes from **1.4:1** (565:396) to **1:6.4** (275:1,773) when the concordance lines are manually analysed.   The same process has been applied to *Japan*.   The number of the occurrences of SAY in each column is given in table 7.5 below:

	L4	L3	L2	L1	J	R1	R2	R3	R4
Said	47	44	40	93		103	90	67	54
Says				7		25			
Say	8	9	8	21		12		22	9
Saying						8			

Table 7.5. The frequency of SAY with *Japan* as a node word in the Patterns mode

The counts are as follows:

- *Japan* potentially as a sayer: 390; *Japan* potentially as a topic: 277

The following are the totals produced by the manual analysis of the concordance lines:

- *Japan* as a sayer: 1,023; *Japan* as a topic: 718

The ratio of the occurrences of *Japan* as a sayer to those of *Japan* as a topic calculated by both methods is **1.4:1**. In this case, the Patterns mode has given an accurate prediction or representation of what happens beyond the four word span. Table 7.6 gives a summary of the results of the manual analysis carried out on *South Korea*:

	South Korea as a sayer	*South Korea* as a topic	Ratio
Patterns mode	155	62	**2.5:1**
Manual Analysis	189	353	**1:1.9**

Table 7.6. The ratio of the number of the occurrences of *South Korea* as a sayer to that of the occurrences of *South Korea* as a topic

Again, as in the case of *North Korea,* the ratios reverse. The ratio gained from the Patterns mode does not correspond to the ratio gained from the results of the manual analysis. In summary, the information provided by the Patterns mode does not always seem to correctly predict the results of the manual analysis. This illustrates that it is sometimes necessary to use a manual method in order to obtain accurate results.

7.2.2. Context word and the case of *China*

China has not been discussed in the previous section. The total frequency of *China* is 28,082, and it is not feasible to try to manually examine each instance (as it was done with *Japan*, *North Korea* and *South Korea*). Utilising the Context word function, a set of searches was carried out in order to extract *China* in the context of SAY and *told* with different word spans. The results are shown below:

- (5L, 5R): 2,152; (10L, 10R): 2,509; (15L, 15R): 2,510; (20L, 20R): 2,509

The expectation was that as the word span increases, more concordance lines would be retrieved. However, this was not the case, as can be seen above. Moreover, the total number of extracted concordance lines seemed far too small when the total frequency of *China* was considered. Table 7.7 shows the total frequency of *Japan, South Korea, North Korea* and the total number of occurrences of SAY and *told* which were manually identified for each word:

	Japan	*South Korea*	*North Korea*
Frequency of the country name	10,049	3,615	10,433
Total number of occurrences of manually identified SAY and *told*	1,969	642	2,146
Percentage	20%	18 %	21%

Table 7.7. The proportion of the total number of occurrences of SAY and *told* against the frequency of the country name

The percentage figures vary from 18% to 21%. However, these differences are only slight. Based on these percentages, an estimate can be made of how many instances of SAY and *told* could be potentially extracted out of the total 28,082 occurrences of *China*. When each percentage is applied to the frequency of 28,082, the estimated numbers of occurrences of SAY and *told* are as follows; **5,054 (18%); 5,616 (20%); 5,897 (21%)**. In another attempt to see whether the Context word function was producing consistent and reliable results, another set of searches was carried out asking for concordance lines of *said/ says/ say/ saying/ told* in the presence of *China* in different word spans. The assumption was that this search command would yield the same results as the previous command for searching *china* in the presence of SAY and *told*. However, this was not the case, as can be seen from the results below:

- (5L, 5R) 2,444; (L10, R10) 2,854; (L15, R15) 2, 852; (20L, 20R) 2,853

Not only did the searches produce far fewer concordance lines than expected, but also the highest number of concordance lines was produced in the word span of 10. The total number of concordance lines produced using the span of 15 and 20 words actually decreased even though they differed only by one and two instances. Despite the usefulness of the Context word function, there seemed to be an accuracy issue in this case. Caught between 'a rock' of manually examining 28,082 concordance lines and 'a hard place' of working with somewhat inaccurate search results, an uneasy compromise was reached to analyse the set of concordance lines with the highest total frequency of 2,854 being the results from the search for *said/ says/ say/ saying/ told* in context of *China* (word span: L10, R10). This only represents about a half of what is estimated earlier (ranging from 5,054 to 5,897), and therefore the results gained from analysing this set of concordance lines are only tentative. The number of occurrences of *China* as a sayer and as a topic is as follows:

- *China* as a sayer: 1,038; *China* as a topic: 1,125

The differences in the totals are marginal, but suggest that China is more frequently represented as a topic than as a sayer.

Methodologically, the analysis proved to be quite challenging in that it required a close line-by-line manual analysis in order to gain more accurate results due to the limited effectiveness of application of the Patterns mode. The situation was further complicated by the seemingly inconsistent search results generated by using the Context word function of Wordsmith Tools. Another point to bear in mind is that the results gained from the analysis are only indicative, since the analysis did not cover every case of SAY and *told* attributed to the four countries, and

only dealt with the instances occurring with the node words *China, Japan, North Korea, South Korea.* Nevertheless, the amount of data dealt with is still substantial, and the results should be reliable.

7.2.3. Frequency and distribution of the categories of sayers representing China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea

As described in the previous section, the concordance lines of SAY and *told* occurring in the context of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea* were examined in order to determine the following:

- whether the countries are construed more frequently as a sayer or a topic
- how the countries are represented as a sayer.

The examination has identified two main kinds of sayers. There are instances in which the country name occurs as a sayer (example 1) and instances in which people and organisations representing the countries occur as a sayer (example 2):

1. **North Korea said** it did not oppose dialogue with the United States, reversing its earlier position. "It is good, not bad, to improve North Korea-U.S. relations," said Rodong Sinmun, the newspaper of the ruling

2. strictly for "peaceful purposes." At the United Nations on Thursday, **North Korea's vice foreign minister, Choe Su Hon, said** <u>North Korea</u> possessed a nuclear deterrent and would continue to strengthen it. He later met with

The country is considered as a topic in instances where the country name is a topic in a clause

projected by the verb, and the sayer is not associated with the country mentioned in the clause:

```
was instrumental in bringing the Koreas together. "North Korea had to
decide it wanted to do this," said Zhang Xiaojin, a professor of
international relations at People's University in Beijing. "But compared
```

Table 7.8 presents the results of the examination:

	China	Japan	North Korea	South Korea
Total occurrences as a sayer	1,038	1,023	275	189
Total occurrences as a topic	1,125	718	1,773	353
Ratio	**1:1.1**	**1.4:1**	**1:6.4**	**1:1.9**

Table 7.8. The frequency of China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea as a sayer and as a topic

The figures show that Japan is the only country that is represented more frequently as a sayer than as a topic, whereas the other countries China, North Korea and South Korea are construed more frequently as a topic. In particular, North Korea is represented as a topic six times more frequently than as a sayer. This is significant, given that the frequency of *North Korea* (10,433) is moderately higher than that of *Japan* (10,049). A parallel can be drawn from the analysis of the representation of the speech of Blair and Hussein in the previous chapter. Although Saddam Hussein is the most frequently mentioned leader in the corpus, his speech is least frequently represented. On the other hand, Tony Blair's speech is given higher coverage despite the relatively low overall coverage given to him in the corpus. The findings can be interpreted as reflecting the contrasting status of the two countries North Korea and Japan and the two leaders Saddam Hussein and Tony Blair.

As mentioned earlier, the countries as a sayer are realised by their name or by people and organisations which represent the countries. The second category of sayers includes government, government officials, individuals (often affiliated with institutions such as universities, research institutes) or organisations such as broadcasting agencies. One aspect to consider about these sayer types is how collective or individual they are. The use of country names as a sayer is metonymical and most collective, whereas the other kinds of sayers specify the actual speaker, with named individuals being the most specific kind. The total number of occurrences of the country name and the names of organisations or people occurring as a sayer for each country are given in table 7.9:

Sayer types	China	Japan	North Korea	South Korea
Name of the country	205	65	204	28
Names of organisations/ people	833	958	71	161
Ratio	1:4	1:15	2.9:1	1:5.7

Table 7.9. The frequency of the country name and the names of organisations and people as a sayer for China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea

As can be seen from table 7.9, the contrasting trends for Japan and North Korea continue in this regard too. For Japan, the second category of non-country name sayers occurs 15 times more frequently than the name *Japan*. South Korea and China are also more frequently represented by the second kind of sayers, even though it is to a significantly lesser degree. In contrast, the representation of North Korea as a sayer is nearly three times frequently realised by the use of the name *North Korea*. According to Van Leeuween's (1996: 59-60) classification of social actors, using a name of a place or geographical reference in order to represent people is called spatialization, and is a way of impersonalising or collectivising. Thus, it can be argued that not only is North Korea given the least voice, but also its voice is primarily represented as an

impersonalised collective.   On the other hand, the representation of Japan as a sayer appears to be largely individualised.

In order to see what kinds of non-country name sayers are attributed to each country, 300 randomly selected concordance lines of *China* and *Japan* were examined in detail.   In the case of *South Korea* and *North Korea*, the total number of occurrences of non-country name sayers are 161 and 71 respectively, and all of them were examined.   The sayers seem to fall mainly into seven categories:

(1) government and government officials;

"They want to meet their family members [who live in Japan]. But they have children born in North Korea and are cautious about returning to Japan quickly," **said deputy cabinet spokesman Shinzo Abe,** following the

(2) political leaders such as presidents or prime ministers;

RULED OUT -- **Prime Minister Zhu Rongji said** China was pursuing political reform within the Communist Party, but said the party would

(3) politicians such as members of parliament;

conomist at Lehman Brothers. **Hatoyama, of the Democratic Party of Japan, says** that Japan cannot continue to pour money into public works.

(4) individuals affiliated with various organisations such as universities who are often regarded as experts;

unattended. "If the North Korea-U.S. relationship starts to move, North Korea will not see Japan as a dialogue partner," **said Masao Okonogi, a**

professor and Korea expert at Tokyo's Keio University. "Unless Japan pl

(5) people such as ordinary people or individuals not associated with any organisation;

people seem to be yearning for more substance. "I no longer have illusions that Koizumi will dramatically change Japan for the better," **said Yoko Yamashita, 27, a Tokyo graphic designer.** "But I suppose he is

(6) organisations such as companies or NGOs;

praises the enemy in the North. **Minkahyup, a leading human rights group, says** South Korea still has more than 200 political prisoners.

(7) media such as newspapers or broadcasting corporations;

perceived not to be doing what it clearly needs to do to pull the economy out of the morass," **the paper said.** "Japan seems to be slipping out of the policy-making consciousness of world political and business leaders."

Category 3 sayers also include individuals addressed as an expert or analyst, but not explicitly affiliated with an organisation. Category 4 sayers refer to people who neither represent an organisation nor are presented as an expert.

It is well-known that the mainstream media prefers sayers of authority or of an elite status (Bell, 1991: 191-193). This is the case with all the sayer types identified above with the possible exception of the category 5 sayers. Even with these sayers, an elite status is normally attached such as a doctor or an author. In this sense, the sayers are relatively homogenous. However, one distinction can be made between category 1 and 2 and category 3, 4 and 5. Category 1 and 2 represent an official voice of a country, while category 3, 4 and 5 convey the voice of

individuals. While no category is exclusively associated with one country, some categories occur more frequently with certain countries. Table 7.10 shows the frequency of each category of sayers occurring with each country:
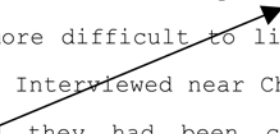
Sayer	China	Japan	North Korea	South Korea
Government	**109**	65	**31**	**48**
Leader(s)	38	24	5	23
Politician(s)	0	27	0	17
Expert(s)	66	**114**	0	42
People	57	64	7	23
News	14	4	28	5
Organisation(s)	9	1	0	3
Others	7 (*source(s), rumors, spy*)	1 (*Emperor*)	0	0
Total	300	300	71	161

Table 7.10. The frequency of different non-country name sayers for China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea

The differences in the kinds of sayers frequently associated with each country name become apparent from table 7.10. North Korea displays the most extreme distribution of the sayer categories. The two most frequent categories of non-country name sayers for North Korea are the government and officials (category 1) and media (category 6). Notably, the media in question is a broadcasting agency (*Korean Central News Agency*) and a newspaper (*Rodong Sinmun*), which are both state-run. No individual expert or politician sayer is found in the instances of *North Korea*, and there are only a few instances of the people category. The state is presented as almost exclusive voice for North Korea. The dominance of the collective and official voice seems to characterise the representation of North Korea as a sayer. This can be put into perspective by the fact that North Korea is an internationally isolated country and the

foreign media access to the country is tightly controlled by its government.   In this light, one group of sayers that stands out is the North Korean refugees or defectors:

> reflected the tightening security situation. ***Two refugees, one 19 and the other 20***, said they were finding it more difficult to live in China now that the government was cracking down. Interviewed near Changbai Mountain along the Korean border, **they said** they had been caught in China previously and returned to North Korea, where they were incarcerated in a camp for several months before being released in June.

They are treated as a separate group and not included in the count above because of their unique status.   As a single sayer group, it is the most vocal of all the North Korean sayer groups with the total of 36 occurrences.   The most frequent single category of sayers for China is category 1, the government and officials.   As it turns out, the media organisations in the examples of China are also state-run as in the case of North Korea.   More than a half of the sayers (161) belong to category 1, 2 and 6.   This demonstrates that China is more often represented through officially channelled voice.   On the other hand, the voice of South Korea and Japan is conveyed more frequently by the non-official channels of category 3, 4 and 5 sayers.   In the case of South Korea, category 1 (government and officials) is most frequent as a single category of sayer.   Nonetheless, the number of the instances of non-official sayers is 90, outnumbering the official sayer groups which occur 71 times.   As for Japan, the most frequent type of sayer is category 4 of experts occurring 114 times, and the sayers in 210 occurrences out of 300 represent individual voice.   North Korea and Japan are on the opposite ends of a scale.   The sayers representing North Korea are most limited in the variety of sayer types which are primarily official, while the sayers representing Japan are most diverse and individualised.

Besides the types of sayers by which the four countries are represented, another dimension to consider is the manners in which the sayers' identity is presented. An analysis of the examples shows that the construction of the sayer identity differs in terms of how specifically the identity is assigned. In example 1, the sayer is identified as a *Chinese source* which identifies the nationality of the sayer and his or her function as a provider of information. However, no name is provided, and the sayer remains anonymous, rendering his or her identity non-specific:

1. **A Chinese source** <u>said</u> the move did not mean China opposed North Korea's fledgling efforts to reform its economy. China, he said, was simply …

In example 2 below, the sayer *someone* is a kind of indetermination (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 51-52). Its indeterminate status is reduced by the modifying adjectival phrase *familiar with the members*. Nevertheless, it is far from being specific:

2. flights, collecting electronic home. The group seeking asylum included some who were relatively new to China and others who had been in China illegally for years, <u>said</u> **someone familiar with the members**. Dozens of

The following two examples show pluralised sayers:

3. say the only ox carts seen here are in museums. The correct image of South Korea, **people** <u>say</u>, is a nation with among the world's highest rates of cellphone ownership, high-speed Internet access and college-educated youth.

4. decision opens the door to tens of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, of mainlanders. But **officials in Beijing** <u>have said</u> the ruling violates China's constitution and must be "rectified."

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People in example 3 and *officials* in example 4 are plural, a kind of genericisation (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 47), and the sayers are non-specific by definition. In comparison, the sayer's identity in example 5 below is highly specified. The sayer's full name, age and occupation are given, and his current educational status is also elaborated in the modifying relative clause:

```
5.  air space when the collision on Sunday occurred. "This is the second
    time America has hurt China, and we're very angry," said Huang Zinai,
    28, an engineer at a compact disc company who is studying English at
    the university. "America is fond of war. But the Chinese people,
```

The sayers for each country were examined in order to determine how many of them are non-specific. The results are given in table 7.11:

		China	Japan	North Korea	South Korea
Total number of the sayers		300	300	71	161
Unspecific	**Pluralised**	48	20	2	32
	Unamed	21	8	13	11
Total number of unspecific sayers		69	28	15	43
Percent (%)		**23**	**9**	**21**	**27**

Table 7.11. The frequency of the unspecific sayers for China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea

Proportionally, Japan is attributed with the markedly lower percentage of non-specific sayers, while South Korea is attributed with the highest percentage of non-specific sayers followed by China. Overall, on the one hand, Japan as a sayer is represented as the most personalised and specified among the four countries. On the other hand, North Korea as a sayer is the most impersonalised and collective. China and South Korea come somewhere between the two countries. The representation of South Korea as a sayer is more personalised than that of

China, but most unspecific among the four countries. The sayers representing China are relatively high on collectivity, but more specific than South Korea.

7.2.4. Summary

This section has examined the representation of China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea as a sayer. The analysis focused on the sayers of the verbs SAY and *told* in the context of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*. The analysis has shown that:

- Japan is the only country which is construed more frequently as a sayer than as a topic
- North Korea is six times more frequently construed as a topic than as a sayer
- as a sayer, North Korea is most frequently represented by its name *North Korea*
- the non-country name sayers representing Japan are the most individualised and specific
- the non-country name sayers representing South Korea are the most non-specific, while those representing China and North Korea are the most official and collectivised.

It should be borne in mind that these features are relative tendencies and the analysis is only based on a partial set of data. Nonetheless, the findings of the analysis of the representation of the leaders (Blair and Hussein) and the countries (China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea) as a sayer reveal a pattern of representation, namely that more voice is given to a country and the leader of a country which are perceived as more elite and friendly towards the United States and that they tend to be represented in more balanced fashion.

7.3. The grammatical collocates of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*

Grammatical collocates are usually not the most obvious candidates for discourse analysis.

Grammatical words in general occur extremely frequently; the top 50 most frequent words in the BNC are all grammatical words and only 8 content words are found among the first 100 words. Their frequency is so high that they are likely to turn up as a high frequency collocate of any word. Moreover, grammatical words do not carry any kind of attitudinal or ideological meaning, and therefore are often considered of little interest as far as critical discourse analysis is concerned. For example, on ruling out grammatical words from analysis, Baker (2006: 100) remarks that:

> …the most common collocates are grammatical or function words: articles, prepositions, conjunctions and pronouns. One of the problems with using a frequency-based technique to calculate collocates is that these high frequency words generally tend to be function words – which does not always reveal much of interest, particularly in terms of discourse.

Grammatical collocates by themselves may not be very revealing. However, there is a phraseological approach which emphasises grammatical words as part of larger meaning units. Sinclair (1991) demonstrates how *of* in nominal groups has its own phraseology associated with different meanings and uses. Gledhill (1999, 2000a, 200b) shows how grammatical collocates are used in phraseological patterns which carry out specific semantic functions characteristic of each section of cancer research articles. In his study of phraseology of professional academic writing in the fields of history and literary criticism, Groom (2007) carries out a detailed analysis of a set of grammatical words (*among, and, as, between, beyond, both, in, its, itself/ themselves, neither/ nor, of, such, the, these, throughout, whose, within*). What can be illuminating is to look at lexical collocates of grammatical words which occur as part of a larger unit. Broadly adapting Gledhill's approach, this section examines lexical items which co-occur with the prepositional collocates of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*. Table

7.12 shows the top 20 collocates of each name:

China	the, in, to, and, of, a, that, with, is, has, for, on, from, by, as, said, its, have, was, united
Japan	the, in, and, to, of, a, that, is, for, has, korea, united, from, with, states, south, by, as, on , its
North Korea	the, to, and, of, in, a, that, with, has, is, said, on, its, for, nuclear, by, from, it, as, states, united
South Korea	the, and, in, to, of, a, north, japan, with, by, that, united, states, from, for, china, has, is, korea, on

Table 7.12. The top 20 collocates of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*

There are few content words found in the list, and the majority are grammatical words including prepositions or particles such as ***in, to, of, with, for, on, from, by***. There is only a finite number of grammatical words, and the collocates in the list are very similar. What will be of interest is, however, any potential difference in the use of these grammatical words as collocates of the different country names. There are some noticeable differences in frequency of some of the grammatical collocates. Apart from the definite article ***the,*** the most frequent collocate for *North Korea* and *South Korea* is identified as ***to*** and ***and*** respectively, while ***in*** is the most frequent collocate for *China* and *Japan*. The presence of ***and*** as the most frequent collocate of *South Korea* can be explained in the light of the observation that the most frequent group of lexical collocates for *South Korea* are the names of countries *Japan, North (Korea), United States, China* as can be seen from table 7.12. It was found that *South Korea* is co-ordinated with the names of other countries in about one third (1,252) of all the 3,615 occurrences (e.g. *South Korea and Japan*). The analysis in this section centres on a set of prepositions ***in, of, to, with, for*** and ***from***. The aim of the analysis is to examine lexical items occurring with these prepositions and to establish semantic relations construed by the prepositions between the

lexical items and the country names.　For instance, in the example below, *Japan* is construed as a sayer of the verbal process of criticising by the preposition *of*:

```
although Mr. Bush may have avoided criticism of Japan himself, in a
recent drumbeat of state…
```

The prepositions are multi-functional, and in the example below, *Japan* is construed as a beneficiary of an act of help by the same preposition *of*:

```
icials on when precisely they would come to the aid of Japan in any
dispute with China. A governor does…
```

This multi-functionality of the prepositions poses some practical problems for analysis as will be shown below, but provides useful insight into the way the countries are represented.

This section employs a sampling method.　As mentioned initially, the grammatical words are high frequency and therefore it would not be practical to manually examine all the instances of the six individual prepositions occurring with the four different node words.　As an alternative method, Groom (2007: 81-101) demonstrates that the analysis of a random sample of 100 concordance lines can produce results which are reliable enough to be able to make statements about proportion and frequency, when applied to high frequency items such as prepositions. This method of sampling seems to be the most practical option for the purposes of the current study.

7.3.1. Frequency of the preposition *in* and other prepositions

An examination of the list of collocates shows that the frequency of the collocate *in* differs considerably across the names. Table 7.13 shows the frequency of *in* occurring in the L1 and L2 positions and its proportion against the total number of occurrences of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*:

	L1	L2	Total	Percentage (%)
China (28,082)	3,987	970	4,957	17.6
Japan (10,049)	2,051	316	2,367	22.5
North Korea (10,433)	700	194	894	8.4
South Korea (3,615)	640	73	713	17.7

Table 7.13. The frequency of *in* occurring in the L1 and L2 position of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*

Regarding the inclusion of the instances of *in* occurring in the L2 position in the case of *North Korea* and *South Korea*, most of the examples are not valid (e.g. *in return, North Korea, in which North Korea froze*), but *China* and *Japan* include many examples such as *in southern China*. The L2 position has been considered in order for the examination to be as inclusive as possible. At the same time, it should also be borne in mind that the figures given in table 7.13 include a proportion of invalid examples, so the actual percentage will be lower, especially for *North Korea* and *South Korea*. However, the differences are not significant enough to affect the overall trend. As can be seen from table 7.13, *in* collocates most frequently with *Japan*, while the frequency of *in* as a collocate of *North Korea* is notably lower than the rest. Assuming that *in* is used mainly to signal location (especially when it precedes the names of countries), one interpretation of the frequency differences is that *North Korea* occurs less frequently as a locative. At the same time, *to* was identified as the most frequent grammatical collocate of *North Korea*. Among other functions, *to* as a preposition can signal location (e.g.

visit to North Korea) or construe a noun phrase as a beneficiary (e.g. *food aid to North Korea*). However, it will require manual inspection of concordance lines to decide which function is performed in each instance. The observation of the relatively low frequency of *in* and high frequency of *to* as a collocate of *North Korea* prompted a comparison of the frequencies of prepositions which function as a locative with those prepositions which function as an agentive. The locative prepositions construe the country names as a place, while the agentive prepositions construe the country names either as an actor (e.g. *demands* **by** *North Korea, threat* **from** *North Korea)*, or as a beneficiary or a goal (e.g. *dealing* **with** *North Korea, humanitarian aid* **for** *North Korea, policy* **on** *North Korea, international sanctions* **against** *North Korea, tough stance* **toward** *North Korea*). The prepositions included for comparison are as follows:

- locative: ***in, from, to***
- agentive: ***with, to, from, for, on, against, toward, by***

As mentioned earlier, there is not necessarily a one to one correspondence between a preposition and a function. The preposition *for* can be used as a locative, but is currently being treated as non-locative, because it is used as a locative in a small number of cases, as will be shown in a detailed analysis of *for* in section 7.3.4. ***From*** and *to* can be locative, agentive, or part of a fixed phrase which is neither locative nor agentive. The frequency of ***from*** and *to* given in table 7.14 on the next page is an estimate based on the frequency obtained from a sample of 100 concordance lines. To take an example of the locative ***from*** collocating with *China*, a random sample of 100 concordance lines (out of the total 837 occurrences of ***from*** in the L1 and L2 positions) was examined manually. 52 instances of ***from*** were identified as a locative. Based on this result, it was estimated that 435 out of the 837 occurrences of ***from*** would be a locative (***from*** and ***to*** are discussed in detail in section 7.3.5 and 7.3.2 respectively).

Table 7.14 shows the frequency of each preposition in the L1 and L2 position of each name taken from the collocate list (with the exception of *from* and *to*, as explained above):

	China	Japan	North Korea	South Korea
Locative				
In	4,957	2,367	894	713
From	435	129	137	91
To	846	362	399	180
Total	**6,238**	**2,858**	**1,430**	**984**
Agentive				
With	1,274	219	1,042	170
On	277	60	284	16
Against	76	29	150	10
Toward	104	20	160	5
From	326	87	188	22
To	670	152	603	28
For	435	210	156	57
By	254	132	250	47
Total	**3,416**	**909**	**2,833**	**355**
Ratio	**1.8:1**	**3.2:1**	**1:2.0**	**2.8:1**

Table 7.14. The frequency of the locative and agentive functions of the prepositions

The differences in ratios between the frequencies of the prepositions used as a locative and the prepositions used as an agentive show that *North Korea* occurs with the agentive prepositions twice as frequently as with the locative prepositions.   On the other hand, the frequency of the locative prepositions outnumbers that of the agentive prepositions in the case of *China, Japan* and *South Korea*.   *Japan* occurs almost three times more frequently as a locative.   A hypothesis can be drawn from this comparison that *North Korea* is used more to signify a political entity which is construed as either an actor or a beneficiary, whereas *China, Japan* and

South Korea are used more as geographical locations than as political entities. This can be viewed in the same light of the finding that North Korea is construed as a sayer most frequently by the metonymical use of *North Korea*, and interpreted as an indication of how North Korea is perceived as a collectivised entity.

It is assumed above that *in* is exclusively used as a locative. A random selection of 100 concordance lines was manually inspected in order to measure the proportion of *in* used as a locative in actual concordance examples. The concordance lines below illustrate *in* used in the locative function:

```
Her obsession now is to find her older sister in North Korea, although she concedes that she
assembly work to low-wage free-trade zones in North Korea. On Friday, North and South Korean
said they had not received U.N. rations while in North Korea. "Why does American and South
brutal realities of survival for 22 million people in North Korea. For many years, the stories of the
Park Soon Duck worked at an iron mine in North Korea before she defected to South Korea.
```

Two instances for *China*, 0 for *Japan*, 6 for *North Korea* and 0 for *South Korea* were identified as non-locative out of the sample of 100 concordance lines. The non-locative examples of *China* and *North Korea* are as follows:

```
    ark the beginning of a new era of investing in China.
  part of Jiang's motivation was to spark pride in China among a people

   panies interested in investing in North Korea has dwindled.
   region. The group's investment in North Korea is viewed as one reason a n
  uth Korea's largest investment in North Korea since the country was split
        largest foreign investment in North Korea: a 9$ billion, 19-square-
  he administration has acquiesced in North Korea becoming a nuclear power,"
  South Korea's largest investment in North Korea, the Hyundai Asan Corporati
```

These results show that 2 % and 6 % of the instances of *in* collocating with *China* and *North Korea* are non-locative. The estimated 99 and 53 non-locative occurrences were subtracted from each total of *in* for *China* and *North Korea*, but not added to the total of the agentive instances since they may not all be agentive. Table 7.15 shows the revised results with these changes incorporated:

	China (4,957)	*North Korea* (894)
In as non-locative	99 (2% out of 4,957)	53 (6% out of 894)
In as a locative (recalculated)	4,858	841
Revised total of the locative instances	6,139	1,377
Total of the agentive instances	3,416	2,833
Revised ratio of locative to agentive	**1.79:1**	**1:2.0**

Table 7.15. The revised ratio of the locative function of the prepositions to the agentive functions of the prepositions

As can be seen from table 7.15, the ratio of the locative and agentive uses of the prepositions for *China* minutely decrease to 1.79:1 from 1.8:1, while the ratio remains the same for *North Korea*. The results validate the hypothesis put forward based on the information gained from the collocate list.

7.3.2. Semantic patterns of the collocates of the preposition *to*

To has been identified as the most frequent collocate of *North Korea*. There are two uses of *to*. Firstly, there is the use as a preposition preceding nouns and secondly, there is the use as a particle forming 'to-infinitive'. This section is only concerned with *to* as a preposition. For

this reason, the examination was limited to the instances of *to* occurring in the L1 position of each name (e.g. *to China*), and the respective frequency is given in table 7.16:

	China (28,082)	*Japan* (10,049)	*North Korea* (10,433)	*South Korea* (3,615)
L1	1,597	526	928	235
%	5.6	5.2	8.8	6.5

Table 7.16. The frequency of *to* in the L1 position

Proportionally, it can be seen from table 7.16 that *to* occurs most frequently with *North Korea* This difference in frequency is worthy of note, but does not reveal much by itself. The next step of analysis was to examine the lexical items which co-occur with *to* in the L1 position from the preposition (e.g. <u>returned</u> *to China*, <u>warning</u> *to North Korea)*. The analysis considered the top 50 lexical collocates for *China* and *North Korea*, and those with a minimum frequency of 2 in the case of *Japan* and *South Korea*. The analysis indicates that the collocates mainly fall into two semantic groups. The first group consists of words to do with travel and movements and is termed 'locative':

```
Randt, Bush's nominee for ambassador to China. Randt said that Gao's release was at
            canceled trips that included visits to China, and a fifth delegation reported that it
       spying, Lt. Gen. Pan Xixian, traveled to China just days after he retired, breaking
          a year ago, Mr. Salisbury returned to China to fill a temporary position, teaching
   Chinese television during an official visit to China, General Musharraf raised the
```

The inclusion of the first example, '*ambassador to China*' in the category will be clarified later. Another group of collocates is to do with giving and receiving and is termed 'beneficiary'. This second group is further categorised into three subcategories as follows: 1) verbal process; 2) material process of giving gifts; 3) material process of moving commodities. In the verbal

process category, a country is construed as a recipient of a verbal process:

the latest in a string of pointed rebukes to North Korea. "We seek a peaceful region
United States must offer concessions to North Korea, concessions that Bush has
official said China has also appealed to North Korea to avoid taking any provocative
as Japan strengthened its warnings to North Korea not to fire another rocket over
In Policy Shift, U.S. Will Talk To North Korea BYLINE: By DAVID E.

In the category of material process of giving gifts, a country is construed as a recipient of financial or material aid such as *food, fuel, oil*:

today lifted its embargo on food aid to North Korea, another step toward thawing
agencies are urging donors to send food to North Korea to avert famine, but such aid
the use of aid it had already provided to North Korea. Two days after Dr. Rosenthal
are being too generous in providing aid to North Korea under President Kim 's
the United States to help provide fuel oil to North Korea to help alleviate its severe

In the category of material process of transferring commodities, a country is construed as a recipient of a variety of commodities including technology either through commercial transaction or sometimes through allegedly illegal means:

year from the glacier-fed Blue Lake and export it to China. There, local handlers will put the water into
tighter inspections of advanced computers sold to China was "not feasible" because projected
that it failed to guard against technology leaks to China, calling security concerns a priority for the
stop sales and transfers of military technology to China. He said Washington had pressured Israel to
investigating improper technology transfers to China has called for new restrictions. The steep

The results of the examination of the collocates are given in table 7.17 on the next page. At this point of the analysis, the actual concordance lines were only consulted for occasional

clarification:

Country name	Locative	Beneficiary		
		Verbal process	Material process	
			Gift	Commodity
China	*visit, ambassador, trip, returned, back, travel, return, came, traveled, come, go, over, (hong) kong, returning, fled, visits, trips, envoy, traveling, directly, way, flee, going, went*	*apologized, (ties, opening approach)*	*aid*	*technology, sales, sale, sold, secrets, transfers, (radar) system, equipment, jobs, information, production*
Japan	*ambassador, visit, fled, returned, trip, come, came, brought, return, go, back, flight, went, coming, traveled, travel, over, korea, traveling, taken, visits, sent, flown, directly, move, route, Europe, home, got, going, immigrated, parents, okinawa, families, fly, spread*	*warning, concessions, (ties, overtures, approach)*		*shipped, exports, exported, drugs, export, transferred, blubber, waste*
North Korea	*visit, trip, back, returned, return, traveled, went, taken, travel, envoy, go, sent, mission, flew, refugees, boats, traveling, abducted*	*talk, message, warning, warnings, concessions, (MAKE it) clear, signal, response, (approach, ties, opening (REACH) out)*	*aid, oil, shipments, food, assistance, money, million, cash, payments, technology, fertilizer, goods, donor, provided, pipeline,*	

			inducements, rice	
South Korea	*ambassador, visit, passage, travel, defected, come, trip, return, way, returned, go, korea, defect, going, ambassadors, route, fled, forces, link, made, get, north, on, travels, troops, defector, trips, traveled, access, went*	*(ties)*		

Table 7.17. The semantic groups of the lexical collocates of *to*

The collocates in the locative category occur with all four country names. The inclusion of the collocates such as *ambassador, envoy, families, refugees, troops* requires some clarification. The words such as *refugees, troops, families* are included because they are usually represented as being sent or dispatched to countries:

```
 China was forcibly repatriating 100 refugees to North Korea a week. As of
" contrasting its speed in deporting refugees to North Korea to its reluctance
ing authorities who routinely return refugees to North Korea where they face
     China in the past to return its refugees to North Korea, where they are b
     China has an agreement to return refugees to North Korea. It also intermi
       forcibly returned a group of 60 refugees to North Korea after they protes
```

As for the nouns referring to government officials such as *ambassador, envoy*, they are included since their job title necessarily implies travel to other countries.

Moving on to the beneficiary category, the collocates of *North Korea* mainly belong to the subcategories of verbal process and material process of giving gifts, while the collocates of

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China mainly belongs to the material process of moving commodities which is also the subcategory most frequently associated with the collocates of *Japan*. Meanwhile, apart from one collocate *ties*, no collocate of *South Korea* occurs in the beneficiary categories, and no collocate of *Japan* is associated with the material process of giving gifts. The verbal process category includes another seemingly incongruous set of collocates such as *approach, ties, opening, overtures*, REACH *out to* which may not necessarily be regarded as a verbal act. They are more related to the process of what can be called relationship-building. Much of the relationship-building between the countries is through a verbal process such as *talks* (this semantic theme of relationship-building will be discussed in more detail in the next section on the collocational patterns of the preposition **with**). For this reason, these collocates are included in the verbal process category, but they could also be placed in a separate category. Table 7.18 shows the remaining collocates which do not belong to the categories which have been proposed above:

China	*(hong) kong, threat, closer, reverted, it, important, according, close*
Japan	*threat, reverted, it, country, is, okinawa, loss, according*
North Korea	*them, referring, iraq*
South Korea	*them, it, then, according*

Table 7.18. The remaining collocates of *to*

One point to be noted here is the presence of *according* and *referring*. They are part of the phrases, *according to* and *referring to*. *According to* indicates a source of information (i.e. the noun phrase coming after *to* is a sayer), whereas the noun phrase preceded by *referring to* is part of what is said. It is interesting to note that *according to* collocates with *China, Japan* and *South Korea*, while *referring to* collocates with *North Korea*.

Finally, randomly selected 100 concordance lines were manually examined in order to establish the overall proportion of the categories observed from the collocate list across each name.   The results are given in table 7.19:

	China (100)	*Japan* (100)	*North Korea* (100)	*South Korea* (100)
Beneficiary	42	29	**65**	12
Locative	**53**	**69**	43	**77**
Part of phrases	5	2	2	1

Table 7.19. The frequency of different semantic functions of *to*

To as a collocate of *China, Japan* and *South Korea* are more frequently used in the locative category, while *North Korea* is the only name used more frequently as the beneficiary category than as the locative category.   As a beneficiary, North Korea is construed mainly as a recipient of aid and as a goal of verbal processes.

7.3.3. Frequency of the preposition *with* and semantic patterns of its collocates

The first thing to note regarding the collocate *with* occurring in the L1 position of each name is the difference in frequency:

	China (28,082)	*Japan* (10,049)	*North Korea* (10,433)	*South Korea* (3,615)
With	1,274	219	1,042	170
%	4.5	2.1	9.9	4.7

Table 7.20. The frequency of *with* in the L1 position

The relative high frequency of **with** as a collocate of *North Korea* is apparent from the percentage figures.   **With** is, in fact, the most frequent collocate of *North Korea* in the L1 position.   In comparison*, Japan*, whose total frequency is similar to *North Korea*, collocates least frequently with the preposition **with**.   An examination of 100 randomly selected concordance lines found instances of **with** which do not position the countries semantically as a beneficiary: *China* 9, *Japan* 14, *North Korea* 9, *South Korea* 11.   Among the instances in which the country names are construed as a beneficiary, one recurring semantic theme is found, as illustrated in a sample of concordance lines of *North Korea* and *Japan* below:

```
te House and who has made reconciliation with North Korea the leitmotif of his
dministration's decision to reopen talks with North Korea would help his n
ked his campaign on continued engagement with North Korea, despite its threa
 the United States to halt any diplomacy with North Korea until the uranium e
ss, by opening the door to broader talks with North Korea he is almost in
atic offer to resolve a nuclear standoff with North Korea have begun to emer
een it, that Washington should re-engage with North Korea because not to do
on the White House to begin direct talks with North Korea. Senator Tom Daschle
 when he called for peaceful coexistence with North Korea, anti-Communism was
uth Korea entered into new relationships with North Korea. Kelly's statemen
```

```
cle" to Pyongyang's ability to cooperate with Japan. North Korea unexpectedly
. "So Kim is meeting with Putin, dealing with Japan and South Korea, just to g
e is any indicator, negotiators of pacts with Japan will have to agree to dis
ast, it is a sour one. "Our relationship with Japan has always been like this
 to bring it to the level of those pacts with Japan and Germany, "but with th
e development first and make concessions with Japan on other issues before
hile, North Korea's brief fall honeymoon with Japan now seems long over. Today
tion. "Countries with a war relationship with Japan are not ideal because they
s a product of the abnormal relationship with Japan. We will prevent such
n on a "visit." By refusing to negotiate with Japan over its nuclear progra
```

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The semantic theme is described as relationship-building in Bang (2003: 47-60). The study found that the references to North Korea, the US, Japan, and China share a group of collocates which are semantically related to the forming and maintaining of relationships. The collocates include *relations, partnership, ties, visit, visiting, trip, talks, dialogue, negotiations, cooperation, assistance, assisting, aid, help, support* which represent different aspects of relationship-building. A further examination of these collocates in concordance lines revealed that North Korea is predominantly construed as a goal or beneficiary of the relationship-building process. The finding that *North Korea* occurs most frequently with the preposition *with* in the position which construes North Korea as a beneficiary indicates that the same is the case in the current study.

The analysis of concordance lines reveals a sense of imposition which underlies the act of one country getting another to engage or participate in relationship-building. It can be detected from lexical items which mark:

- efforts to engage in the process (e.g. *resolved, make concessions, wants good relations*)
- difficulties in getting others to engage in the process (e.g. *obstacle, difficult, worsened, serious, setback, test, abnormal, at risk, face…(major) quandary*)
- an unwillingness to engage in the process (e.g. *rejects, actively oppose*)
- an interruption of the process (e.g. *honeymoon…seems long over, resumed*).

Several examples of extended contexts are given below. In the first example, the adverbial phrase *for seven years now* heightens a sense of difficulty in the US effort to build a relationship with China:

May 21 BODY: <u>For seven years now</u>, **very little has gone as planned in Bill**

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```
Clinton's effort to shape a new relationship with China. Now, amid
increasing confidence among White House officials this weekend that they
```

In the next example, North Korea's proposal for talks with Japan is positively evaluated as '*one note of optimism'*, but the evaluation is counter-balanced in the following clause by the introduction of the US demand to disengage with North Korea:

```
plants for the energy-starved country. One note of optimism was
Pyongyang's request to schedule more talks with Japan next week. Tokyo,
under pressure from the United States to halt any diplomacy with North
Korea until the uranium enrichment program is scrapped, said it would
consider the request.
```

In the following example, the reluctant attitude of the US towards its relationship with North Korea is encapsulated in the word *suspicion* and is negatively evaluated as *skepticism* which prevented North Korea from reconciling with South Korea:

```
missile and missile proliferation activities remain a serious concern."
The Bush administration has regarded negotiations with North Korea with
suspicion, and American skepticism is widely seen as having slowed North
Korea's reconciliation with the South. Marking an unmistakable difference
```

The collocational and contextual behaviour of **with** as a collocate of *China, Japan, North Korea,* and *South Korea* illustrates how the relationship between the countries is construed as a goal to be achieved, and is also perceived as a task fraught with difficulties and complications.

7.3.4. Semantic patterns of the collocates of the preposition *for*

The next collocate to be discussed is *for*.   The total number of occurrences of *for* occurring with each name of the countries is as follows:

- *China*: 435; *Japan*: 210; *North Korea*: 156; *South Korea*: 57

Again, a random selection of 100 concordance lines was analysed in the case of *China, Japan,* and *North Korea*, while 50 occurrences for *South Korea* were analysed for comparison.   The analysis shows that *for* is used in semantic patterns which construe the countries as various types of beneficiary.   Discussion will focus on this beneficiary function of *for*.   Before that, other functions will be summarised.   The other categories include some unrelated examples (e.g. *...waiting for. "China is…"*), prepositional phrases (e.g. *except for Japan*) and a few instances denoting 'possessive' (e.g. *export figures for Japan, the cost of defense for South Korea*).   The other categories also include occurrences indicating a location, in particular a destination (e.g. *Bush headed for South Korea, fled the country for Japan*).   This function was found to be most frequently associated with *South Korea* occurring 20 times out of a total 50 occurrences, making it a major function of *for* as far as *South Korea* is concerned, while the locative function of *for* was found to be relatively infrequent among the instances of *China* (7), *Japan* (7) and *North Korea* (7).   An examination of the concordance lines found that *South Korea* (17 instances out of 20) denotes a destination which North Korean refugees head for:

```
of attempts by North Korean refugees to flee China for South Korea. Tens of th
y obtained Chinese permission to leave the country for South Korea. South
ns protection, and China has allowed them to leave for South Korea via a third
served as a transit point for asylum-seekers bound for South Korea. Two of the
d for two weeks before China allowed them to leave for South Korea via the Phi
```

This corresponds the construal of North Korea as a place whence people flee, as will be shown in section 7.3.5.

The main semantic function of *for* is to construe the countries as beneficiaries. An examination of the concordance lines reveals that the beneficiary role assigned by *for* to the countries is semantically multi-faceted. The first type of beneficiary is what can be called a social beneficiary in which a country is represented as a recipient of gifts:

```
ow specific to be about incentives for North Korea to give up its nuclear prog
ickly to offer tangible incentives for North Korea to give up its nuclear prog
ely believed to contain incentives for North Korea to drop its missile program
g two light-water nuclear reactors for North Korea as part of an agreement wit
r to help pay for nuclear reactors for North Korea. A broader problem seems to
so providing a humanitarian rescue for North Korea, which would reap more than
        minimum goal of 512,000 tons for North Korea. "Deliveries have fallen we
 even if an aid program is revived for North Korea, it cannot resemble the dis
tes, have suspended food shipments for North Korea, partly because of the nucl
ons appeal for $221 million in aid for North Korea. The twin bills in the Unit
```

This type of beneficiary occurs most frequently with *North Korea* with 36 instances, 4 times with *China*, and once with *South Korea*, while no occurrence is found in the case of *Japan*. A similar pattern was observed in the case of the collocates of the preposition *to* occurring with *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea* (section 7.3.2). The three underlined examples in the concordance examples given above are different from the rest in that *North Korea* is followed by a '*to + verb*' phrase. Even though *North Korea* is the agent of the action described in a '*to + verb*' phrase, the action is a precondition of the gift and therefore imposed upon the actor *North Korea*.

The second type of beneficiary is when the country is construed as a recipient of support. The countries are given (or not given) acceptance by an organisation, or support for their membership. This occurs most frequently with *China* with 22 instances and twice with *South Korea*, while no instance is found in the case of *Japan* and *North Korea*. A sample of concordance lines illustrating the type is given below:

```
gements in hopes of helping to work out a deal for China to enter the trade or
uld rekindle momentum for a deal to gain entry for China into the World Trade
 as ordinary citizens. "It's a New Year's gift for China as it enters 2000,"
 resuming negotiations on obtaining membership for China in the World Trade Or
" She emphasized the possibility of membership for China in the World Trade Or
 intention to oppose normal trading privileges for China misstated his title i
 push to gain permanent normal trade relations for China. Sending official Ch
s and 110 Democrats backed normal trade status for China. By comparison, the H
d passage by the Senate of normal trade status for China and are fueling t
national norms. Foes of permanent trade status for China say that Mr. Ge
```

The third type of beneficiary is when a country is construed as a goal of a verbal process. The category occurs most frequently with *North Korea* (16 occurrences) and *Japan* (7 occurrences), while occurring only once with *South Korea* and *China*. As can be seen from the examples below, the verbal actions often entail asking the country to do something which is specified in a '*to + verb*' phrase:

```
       continued. The proposal calls for North Korea to abandon any nuclear-weapons
     Beneath the official commendations for North Korea is a swirl of conflicting interests
   early today. The agreement also calls for North Korea to begin construction as soon as
interim government of Afghanistan, and for North Korea, which he said continued "to
        THREAT ON NUCLEAR ARMS FOR NORTH KOREA BYLINE: By DAVID E.
```

```
okyo, North Korea repeated its call for Japan to apologize and pay reparations
month. The defense guidelines call for Japan to provide logistical support to the
ll of the once unimaginable: advice for Japan. "Japanese people wait for their
 party with an unusually strong call for Japan to field an army, then met with
        growth. "Mr. O'Neill pleaded for Japan and Europe to play their role in
```

Similar to the first type of beneficiary where the country is sometimes construed both as a recipient and an agent, the country is assigned agency by a '*to + verb*' phrase, but the action is imposed upon the country by a verbal process.

The fourth type of beneficiary is to have an action, mainly a material process including a nominalisation performed for the benefit of the country:

```
not yet in Russian service and customized for China. Western military experts
hat we're doing is not just an experiment for China," he said in a recent inte
e pits. "We miners have been working here for China, for the Communist Party s
atement denying that his client had spied for China. In June, the lawyer said
an scientist with high treason for spying for China and aired a videotape pur
```

```
 to compensate Korean veterans who fought for Japan in the war. Nevertheless,
r to Japan. "Internationally, he did more for Japan in a business sense than
he names of 2.5 million who died fighting for Japan are enshrined, is one many
orced its men and women to work and fight for Japan. At war's end, the Koreans
ves nothing less than devising a strategy for Japan to win 30 more Nobel prize
```

This type of beneficiary occurs equally frequently with *Japan* (15), *China* (13) and *South Korea* (6), while only occurring twice in the examples of *North Korea.* Incidentally, as in the example, '*...devising a strategy for Japan to win...*', there are three examples in total (2 for *Japan* and 1 for *China*) followed by a '*to + verb*' phrase which specifies the outcome which is desired by the process preceding *for*.

The next four types of beneficiary are all concerned with the construal of the countries as a recipient of appraisal. The term appraisal is borrowed from Martin (2000), but it should be noted that what is described in this section does not follow his 'Appraisal Systems'. The goal of appraisal is an economic or a political situation faced by the countries. It is realised by a number of different grammatical sequences. Firstly, there are examples of appraisal conveyed by nouns which denote the difficulty of a situation or an event:

```
00." "We hope this will be a wake-up call for China and the world," he said,
e nuclear impasse is an enormous headache for China, which hopes for regional
money was the topic, the underlying issue for China seemed to be an obsession
ent leadership. But they agree the lesson for China is that it must push ahead
ING, Nov. 20 BODY: Calling it a milestone for China, the top human-rights
's Web regulations. "This is all bad news for China," said Joe Sweeney, Asia r
ived at the conviction that the only path for China was one of cautious, progr
h Korea present very difficult quandaries for China," a Chinese expert on the
of the most serious intelligence setbacks for China in years. It follows the A
onstrations also came at a sensitive time for China internally. Ten years ago,

uth. The progress today came at the price for Japan of a large but still unspe
 might pursue the most troublesome option for Japan. U.S. officials now talk o
tution. But after a decade of hard knocks for Japan, the lure of trappings of
Bush Plan Raises Sensitive Defense Issues for Japan, S. Korea BYLINE: Doug St
's comments touched on an explosive issue for Japan and its Asian neighbors, o
t such a venture would cause difficulties for Japan. Top officials of the thr
experienced a banking crisis. "The danger for Japan is not cataclysm," Mr. Ka
ke Narita, at incalculable economic costs for Japan, underscores the difficult
sile defense system creates complications for Japan. Tokyo had hoped for some
wer at a moment of considerable challenge for Japan, which is struggling to ov
TMD and NMD, that will be a big challenge for Japan," said Shinichi Ogawa, sen
```

This type of 'appraisal by nouns' occurs most frequently in the examples of *Japan* (37),

followed by *China* (18)*, South Korea* (9) and *North Korea* (7).   The second type of appraisal is expressed by adjectival phrases which similarly evaluate an event or a situation as to how difficult or critical it is to the countries:

```
m. The new problem is especially delicate for China, torn between its old role
cking Taiwan alone would remain difficult for China throughout the remainder
r, the essays argued, would be disastrous for China, sparking a mass exodus of
ecent interviews. The stakes are enormous for China. Along with banking reform,
ost nearly all its influence. "It is good for China that Li Peng is retiring,"

e. "A successful launch is very important for Japan," Shuichiro Yamanouchi, p
orhood of $250 million -- that is so huge for Japan when you think about the
Japan-U.S. alliance is important not only for Japan but also Asia." Unlike s
" What makes the road forward so perilous for Japan, many experts say, is that
    t's 3 percent. For corn, almost zero. For Japan it's almost embarrassing a
```

The frequency of this 'appraisal by adjectives' pattern is as follows: *China* 14, *Japan* 8, *North Korea* 3, *South Korea* 0.   There is one example of *North Korea* which falls into the category of 'appraisal by nouns', but does not share the evaluation of the difficulty and criticalness of the situation faced by the countries:

```
Bombast is standard fare for North Korea, but all sides have shown
increasing concern recently as North Korea apparently has continued
preparations to test a new long-range missile, the Taepodong II. Japan…
```

In this isolated example, North Korea's verbal behaviour, described as overtly negative '*bombast*', is appraised as typical of North Korea.

The next two patterns construe the countries as an actor, while performing appraisal of the

countries similar to the previous two types of beneficiary.   Appraisal is expressed through

either nouns or adjectives with the name of the countries being construed as the actor of a

process signified in a '*to + verb*' phrase:

```
ings in Tokyo about the need for Japan to move out of the United States'
week with the headline "Time for Japan to shed its 'passive partner ' role
Tokyo. "We believe it's time for Japan to open up more." LOAD-DATE: June 8, 2
arcoal. But it was a mistake for Japan to try to colonize other peoples, in
epresents a rare opportunity for Japan to take the pivotal position on an is


uclear arsenal. "It's important for North Korea to understand this is unaccept
     such a test could be a way for North Korea to step up pressure without re
pro quo, and it's inappropriate for North Korea to say that we will walk away
     asized that it was "critical for North Korea to begin cooperation with the
      ed, it would not be enough for North Korea to simply stop its efforts to
```

The appraisal is imposed on the countries regarding an action which they should or should not

be engaged in.   This 'appraisal-agency' pattern occurs most frequently with *North Korea* (16),

followed by *Japan* (14), *China* (8) and *South Korea* (6).   There is one example of *Japan* which

does not belong to the type of appraisal.   Despite sharing the 'appraisal-agency' pattern, the

example shown below is different in that the noun of appraisal, '*a tremendous destabilizing*

effect' is not experienced by Japan, but by other countries:

```
some of these changes. "For Japan to send troops that would do more than
peacekeeping will have a tremendous destabilizing effect in northeast
Asian relations," said Chang Dal Joong, a professor at Seoul National
University.
```

So far, all major categories of beneficiary realised by *for* have been described.   Before the

discussion moves on to the implication of these results, there is one minor beneficiary type to

mention. It occurs with *North Korea* (5) and *China* (2). As can be seen from the examples below, an official title precedes *for*:

```
vid Morton, the U.N. humanitarian coordinator for North Korea, said interna
" warned Rick Corsino, the program's director for North Korea. The Japanese go
d for him late last year by his special envoy for North Korea, former Secr
id Morton, the United Nations aid coordinator for North Korea, at a briefing i
 Rick Corsino, the program's country director for North Korea, said that unle
```

The official is charged with negotiating with North Korea or overseeing an aid programme in North Korea on behalf of an aid organisation or a government. The interpretation can be that North Korea is construed as the beneficiary of activities represented by the official.

Table 7.21 gives the frequency of different beneficiary types attributed to each name by *for*:

		China (100)	*Japan* (100)	*North Korea* (100)	*South Korea* (100)
Beneficiary	**Recipient of gifts**	4	0	**36**	2
	Recipient of support	**22**	0	0	4
	Recipient of verbal process	1	7	**16**	2
	Recipient of other process types	13	**15**	2	12
	Appraisal by nouns	18	**37**	7	20
	Appraisal by adjectives	**14**	8	3	0
	Appraisal-agency	8	14	**16**	12
	Official title	2	0	5	2
Locative		7	7	7	**40**
Others		11	12	8	6

Table 7.21. The frequency of the different semantic functions of *for* (the frequency for *South Korea* has been doubled because the total number of the samples of *South Korea* is only 50)

Each country name occurs more frequently with one type of beneficiary than another. The

semantic function of *for* most frequently linked with *South Korea* is locative, which is a non-beneficiary type. North Korea is most frequently represented as a recipient of gifts, while China as a recipient of support. However, these two types do not occur with *Japan*. *Japan* is most frequently used in the 'appraisal' category. One way of interpreting these observations is to consider the degree of subordination or imposition implied in different beneficiary types. Clearly, being represented as financially or materialistically needy indicates a greater degree of subordination than being represented as being in need of political or diplomatic support for entry to an organisation. In turn, a greater degree of subordination is attached to the latter type of beneficiary than to being a target of appraisal. In this sense, North Korea is semantically construed as the most subordinate of all four countries. This portrayal of North Korea is also seen in the finding that North Korea is the most frequent recipient of a verbal process and of the 'appraisal-agency' pattern. As mentioned above, appraisal can be interpreted as a kind of imposition, an act of imposing judgment on the country as an experiencer of a situation or an event. Another layer of imposition is added in the case of the two types of beneficiary which are complemented by a '*to + verb*' phrase; an action conveyed in a '*to + verb*' phrase is semantically signalled as something that the countries should or should not do, hence imposed upon the countries:

> Negotiators, meeting for the last two days mainly in private, unannounced sessions, concluded their talks early today. **The agreement also calls for North Korea to begin construction** as soon as possible of its portion of a railroad that would link the two Koreas by rail.
>
> Masao Okonogi, a North Korea specialist at Keio University here, said: **"It is necessary for North Korea to proceed with normalization of relations with Japan** before the U.S. attacks Iraq. That way, North Korea can avoid becoming a target."

Japan, on the other hand, is most frequently associated with the 'appraisal by nouns' patterns, while 'appraisal by adjectives' occurs most frequently with *China*. The two types perform a similar semantic function, even though they are associated with the different formal patterns. The combined frequency of the two types is as follows: 45 for *Japan* and 32 for *China*. This makes them the most frequent beneficiary type for *Japan* and *China* as a single semantic category. In this sense, both countries are construed as less subordinate compared with North Korea. At the same time, China may be seen as more subordinate than Japan, given that the second most frequently occurring beneficiary category for *China* is a recipient of support (22), which is not the case with *Japan*. As for *South Korea*, the frequency of the locative category (40) slightly outnumbers the combined frequency of all three beneficiary types of appraisal (38). *South Korea* attracts less appraisal, while the relatively high frequency of *South Korea* used as a locative is in line with the earlier findings of the analysis of the preposition *to* which showed that *South Korea* is predominantly used as a locative (87 instances out of 100).

7.3.5. Semantic patterns of the collocates of the preposition *from*

The next preposition to be discussed is ***from***. The following is the frequency of ***from*** as a collocate of each country name:

- *China* 837; *Japan* 244; *North Korea* 343; *South Korea* 123

These totals include examples of ***from*** occurring to the L2 position (e.g. *from mainland China)*. Although ***from*** mainly functions as a locative (e.g. *returned from China)*, this is not the only semantic function of the preposition. Table 7.22 on the next page shows the top 20 lexical collocates occurring with ***from*** within a five word span to the right and left:

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Country name	Collocates
China	*mainland, independence, Russia, said, Korea, Taiwan, South, Hong Kong, North, Beijing, imports, Japan, immigrants, pressure, Taiwan's, threat, president, come, people, competition*
Japan	*Korea, south, China, north, United, States, Russia, Europe, imports, said, Britain, Taiwan, people, million, support, steel, came, tourists, come, returned*
North Korea	*threat, missile, China, missiles, said, attack, threats, refugees, Iran, Japan, United, Iraq, Korea, north, south, officials, Russia, States, defectors, nuclear*
South Korea	*Japan, China, troops, north, United, said, States, Korea, Russia, Taiwan, food, pressure, American, aid, withdraw, Thailand, today, diplomats, divided, Europe*

Table 7.22. The top 20 lexical collocates of *from*

These collocates can be grouped into four semantic categories as follows:

- place: *Britain, mainland, Europe, Russia, Taiwan…*
- people: *defectors, diplomats, immigrants, officials, people, president, refugees, tourists*
- commodity: *food, imports, million, missile, missiles, nuclear, steel*
- process: *aid, attack, came, come, competition, returned, said, support, threat, threats, withdraw.*

The collocates seem primarily related to the movements of people and commodities from one place to another. However, some lexical items in the 'process' category do not appear to fit into the locative sense, such as *aid, attack, competition, pressure, support, threat, threats*. The activities denoted by these lexical items presuppose an agent who perform them. The observation of the lexical collocates of *from* suggests that the preposition *from* can be used to signal both location and agency. In order to see how the countries are construed in the contexts of lexical items co-occurring with *from*, a random selection of 100 concordance lines was examined. The sample concordance lines included the instances of *from* occurring in the L1

and L2 positions from *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea.*

The analysis identified a number of semantic patterns associated with the lexical items co-occurring with ***from*** which can be grouped into the two macro functions of locative and agentive.   The collocates associated with the locative function seem to mainly fall into three types.   Table 7.22 includes lexical collocates which refer to people such as *immigrants*, the collocate of *China* and *defectors* and *refugees,* the collocates of *North Korea*.   These collocates share a semantic element of leaving a country for either economic or political reasons and make up the first locative category.   An examination of the sample of concordance lines confirms that this locative category mainly occurs with *China* (22 instances out of 100) and *North Korea* (15 instances out of 100):

```
theory has been that waves of immigrants from China and Korea quickly displaced the Jomon
    nearby garment factory, rows of workers from China perform robotic motions under dull
for tens of thousands of illegal immigrants from China, South Asia and Middle Eastern
            Zagreb, Croatia, illegal immigrants from China, Romania, Turkey, Bangladesh and other
has dealt with waves of illegal immigrants from China who passed through Central America in

    prisoners to kill them. Earlier defectors from North Korea say that the prohibition on
about illicit cargo and contacts. Defectors from North Korea have said that the ferry has been
    But in interviews, three recent defectors from North Korea drew on their experiences to give
back to work." More and more escapees from North Korea are asserting that forced abortions
    Is Urged to Promote Flow of Refugees From North Korea BYLINE: By JAMES DAO
```

The second locative category is represented by the commodity group of collocates given in table 7.22.   This is associated with all four country names, occurring most frequently with *Japan* (21 instances out of 100), followed by *China* (18), *South Korea* (11) and *North Korea* (4).   The countries are construed as places where goods come from:

```
y were aware that many consumer products come from China. Some say America's a
 China. Some say America's appetite for goods from China encourages capitalism
ates importer. About half of its imports come from China, according to a study
ing duties on apple juice concentrate imports from China. The administration i
at the moment. Importing most of its products from China, Uniqlo is putting en
```

In these examples, the countries are indirectly construed as a manufacturer of goods. The third locative category is represented by the collocates such as *diplomats, officials, tourists, came, come, returned* shown in table 7.22. These collocates are related to the activities of travelling and visiting:

```
ant Secretary of State James A. Kelly arrived from South Korea for talks with
 meetings scheduled this week among diplomats from South Korea, Russia and
the Philippines are close by. Tourists from Japan, South Korea, Taiwan
sunshine policy, the cruise ships that travel from South Korea to Mount Kumga
orth Korea today welcomed a group of visitors from South Korea whose families
```

This locative category occurs most frequently with *South Korea* (39 instances out of 100), followed by *Japan* (15), *North Korea* (15) and *China* (11). There are two minor locative categories to mention. Firstly, ***from*** signals location where a military unit is based. The category occurs only with *South Korea* and *Japan*:

```
er aircraft carrier, the Kitty Hawk, operates from Japan. So this would t
 fourth carrier, the Kitty Hawk is on the way from Japan. LOAD-DATE: October 8
, while a fourth, the Kitty Hawk, is en route from Japan. In an unusual step,
dering whether to send the carrier Kitty Hawk from Japan toward Iraq. Duri
rean peninsula. American units were rushed in from Japan. They included the p
```

Secondly, ***from*** is also used to indicate a place where a person comes from or information originates:

```
 Europe and Japan. This week, reports from Japan, South Korea, Singapore and
 countries have expressed reluctance. Reports from South Korea have said the
 e group. Mr. Soon said that he was originally from South Korea and that "my
 th a hostess in a bar in Osaka, a young woman from South Korea who called
 ign students to the United States. Applicants from South Korea and Thailand,
```

Moving on to the non-locative category represented by the collocates such as *aid, attack, competition, pressure, support, threat, threats*, as suggested above, these collocates imply agency which is attributed to the country names by the preposition **from**.   The largest category in the agentive function of **from** is the verbal process in which the countries are construed as a speaker.   The category is associated with all four country names, occurring most frequently with *North Korea* (25 out of 100 instances), followed by *China* (12), *Japan* (11), and *South Korea* (5).   An examination of the concordance lines found that two lexical items of verbal action occur with *China*, *Japan* and *South Korea*, but not with *North Korea*.   These are shown in bold in table 7.23:

Country Name	Lexical items of verbal action
China	*firm assurances, expelled (2), concession, criticism, opposition, **pressure (2)**, fierce reaction, sharp rebukes, response, warnings, angry warning, **support***
Japan	*apology, expressions of concerns, commitment, loud crack, hawkish noises, promise of enormous aid, **pressure (4)**, **support (2)**, dramatic change in tone, warnings and cajolings*
North Korea	*acknowledgement, (no) official appeals, apology (2), concessions (2), confession, commitments, expelled (4), expulsion (2), instructions, threatening language, message, offer, promises, (diplomatic) protest, indications of restraint, constructive signal, signals, statements, warning*
South Korea	***pressure (3)**, **support**, warnings, warnings and cajolings*

Table 7.23. Lexical items of verbal action occurring with *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea* (the total number for *China, Japan* and *South Korea* is higher than that given in brackets above as the items *pressure, warnings and cajolings, warnings* occur in instances where two or more country names are co-ordinated as a sayer, and are counted more than once)

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In the case of *pressure*, it is used with multiple sayers, which are co-ordinated by ***and***:

```
ut under pressure from Japan, Canada and Russia, that opposition faded
   tional pressure from Japan, South Korea and almost all Western nations to a
    use of pressure from China, South Korea and Japan, all of which favor fur
ent said pressure from China, South Korea and Japan, along with the United St
```

A search was made in the whole corpus in order to extract the instances of *pressure from* with *North Korea* occurring within a ten word span, but no instance was found. However, one instance of *support from North Korea* was found. *Support from North Korea* is used as a headline which introduces the following main text:

```
North Korea, which has long been branded as a "rogue state," today issued
a statement implicitly approving United States-led efforts to combat
world terrorism.
```

The choice of the word *support* may be interpreted as signalling unexpectedness and even a sense of irony. Although the evidence is only partial, being able to pressure and support other countries may be interpreted as an indication of a country's status and influence, and it appears that North Korea is represented as lacking such a status.

Next, there are instances of material process in which the countries are construed as an actor. *North Korea* (17 instances) and *China* (5 instances) are construed as potential aggressors:

```
operation against the growing military threat from North Korea, officials said
." Mr. Tenet's comments concerning the threat from North Korea caps a rem
ese coast opposite Taiwan. If missile threats from North Korea and China were
cited the danger of long-range missiles fired from North Korea as an argument
4 will be aimed mainly at thwarting an attack from North Korea. Last June,
```

```
of ballistic missiles. Beyond a direct threat from China, there are other reas
es defending itself again any possible attack from China. In coming days
aid. "But to balance any hegemonic tendencies from China, to discourage them f
rd arms sales to Taiwan to counter the threat from China, though Taiwan has p
society, living under a near-permanent threat from China, and day-to-day d
```

North Korea (8 instances) and *China* (1 instances) are also indirectly assigned agency by ***from***
as sellers of weaponry and military technology:

```
fuel rocket technology that Iran has acquired from North Korea. More than a ye
s not plan to buy any more missile technology from North Korea. The sanctions
time Pakistan tested the missiles it received from North Korea. htt
ing Yemen from accepting delivery of missiles from North Korea." That decision
ange missiles, the same kind Yemen has bought from North Korea before. Mr.
```

On the other hand, *Japan* (14 instances), *South Korea* (9 instances) and *China* (4 instances) are
construed as providers of aid or financial compensation:

```
 eminary? A majority of the humanitarian aid from South Korea is comi
 donations to WFP and bolstered by assistance from South Korea, Japan, China a
ems intended to win a restoration of food aid from South Korea and repair rela
ed what they told us about the food donations from South Korea and the United
urch is basically a business to extract money from South Korea. We understand

g a game of brinkmanship to get more food aid from Japan," Tokyo's Asahi
 in Allied camps. Efforts to win compensation from Japan through its court sy
  al setbacks for people seeking compensation from Japan for war-related at
  the plaintiffs had no right to demand money from Japan under internationa
ney. "He was trying to get $10 billion in aid from Japan," said Robyn Lim, an
```

The process is often part of a deal or something imposed upon the country, as indicated in the

underlined phrases.   While being semantically construed as an actor, the countries are grammatically construed as a target from which other parties obtain aid or compensation. *China* (16) and *Japan* (5) are also construed as a target of actions such as seizing a piece of land or pursuing independence:

```
ile Islands. Soviet forces seized the islands from Japan at the end of World W
ng, for a "joint celebration" of independence from Japan at a newly unveiled m
ls, comprising 1,225 low-lying coral islands, from Japan in 1944 during the bi
hat it illegally occupies four islands seized from Japan by the Soviet Union
 on Sakhalin since Russia obtained the island from Japan in the late 19th c
```

```
 hen said he would not call for independence from China and would not move to
 hich in the past has advocated independence from China but is now seeking to
 stops short of declaring formal independence from China, which Beijing has r
 worried publicly that Taiwan was moving away from China; now they appear
gest city. "That's why Tibet can't break away from China. We need the r
```

Finally, the sample concordance lines include some irrelevant examples as follows:

from the disease were a reporter from China Central Television who went to the
deliver a testy complaint from Washington, Japan raised its sales tax to 5 percent from 3

There are also a few instances of fixed phrases which are neither locative nor agentive such as *from… to…* and *different from*:

employers in labor-needy countries from South Korea to the United Arab Emirates.
official said Iraq was different from North Korea not simply because Baghdad

Table 7.24 on the next page summarises the frequencies of the locative and agentive functions of *from* associated with each country name discussed so far:

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	China (100)	*Japan* (100)	*North Korea* (100)	*South Korea* (100)
Locative	**53**	**54**	40	**74**
Agentive	38	35	**56**	18
Others	9	11	4	8

Table 7.24. The frequency of the locative and agentive functions of *from*

The agentive function of *from* is most frequently associated with *North Korea*, while the locative function occurs most frequently with *South Korea*. The locative function of *from* construes South Korea most frequently as a departure point for a visit to other places, North Korea as a place where people flee from, China as a place where people emigrate from, and Japan as a place where goods are made and come from. In the agentive function, as a sayer, it was found that many of the verbal actions attributed to each country semantically overlap. One difference is that no instance of *pressure* and *support* is attributed to *North Korea*, while *China, Japan* and *South Korea* occur in co-ordination with the names of other countries to 'pressure' together. As an actor, both North Korea and China are construed as aggressors who pose a threat to other countries and sell arms, while Japan, South Korea and China are construed as givers of aid and financial compensation. It may be suggested that the image of Japan and South Korea construed by the semantic patterns associated with *from* is of the 'good guy', while North Korea is the 'bad guy' and China is the 'pragmatic one'.

7.3.6. Semantic patterns of lexical items occurring with *of* as a collocate of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*

This section examines the collocational patterns associated with *of*. The preposition *of* was not considered in the comparison of the locative and agentive functions of prepositions in section 7.3.2. Sinclair (1991) demonstrates that the traditional description of *of* does not correspond to

corpus data, and *of* behaves quite differently from other prepositions.   For this reason, initially, *of* was not included in the comparison.   In terms of the method of analysis, this section has taken the slightly different approach of analysing all the instances of *of* occurring in the L1 position because the L1 position is where *of* collocates most frequently with the country names:

	L3	L2	**L1**	NODE	R1	R2	R3
China	631	481	**1,639**		91	196	176
Japan	191	117	**756**		28	71	151
North Korea	344	103	**366**		0	32	76
South Korea	102	31	**255**		9	23	35

Table 7.25. The frequency of *of* in a three word span to the left and right of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*

Rather curiously, as a collocate of *North Korea, of* was observed occurring in the L3 position nearly as frequently as in the L1 position.   A quick scan of concordance lines showed that *of* is not directly linked to the node *North Korea* in the majority of the instances:

```
or the "worst-case scenario" of war between North Korea and the United State
failure of the first round of talks between North Korea and the United Stat
c dates for the resumption of talks between North Korea and Washington. Th

untries, bringing a measure of restraint by North Korea on its nuclear prog
was the latest in a series of provocations by North Korea in what Washington s
it comes on the heels of a series of moves by North Korea to crack open the do
```

It is also worthy of note that the frequency of *of* is comparatively low for *North Korea*.   Table 7.26 shows the percentage of the instances of *of* occurring in the L1 position:

	China (28,082)	Japan (10,044)	North Korea (10,433)	South Korea (3,615)
Of in the L1	1,639	756	366	255
%	5.8%	7.5%	3.5%	7.0%

Table 7.26. The frequency of *of* in the L1 position

The implications of this observation will become clear in the course of analysis. Although the coverage is partial, the amount of data dealt with in this section is relatively large and complete in the sense that the analysis covers all the collocates in one position. Using the Context word function of Wordsmith Tools, all the occurrences of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea* with the preposition *of* occurring in the L1 position were extracted and examined. The main aim of the analysis was to establish the semantic patterns associated with the lexical items preceding *of*. A group of semantic functional categories were identified from the examination of the concordance lines.

The first and largest category for *China, Japan,* and *South Korea* is that of titles such as the titles of people, places and organisations. The second noun following *of*, in this case, the country name represents the institution to which the first noun is affiliated (Sinclair, 1991: 90-91). The titles of people mainly refer to leaders of the country and government officials:

```
meet with Mr. Koizumi of Japan and Mr. Kim of South Korea. "There will be a c
owledgment of two important facts: Mr. Kim of South Korea initiated and has of
of torrential rain. President Kim Dae Jung of South Korea promised $1 billion
nsula 50 years ago, President Kim Dae Jung of South Korea paid tribute today t
g this morning with President Kim Dae Jung of South Korea. Analysts noted, how
```

```
," Yasuko Takemura of the Democratic Party of Japan complained to Mori in the
est opposition party, the Democratic Party of Japan. Hirohisa Fujii, secretary
```

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```
o Hatoyama, leader of the Democratic Party of Japan, the main opposition party
ities. Over the years, the Industrial Bank of Japan has arguably done more th
ns and investment banking. Industrial Bank of Japan--the only bank left in Ja
```

The next most frequent category for *China*, *Japan* and *South Korea* is location. The main pattern is '***noun + of + country name***' in which the first noun preceding ***of*** denotes a part or a region of the country. This, according to Sinclair (ibid: 87-88), should be considered as a kind of focus noun. The pattern is often followed by another preposition signalling location:

```
ed recently. They are from different parts of China and became infected with H
cal broadcasting networks in various parts of China, replacing them with pro-F
f bombing or sabotage in the Tibetan areas of China have been infrequent. htt
orth Koreans are in the neighboring region of China. But the number is thought
h she is a household name here and in much of China, not just because of her
 diversion project would affect many areas of China. Top left, Cao Ran, along
d with a tailing Chinese jet off the coast of China in April 2001. The firs
 Here in Yanbian, the ethnic Korean region of China that sits along North
of what Beijing calls an autonomous region of China, have rights they have not
opulation to a distant patch of land north of China, still referred to as the
```

This category also includes instances of the phrase ***out of***:

```
s moves in secret. His only known trip out of North Korea in 17 years came las
lBaradei, whose inspectors were thrown out of North Korea on Dec. 31, Mr. P
here they are from. The video smuggled out of North Korea late last year show
g that all nuclear material be shipped out of North Korea, and by offering
ading Western aid agencies have pulled out of North Korea because they said do
```

In both groups of examples, *China* and *North Korea* signify geographical location. The following instances are also included in the location category:

```
Pultizer-winning account of the occupation of Japan, "Embracing Defeat" (1999),
by the United States during the occupation of Japan after World War II. For y
cArthur, who led the seven-year occupation of Japan, drafted the defeated nati
nistration often speaks of the occupations of Japan and Germany after World Wa
far more complex than than the occupations of Japan and Germany, the models of

r grain. The rapacious Japanese occupation of China is a deeply sensitive his
record of atrocities during its occupation of China has unleashed a storm of c
 have expressed sympathy with the invasion of China and Korea during World War
ginning of the 20th and Japan's occupation of China during World War II. It is
d with cholera during its wartime invasion of China. While brushing aside that
```

In these examples, *Japan* and *China* form a 'propositional relationship' (Sinclair, 1991: 91) with the nominalisations *occupation* and *invasion* preceding *of*. The two nouns are in a 'verb – object' or 'process – goal' relationship, and *Japan* and *China* represent a physical geographical target of the process of invading or occupying.

However, the majority of the instances which fall with the nominalisation category are non-locative:

```
United States would "confront" the threat of North Korea, but differently from
t endure. "We cannot assess the stability of North Korea using a Western
ould recognize the system and sovereignty of [North Korea], approach it on an
, the missile threat and hostile rhetoric of North Korea has led 40 percent
ile meeting early Saturday at the request of North Korea, but no details were

U.S. Official Underscores Bush's Criticism of North Korea BYLINE: By DON KIR
orth Korea, Kim Jong Il is in full control of North Korea. If he decides
President Kim Jung Il, who assumed control of North Korea after the death of
White House, talking about the containment of North Korea, deregulation and
Council members in drafting a condemnation of North Korea for its unregula
```

In the examples shown above, *North Korea* is a collective political entity which is construed either as an actor or a goal of the process realised by a nominalisation. The nominalisation category also includes a small group of nouns such as *analyst, critic(s), observer* which refer to a person with a certain job or function, and the country name is a goal of what the person does:

```
   battle they think they can win, critics of China will surely seek to make
tee and one of the most vociferous critics of China, stayed away from Mr. Qi
rests of Iranian dissidents today. Critics of China and Iran have attacked the
ionship with China, a process that critics of China have used to express their
s opposed by labor unions and some critics of China. Congress will not vote on
```

Apart from nominalisations, there is also a small number of adjectival phrases or prepositional phrases which perform a similar function:

```
around the world was particularly critical of China. The relationship has also
ghts problems, which was far more critical of China than last year's report.
fficials have become increasingly critical of China in the last week for not d
artment on Friday that was highly critical of China, and the administration's
cker, the author of several books critical of China, told Agence France-Presse
```

```
 hink that much has been done on the side of North Korea." http://www.
 point that any hesitation now on the part of North Korea to open itself up to
k upon the South or upon Japan on the part of North Korea." In South Korea,
f provocative actions recently on the part of North Korea. The last major one
ion that there was no interest on the part of North Korea in being upfront
```

In the first set of examples above, *China* is positioned as a receiver of criticism, and in the second set of examples, *North Korea* is semantically interpreted as a doer of *done, hesitation, provocative actions, (show) interest*. There is also one isolated example of an idiom which

positions *North Korea* as a decision-maker:

```
e official said. "The ball is in the court of North Korea." While there
was an agreement to…
```

The non-locative instances discussed so far consist of a group of noun, adjectival and prepositional phrases which form a propositional relationship with the names of the countries as political entities. The remainder of discussion will introduce three categories of nouns which denote non-propositional relationships. The first group of nouns can be regarded as another kind of focus nouns which 'specify component, aspect or attribute' (Sinclair, 1991: 88). In the examples given below, the nouns preceding *of* specify certain aspects or attributes of *Japan* and *China* as institutions:

```
the issues that hold sway over the destiny of Japan." Nor is he giving up his
 for two years in the language and customs of Japan so that she could pass for
as a time when many said that the cultures of Japan and Germany were incapable
feels that when you think about the future of Japan, there will be a lot of pe
 They have put a big burden on the future of Japan." The economic gamble wa

interests. It will also serve the interest of China, Japan and America."
terest of Asia. It is also in the interest of China and the United States. Not
apan-China relations, and affect the image of China in the world," Kawaguchi
 it says. "This severely damages the image of China." More generally, th
take Taiwan. "They do not know the history of China and that the Chines
```

In the next group of examples which only occur with *China* and *Japan*, the focus nouns *part* and *province*, introduced earlier as signalling geographical location, denote a kind of institutional ownership:

```
f 23 million people is an inalienable part of China, and China has the right t
which considers Taiwan an inseparable part of China and views Chen with suspi
overty. Beijing says Tibet has been a part of China since the 13th century, al
n, then we said Taiwan was just a province of China, now we are saying Taiwan
sland of 23 million inhabitants to be part of China and has threatened to take
```

```
with Japanese culture and make Taiwan part of Japan. Veterans who battled J
h Japanese culture and to make Taiwan part of Japan. Lee Teng-hui, Taiwan's
world to this unique culture which is part of Japan." The islands, which have
er away. "People here would rather be part of Japan or the United States than
awans. Although their island had been part of Japan since 1879, the locals wer
```

The second non-propositional category which mainly occurs with *China* and *North Korea* includes examples such as:

```
s who have been wrestling with the problem of North Korea for months. The A
 for dealing with the humanitarian problem of North Korea." Governor Darkin sa
t things first" referring to the potential of North Korea to build missiles ca
izers. Talks have begun on the possibility of North Korea playing host to some
t be taken into consideration -- the issue of North Korea, and the realization
```

```
pecially when it comes to volatile subject of China, is not one state, but 50.
a Hong Kong company as presenting the risk of China controlling the canal. "It
Iran in April. In years past, the prospect of China holding talks with these
as the beginning of an inescapable process of China replacing the United S
houldn't be sanguine about the possibility of China proliferating antimissile
```

Sinclair (1991: 89) calls these nouns 'supporting nouns', describing as reduced in meaning when used alone. As can be seen from the concordance lines, China and North Korea are collectively construed as a problem to be dealt with by nouns such as *issue, problem, subject*. China and North Korea are also construed as an actor of an action described by a '*verb + ing*' phrase or a '*to + verb*' phrase following the nouns *possibility, potential process, prospect, risk*.

The action is usually perceived as undesirable or unwanted.

The last of the non-propositional category includes nouns which refer to people and signal different kinds of relationships associated with the name of the country.   This group of nouns was found to occur only with *North Korea* and *China*:

```
ations Security Council. China, a neighbor of North Korea, is being courted as
omatic relations with China, the godfather of North Korea. For all security
dministration. China is a traditional ally of North Korea and its economic
nal protection. But China, a longtime ally of North Korea, insists that they a
ernment. Although China is a longtime ally of North Korea, it strongly opposes
se academics as odd. Lee has been a friend of China for 20 years, and the Sin
ncludes many supporters of Taiwan and foes of China, approved the bill in a
 Government's assertion that American foes of China have orchestrated a ca
 Japan as by far the No. 1 potential enemy of China. China also has criticized
nefarious schemes. Because Western enemies of China "have seen the value of e
```

The frequency of each of the categories discussed so far is given in table 7.27:

	Locative:	Non-locative					Total
	Focus	Titles	Propositional	Focus	Supporting	Relations	
China **(1,639)**	361 (26%)	579 (43%)	218 (16%)	186	21	21	1,353
Japan **(756)**	150 (22%)	379 (57%)	76 (11%)	54	7	0	668
NK **(366)**	63 (18%)	81 (24%)	122 (36%)	32	28	14	339
SK **(255)**	28 (12%)	173 (73%)	28 (12%)	7	1	0	237

Table 7.27. The frequency of the semantic functions of *of* occurring with *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea* (the percentage is given for the three most frequent semantic categories)

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For reference, the total number of occurrences of the categories does not correspond to the actual frequency of *of* collocating with each name, because some instances are omitted from the count. The omission includes instances of *map of China/ Japan/ North Korea/ South Korea* and instances where the name is part of another noun phrase (e.g. *review of North Korea policy, solid production skills of Japan's fusty manufacturers, owner of China Telecom, one of South Korea's largest conglomerates*).

The distribution and frequency of the different categories attributed to each name consistently indicate different degrees of the collectivisation of each country name as a social actor. This corresponds to what has been observed from the collocational patterns of the other prepositions. *China, Japan* and *South Korea* most frequently occur in the 'titles' category, while *North Korea* occurs most frequently in the 'propositional' category. The 'titles' category includes noun phrases which refer to people and organisations like *President Kim Dae Jung of South Korea, the government and Mitsubishi of Japan, People's daily of China*. In this category, the country name is used to specify the nationality of people or organisations. The 'titles' category accounts for 73% of all the occurrences of *of* for *South Korea*, and 134 out of a total of 173 instances refer to the South Korean president. The instances referring to the head of the country account for about 31% for *Japan* (120 out of 379) and about 40% of the total occurrences of *China* (231 out of 579). This suggests that there are a relatively limited variety of social actors representing South Korea. Meanwhile, the largest category for *North Korea* is the 'propositional' group which is usually realised in nominalisations. *North Korea* is positioned as a goal or a beneficiary in 89 out of the total 122 occurrences of the 'propositional' category. Below is the number of occurrences of *China, Japan* and *South Korea* positioned as a goal or a beneficiary:

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● *China*: 122 out of 218; *Japan*: 33 out of 76; *South Korea*: 5 out of 28

North Korea and *China* occur more frequently as a goal or a beneficiary, while *Japan* and *South Korea* occur more frequently as an actor.   The observation that North Korea is construed as a goal or a beneficiary, arising from the analysis of the other prepositions, is confirmed.

In the instances of the 'titles' and non-locative 'focus' categories, the country names *China, Japan, North Korea, South Korea* denote an institution, and function as an identifier.   On the other hand, in the 'propositional', 'supporting' and 'relations' categories, the names are a collectivisation of the countries as political entities which are construed as an actor or a goal, or defined in terms of their relationship to other countries.   Accordingly, the categories introduced above have been placed within the three broader categories as follows:

	Location	Institution	Collectivised entity
China (1,353)	361 (25%)	763 (56%)	260 (19%)
Japan (668)	150 (22%)	433 (65%)	83 (13%)
North Korea (339)	63 (19%)	113 (33%)	164 (48%)
South Korea (237)	28 (12%)	180 (76%)	29 (12%)

Table 7.28. The frequency of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea* denoting a location, an institution and a collectivised entity

South Korea occurs most frequently in the institutional sense, followed by *Japan* and *China*. However, as pointed out earlier, 73% of all the occurrences of *South Korea* in the 'titles' category refer to the president of South Korea, and the range of social actors represented in the category is limited.   In contrast, *Japan* is attributed with a much greater variety of social actors. As for *North Korea*, it is used most frequently to denote a collectivised entity.   This is

consistent with the findings that *North Korea* is most frequently collectivised not only as a goal or a beneficiary when occurring with the other prepositions, but also as a sayer, as discussed in section 7.2. The relatively high proportion of the collectivised use of *North Korea* may explain the proportionally lower frequency of ***of*** collocating with *North Korea* which was noted earlier in the section.

7.3.7. Summary

To sum up, this section has tried to show how grammatical words, in particular, prepositions can be exploited methodologically in critical discourse study. The analysis has focused on the collocates of a set of six prepositions ***in, of, to, with, for, from***, which are among the top 20 collocates of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*. The analysis of the lexical items collocating with the prepositions identified different semantic functions performed by each preposition. The main differences relate to whether the names of the countries occur as a locative or an agentive. Overall, *North Korea* occurs most frequently as an agentive followed by *China*, while *Japan* and *South Korea* occur more frequently as a locative. In the agentive category, *North Korea* is most frequently construed as a beneficiary and a goal followed by *China*. Further, it is shown that there are different kinds of beneficiary or goal. North Korea is mainly construed as a beneficiary of financial and materialistic aid and a goal of verbal processes like criticising. China is most frequently construed as a recipient of political support and commodities, while Japan and South Korea are mainly construed as a recipient of appraisal. In terms of degrees of imposition reflected in the different beneficiary types assigned to each country, North Korea is construed as the most subordinate.

7.4. Conclusion

This chapter set out to examine how the four individual countries, China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea are represented in the corpus with the methodological aim of utilising grammatical words as the starting point of analysis. The analysis was carried out on the assumption that there would be differences in the way these countries are depicted in the newspapers. Accordingly, the hypothesis was that the countries may be treated linguistically differently.

The findings from the two part analysis seem to confirm this hypothesis. However, the results should be treated with caution. Firstly, the differences observed from the data are relative, not absolute. The collectivised representation applies to all four countries, and its significance can only be interpreted in relative terms. North Korea is represented as being more collectivised than China which is, in turn, more collectivised than Japan and South Korea. Secondly, the analysis has investigated the two very specific aspects, namely the different sayer types of the verbs SAY and TELL as a collocate of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea* and the semantic patterns of the six grammatical collocates. The hypothesis is only as valid as the observations made on these specific aspects.

In terms of methodology, the analysis of the grammatical words proved to be productive in uncovering details of the differences and similarities in the way the four names *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea* are used in the corpus. Furthermore, the two strands of analysis with the two different starting points have demonstrated one over-arching pattern of representation for all four countries, namely, that there are different degrees of collectivisation

in the construal of the countries.   As a sayer, Japan is construed as highly individualised and specific, while North Korea is construed as highly collectivised with the name *North Korea* used most frequently as a sayer.   A similar pattern was observed in the semantic patterns of the prepositions collocating with the country names.   *North Korea* is consistently and most frequently used to denote a collectivised entity attributed with an agentive and a beneficiary function, followed by *China* and *Japan*, while *South Korea* is mainly used as a locative in the case of all six prepositions analysed.   It can be argued that the name *South Korea* is the most neutral and the least metonymic of all the country names in the corpus.

There is one aspect of the representation of the countries as a sayer which has not been considered in this chapter.   The question is who is the sayer of a clause in which one country is construed as the topic.   It concerns, for instance, which countries occur as a sayer when North Korea is the topic.   While it could be easily hypothesised that the US is represented most frequently as a sayer, not least because the corpus is the US newspapers, it would be interesting to find out which of the three countries of China, Japan and South Korea is represented most frequently as a sayer when North Korea is represented as the topic.   The issue of which country is given more say over the matters concerning other countries can be a measure of a country's influence and merits further investigation.

CHAPTER 8

REPRESENTATION OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES IN THE CONTEXT OF *DEMOCRACY*: COLLOCATIONAL PATTERNS OF THE KEYWORD *DEMOCRACY*

8.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the collocational patterns of the keyword *democracy*.   As mentioned in Chapter 3, *democracy* is the first abstract noun appearing in the keyword list of the corpus, and one of the cultural keywords selected by Williams (1976).   The fact that the word is identified as outstandingly frequent in the corpus in comparison to the general corpus indicates that democracy is a major issue in the context of foreign news reporting.   The following quote of the US president Bush from the corpus sums up what democracy means to the US:


```
rvatives who had been celebrating Mr. Bush's recent declaration that
spreading democracy is the core mission of his foreign policy. Late last
month, acc (The New York Times, 09/12/2003).
```


Democracy is not only represented as one of the most cherished values of US foreign policies but also defines the US sense of self.   This mission of '*spreading democracy'* is not necessarily appreciated by citizens of a country which is at the receiving end of it, as succinctly illustrated by the words of an Iraqi citizen interviewed by the BBC correspondent Humphrey Hawksley:

> *Be nice to the Americans or they'll <u>punish you with democracy</u>* (the Today Programme, 05/2007).

Combining the word *punish* with *democracy* is novel. A Google search results in 5 instances as of 27th of April, 2008 and they all come from the same source which suggests that this particular way of using *democracy* is idiosyncratic and ironic. The expression may never be recycled enough to be established as one of the typical ways of talking about democracy, but demonstrates how contrasting perceptions of the same event can be linguistically transmitted. It needs to be clarified before moving on to the main discussion that the current study is not so much concerned with defining what democracy is. As an abstract concept, what we know about democracy is essentially discourse knowledge (Yallop, 2004: 61), that is, discoursally constructed. The aim of analysis is to discover how *democracy* is used in the context of foreign countries and what the use of *democracy* can reveal about the way the US relates to other countries in the corpus.

To briefly introduce the main section, section 8.2 examines lexical collocates of *democracy*. The main groups of collocates analysed include:

- verbs which are related to the act of building and promoting democracy
- verbs and nouns which construe democracy as a journey and a natural process
- nouns which are related to the act of undermining democracy
- adjectives which classify and evaluate *democracy*.

Section 8.3 examines references to countries and regions in the context of *democracy*. Section 8.4 examines the three grammatical collocates ***and***, ***of***, ***to*** and lexical items collocating with them, which include:

- noun phrases which occur as a binomial with *democracy*
- nominalisations where *democracy* is construed as an actor or a goal
- a group of noun phrases co-occurring with *of* + *democracy*.

Another aim of the current chapter is to demonstrate how taking grammatical collocates as the starting point of analysis can enhance the analysis by bringing to the fore lexical items which are not individually frequent enough to feature as high frequency collocates, but share semantic patterns which can be useful in building a collocational profile of a word.

8.2. Lexical collocates of *democracy*

The first part of this discussion is concerned with the collocational profile built from lexical collocates of *democracy* with a minimum frequency of 10. *Democracy* occurs 8,158 times in total, and 853 lexical items are identified as collocates occurring 10 times and more. Only the lexical or content words were considered for the profile. This excluded 172 grammatical words and 14 meta-textual items (e.g. *byline, dateline, load*). In addition, 76 lexical items were also excluded, because although they occur in a five word span of *democracy*, they do not form any distinctive lexical pattern with the node word, as in the case of *point*:

1	help their enemies, who point to the lack of democracy as evidence that Palestinians are
2	"Whether you want to call it a process of democracy or whatever, the point is they are
3	Communist dictatorship to a free market democracy. "The point is not that we've
4	marks a key point in Chile's transition to democracy," said Pamela Pereira, a
5	it may be subtle, one theme they point to is democracy. The contestants are nominated
6	create some new hybrid of Islam and democracy? At this point, he says, the
7	perceptions of the role of the police in a democracy. British officers like to point out
8	democracy? If anything, it is a point for democracy that you are able to give voice to
9	to test where the breaking point of this new democracy is," he added. In their quest to
10	there is no democracy, and if there is no democracy, then what was the point of

It also needs to be mentioned that lexical collocates which not only are individually low-frequency but also do not share any meaning group with other collocates are not considered for

the grouping. One of the main groups of collocates was also excluded from discussion. This group includes lexical items which are related to democracy movements and various potential participants such as:

> *force, forces, authoritarian, dictatorship, military, troops, junta, movement, rally, tiananmen, square, crackdown, activists, demonstrators, protests, student, protesters, crushed, protest, detained, uprising, campaigners, jailed, demonstrations, students, arrested, dissidents, activist, led, violent, sentenced, prison, released, arrest, pro, police, army, violence*

Even though the collocates form a major semantic group in terms of frequency (1,809 in total), they are semantically quite straightforward and, for this reason, were excluded from analysis. However, it is worth a mention that these collocates fit in with the semantic theme of struggle in achieving democracy which will be discussed later in this section. The focus is on the collocates which are semantically more complex. Subsequently, a total of 591 lexical collocates were examined and grouped into different semantic categories which can be said to answer the following questions:

1. Who is represented as a participant in the context of *democracy*?
2. What kinds of processes are talked about in the context of *democracy*?
3. What does it take to achieve *democracy*?
4. How is *democracy* described in terms of its state?
5. What types of *democracy* are there?
6. What values and issues are associated with *democracy*?
7. What metaphors are used to talk about *democracy*?

This grouping is not based on any external criteria, but intuitively drawn from the observing of the collocates. Despite this intuitiveness, they enable the analyst to answer certain questions about how *democracy* is used in the foreign news context. Each set of collocates concerning

each question will be introduced, and the discussion will focus on the semantic and contextual patterns of these collocates. The lexical collocates concerning the question 1 and 6 will be discussed separately in section 8.3 and 8.4.

Firstly, the question of who are participants in the context of democracy is answered by a group of collocates referring to countries, governments, institutions, individuals. A sample of collocates is given below:

> *party, country, leader, government, center, united, people, league, group, advocates, reconciliation, president, suu, leaders, san, aung, institute, opposition, alliance, advocate, groups, nation, africa, region, washington, leading, members, christian, parties, organization, member, beijing, lurd, banned, west, general, union, bush, countries, nations, kyi, europe, parliament, officials, director, man, prime, champion, musharraf, administration, minister…*

For clarification, the collocates *suu, san, aung, kyi* refers to the Burmese opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, and *reconciliation* is part of the Liberian rebel group Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy which is also abbreviated as LURD. As for *Christian*, it is part of German or Italian Christian Democracy Party. The list excludes references to countries which will be discussed in detail in section 8.3.

Collocates given below relate to the question 2, namely, what kinds of activities are associated with *democracy*:

> *support, promote, bring, build, building, restore, strengthen, restoration, promoting, restored, help, embrace, bringing, experiment, establish, improve, establishing, foster, form, supported, protect, promotes, strengthening, defend, developing, established, establishment, promotion, consolidate, expand, advance, brought, preserve, called, calling, further, allow, create, created, supporting, calls, spread, develop, restoring, helped, encourage*

The collocates are related to the material processes which construe *democracy* as a goal. *Democracy* is construed as something positive that needs to be 'built', 'developed', and 'promoted'. It is worth mentioning that the US is presented as a main actor of promoting and supporting democracy in other countries:

1. Still, **the United States pledged $10 million to "promote democracy" in Serbia.** The money will go to the democratic opposition to Mr. Milosevic and to encircle Serbia with a ring of transmitters for the Voice of America and…

2. Mr. Clinton's visit is intended to **encourage Nigerians to stick with democracy** in the face of these and other difficulties: poverty, endemic corruption and ethnic strife in a nation that Samuel R. Berger…

Table 8.1 shows the number of occurrences of the collocates which are to do with the acts of facilitating and promoting of democracy:

Collocates of supporting and promoting	Total number of occurrences of each set of collocates	Total number of occurrences of US as an actor
support/ supported/ supporting	87	34
promote/ promotes/ promoting/ promotion	128	59
help/ helped	43	11
encourage/ encouraging/ encouraged	17	8
bring/ brought/ bringing	104	34
spread/ spreading	19	12
Total	398	158 (40%)

Table 8.1. Collocates of supporting and promoting occurring with *democracy*

As can be seen from table 8.1, the US is featured as an actor in 158 out of the total 398

occurrences of the (nominalised) verbs which account for about 40%. This point will be further explored in the next section.

The following group of collocates may provide an answer to question 3, namely, what it takes to achieve *democracy*:

committed, effort, pledged, promises, commitment, efforts, struggle, promised, goal, trying, fighting, fight, campaign, vision, hard, plan, timetable, policy, try, struggles, sought, time, assistance, program, programs, million, aid, spent, money

As a goal of the material processes of building, developing and promoting, *democracy* is construed as something that takes 'commitment', 'struggle', 'plan' and 'money'. The collocates *assistance, aid, (democracy) program(s)* are included in this group because they refer to funding activities which are supposed to promote democracy, as in the example below:

> The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) **spent $ 649 million on democracy programs in 2000, up from $ 165 million in 1991.**

This group of collocates also conveys perception of difficulties in achieving democracy. Below is a sample of concordance lines for *effort(s)* and *struggle(s)*:

3	East Timor as part of his efforts to lead to greater democracy, legality and stability in Indonesia
4	the Government's efforts to limit immigration, pro-democracy leaders said Hong Kong would pa
5	as a triumph of longtime efforts to strengthen democracy in the party, although he warned t
6	Prize because of his efforts to achieve peace and democracy on the Korean peninsula. So it is
7	formally, and it will bolster efforts to re-establish democracy in the country, Pakistani analysts
8	Iraq alongside the United States' efforts to spread democracy in Asia and Europe after World W
9	reflect India's concerted effort to broaden the democracy that its elites established at
10	of a constitution, and over the effort to make democracy flower in a land where it had never
11	At least $100 million would have to be spent for democracy-building efforts in Iraq, along with
12	to defeat American efforts to install a working democracy in Iraq. Opponents object to both
13	contend that the United States' effort to build a democracy in Iraq is overwhelming, if not naiv

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33	failures of Russia's struggle to establish a market democracy. After the Soviet Union's collap:
34	for all those who struggle for human rights and democracy" in Iran, in the Muslim world, ar
35	to give her an award for her nonviolent struggle for democracy. "No, I don't want to complain,"
36	that tiny moment as a victory in the struggle toward democracy. "The idea," says a British frien
37	laureate who has waged a nearly 15-year struggle for democracy against one of the world's most
38	seen as being at a critical point in its struggle toward democracy. "If Bush were looking closely,
39	that Haiti's 16-year-old struggle from dictatorship to democracy has not progressed very far. A
40	press freedoms. Despite Kim's long struggle for democracy, during which he was jailed and
41	challenge facing Indonesia as it struggles to embrace democracy after 32 years of autocratic rule
42	country struggles to strengthen its nascent democracy. The ruling, which included an (

The examination of contexts shows that efforts and struggles to build democracy are often undermined or facing further difficulties, as shown in examples 10, 11, 12, 13 for *effort(s)* and 33, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42 for *struggle(s)*.   Below are the extended concordances for example 10 and 42, which are concerned with Iraq and Indonesia respectively:

1. But **the price of a speedy transfer of power**, Mr. Bush's own top aides worry, **may be a rapid loss of control -- control over the drafting of a constitution, and over the effort to make democracy flower** in a land where it had never been cultivated.

2. **The decision, by a five-judge panel, marked a severe setback for political reformers**, including President Abdurrahman Wahid, who had viewed the case as a first step in addressing the sins of the past as **the world's fourth-most-populous country struggles to strengthen its nascent democracy.**

Another issue which is reflected in the collocates such as *committed, commitment, pledged* and *promised* is a question of how sincere countries or leaders of countries are in their striving to achieve democracy.   For instance, in concordance example 7, 11, 12, 14 on the next page, the modifiers *uncertain* and *questionable*, and the verb *colors* are used to express doubt over one's commitment to democracy which often has to be 'proved', 'reaffirmed' and 'pledged' (example

8, 13, 15):

7	and, with the group's uncertain commitment to democracy and reputed ties to drug dealers
8	Government, has proved his commitment to democracy and capitalism. Poland became
9	to be slovenly. Drawn by India's commitment to democracy, he traveled extensively through
10	Democratic Institute praised "the commitment to democracy, openness and transparency" of
11	how much nationalism colors his commitment to democracy and human rights. Mr. Draskovic
12	Communist, with a questionable commitment to democracy. Albanian officials have told the
13	President Clinton to reaffirm his commitment to democracy, saying his nation needs a stabl
14	ideologies and questionable commitment to democracy. Some in the rebel movement ar
15	for 20 minutes and pledged his commitment to democracy. But on a visit to Cuba last mont
16	office as part of his larger commitment to expand democracy and the rule of law in China. Ear

In example 10, Indonesia's commitment to democracy is seen as proved by successful election, and given praise by American election monitors:

> In an interim report on Sunday, **American election monitors from the Carter Center and the National Democratic Institute praised "the commitment to democracy, openness and transparency" of the election administration and local monitoring groups.** But it said the complicated…

To take another collocate *promised* and the other forms *promise, promises, promised*, the act is frequently negated by the contexts which describe how a promise of democracy is undelivered, ignored, or undermined:

1. **He has promised to install "real democracy." But** the United States and the European Union have lamented **General Musharraf's failure to say when democracy might return** and have threatened to block loans from the International Monetary Fund unless progress is made toward satisfying their demands on democracy.

2. **The military ruler, Gen. Robert Guei, promised democracy but tried to steal a presidential election last October.** Eventually, Mr. Gbagbo emerged triumphant in the election, in which two of the country's three major parties had been barred from taking part.

3. Since his first speeches, **Abdullah has promised Jordanians democracy with all its trimmings and economic growth. In emphasizing the economy, he talks less about political change.** Information Minister Taleb Rifai…

4. **Millions of impoverished people are embittered that instead of experiencing the promised market economy and democracy, their newly independent states fell under the sway of men** -- many, like Mr. Kuchma former Communist bosses -- who have attained enormous power and wealth at the expense of national prosperity.

The countries mentioned in the examples are Pakistan (1), Republic of Côte d'Ivoire (2), Jordan (3) and Ukraine (4). Another noteworthy observation in example 1 is the co-occurrence of *loans* and *demands on democracy* in the same clause (shown as underlined). This is an illustration of a recurring theme which is the link the US makes between the political ends of promoting democracy and financial means. Another example is given below:

She said **Washington would increase economic aid, from $12 million to $20 million.** She also delivered a letter from President Clinton to Mr. Racan that **promised support for Croatian democracy if the new government lived up to its promises to cooperate with the tribunal and abide by the Dayton agreement**…

The next group of collocates answers question 4, namely, how *democracy* is described in terms of its state:

> *threat(s), blow, remains, attack, danger(s), problems, attempt (to curb, stifle), fears, death, challenge, fear, state, future, test, crisis, killing, questions, question, undermining, suppression, undermine, threatened, (sad, bad, dark) day, setback(s), obstacle*

These collocates construe *democracy* as being under threat, and the contexts in which the collocates occur are concerned with issues which are presented as a threat or as an obstacle to democracy:

1. Russia shares concerns that **the future of democracy is under threat in Belarus as repression rises**. During the last year, some opposition leaders have disappeared, fled or been jailed on political charges…

2. [the Mexican government and opposition party brand each other as a threat to democracy in the mist of election fraud dispute.]
   Meanwhile, invective is flying in all directions, with **both sides claiming that the other is a threat to Mexican democracy.**

3. Menem is more determined than ever **to seek a ruling from his handpicked Supreme Court that would allow him to run for a third consecutive term, which is now illegal. Such a move is seen by legal scholars as a potentially damaging blow to Argentina's young democracy.**

4. "Despite our past differences, we have to be united now because **the future of democracy in this country is in danger,**" Mr. Contreras said. "**Hugo Chavez wants to turn Venezuela into a dictatorship and is using the Constitutional Assembly for his own nefarious purposes.**"

5. **Gunmen assassinated the vice president of Paraguay** this morning as he was driven to his office in Asuncion, the capital, **sowing fears in the region about the future of Paraguay's fragile democracy.**

Labelling events or issues as a threat or a blow to democracy is both evaluative and rhetorical.

On the one hand, the contextualisation of *democracy* in these examples negatively evaluate countries in terms of the political strife ongoing in the countries. On the other hand, rhetorically, democracy is used as the moral high ground claimed by political rivals, while contending that the other parties are damaging or hindering democracy.

The next group of collocates answers question 7, namely how *democracy* is classified and labelled. Below is the list of the collocates, which are adjectival phrases:

practiced (in the west), more, western, multiparty, real, social, american, greater, style, young, true, secular, parliamentary, fragile, civil, full, modern, fledgling, old, largest, strong, stable, liberal, roots, nascent, grass, functioning, emerging, constitutional, genuine, managed, participatory, struggling, electoral, racial, limited, imposed, multi, biggest, vibrant, oldest, mature, world's, model, islamic, new, post, muslim, religious, direct, major, latin, kind, populous, ethnic, african, second, successful, island, internal, fully, working, European, century, year, decade[4], month

These collocates are concerned with various aspects of democracy and can be grouped into different semantic sets. For instance, collocates such as *multiparty, parliamentary, constitutional, participatory, electoral, direct* relate to formal classification of democracy as a political system. There is a group of collocates which indicate how well (or badly) democracy is working such as *stable, fragile, functioning, struggling, vibrant, model, successful, fully working*. Another group of collocates is concerned with describing how old the democracy is. These include *fledgling, nascent, oldest, mature, new, (year /month/ decade/ century) old*. What is of particular interest are collocates which concern the issues of definition and

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[4] The collocate *decade(s)* belongs to two categories and here it is part of a phrase *decade old* which expresses how old democracy is, while it is also used in a phrase *decade(s) of* which contextually conveys a sense of difficulty in achieving democracy (see p. 262-265)

interpretation of democracy, such as *real, western/ American/ European style, true, secular, civil, liberal, genuine, managed, multi-racial/ ethnic, limited, imposed, Islamic, Muslim, religious, practiced in the west/ western world.* Below is a sample of concordance lines for *western/ American/ European style*:

```
most certainly does not plan to push Western-style democracy. Even so, Mr. Hu
  opulations expressed the view that Western-style democracy could work in the
policy makers' dreamed-of beacon of American-style democracy in the Middle Eas
e. He rejected the idea of a Western-style liberal democracy for Iraq. (Alan C
n and immediately rejected a liberal Western-style democracy as incompatible w
t Lt. Gen. Jay Garner insisted that American-style democracy could sprout on t
ic from an international pariah to a Western-style democracy, and vowed to c
lity and could not simply impose an American-style democracy on Iraq. "You ca
nfrastructure lacking, commitment to Western-style democracy often questioned.
    ughter, in Chicago. President Bush has demanded democracy, American-style,
```

The examples indicate a tension between embracing and resisting Western- style or American-style democracy, with the US insisting that Western-style or American-style democracy is necessary in other countries.

To look at another set of collocates, *true, real, genuine,* they were found to occur in a number of different contexts. Firstly, they are used to emphasise one's efforts or willingness to install democracy in a country where democracy has been suppressed:

```
1. Basri's removal was significant, analysts here said, but the real test
   will be the young king's willingness to install true democracy--and
   quickly, by organizing clean elections for a new Parliament as early as
   next year, two…
```

2. After colonial rule and cold war politics that stunted modern Africa's political maturation, **orderly and peaceful transitions have become one measure of progress toward genuine democracy.**

3. Mexico's southernmost state, Chiapas, joined **the country's transition to its first real democracy today when it inaugurated an opposition politician as governor,** ending the Institutional Revolutionary Party's long control over this impoverished and troubled region.

4. Now serving as an election observer for the Carter Center, Mr. Kaunda praised Mr. Moi for **ushering in real democracy in Kenya by stepping down, holding elections and abiding by the result.**

In the examples below, the collocates indicate a gap between people's expectations and the state of democracy in their country, highlighting how democracy is flawed and undermined:

1. Many Palestinians said that **what they want is true democracy and an end to one-man rule**;…and an end to the corruption that has left Palestinian Authority bureaucracies, including security agencies, bloated while unemployment and poverty are rampant.

2. "One hundred million people in Russia are against this decision, and only 500 politicians and bureaucrats in Moscow are pushing it,"…"This is the best example that **we have no real democracy in Russia today.**"

3. [the case refers to the Egyptian supreme security court's sentencing a prominent academic to 7 years in prison for defaming Egypt.]
"This case is a farce," said Negad Borai, the former chairman of the Group for Developing Democracy,…"**Egypt does not want real democracy.** The state wants us as puppets in its big show of paper democracy, and if we decide otherwise, it knocks us down."

In the next examples, there is a distinction being set up between democracy which suits the US

agenda and democracy which does not:

1. the Clinton administration prefers to depict it as a neutral democracy-building operation. "Our job was to level the playing field," said Paul Rowland, head of the Democratic institute's Serbia program. **"We worked with parties that wanted to make Serbia a genuine democracy."**

2. …said Cuneyd Zapsu, a senior adviser to Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the leader of the ruling Justice and Development Party. **"Turkey is a real democracy."** As the Turkish people continued today to mull over the dramatic vote of last Saturday, **in which the Parliament rejected the American military plan by a narrow margin**, the idea that something profound had changed in Turkey's politics continued to reverberate here.

3. For more than a decade, Washington has urged Taiwan to let true **democracy flower,… But when the moment arrived over the weekend, administration officials conceded, the timing was singularly inopportune.**

4. Like other reformers here, Nibari said **the United States**, despite its pressure on the ruling family to revive a suspended parliament after the 1991 war, **has not helped foster true democracy in Kuwait, but has been more interested in maintaining the status quo**. And the political…

The collocates are used to distinguish between American-spread democracy and democracy which is locally interpreted and does not necessarily accord with the US interpretation or advance US interest. Finally, in the examples below, democracy is used as a justification for seizing power by force, and the collocate *real* emphasises the speaker's assertion that their action is intended to bring democracy to the country:

1. "I will act according to the requirements of the nation and not the outside demands," Musharraf, 53, told reporters. Members of the

```
    suspended parliament "were not the true representatives, and I want to
    give real democracy to the people," he said.
```

2. [General Robert Guei led the military coup d'etat in Ivory Coast.]
```
    Guei told reporters that the junta acted to sweep aside a ruler who had
    squelched opposition and looted public coffers…Guei vowed "to create
    the necessary conditions for a real democracy with a view to holding
    fair and transparent elections."
```

The observation of concordance lines has shown that the collocates *real, true, genuine* are used

to talk about countries which are not democratic, and rhetorically used to emphasise 1) one's

effort to bring democracy to a country, 2) the gap between what people think democracy is and

what it actually is, 3) the double standard of the US in promotion of democracy in other

countries, and 4) how democracy is used as a justification for one's illegitimate action such as a

military coup.

Lastly, question 7, namely, what metaphors are used to talk about *democracy* can be answered

by the next group of collocates:

returned, transition, return, way, progress, path, road, step(s), move, shift, moving, began, communism, moves, difficult, years, decade(s), moved, take, make, journey, evolution, transformation

A metaphor evoked by the collocates such as *returned, return, way, path, road, step(s), began, journey* is that *democracy* is a destination to be reached. The collocates such as *transition, progress, shift, evolution, transformation* construe *democracy* as something inevitable or a

natural progression. However, the journey is by no means easy, as expressed by the adjectives

modifying *transition* such as *thorny, tenuous, difficult, uneasy, fragile, shaky, tumultuous, rocky*:

```
1. of its natural resources and the thorny transition to democracy after more
2. months ago as part of Nigeria's tenuous transition to democracy, did not di
3.  he wants to oversee an eventual transition back to democracy. The milita
4.  evidence of Taiwan's transition from dictatorship to democracy, but an uns
5. Union as a breakthrough in the difficult transition to democracy of the rep
6. olution, counterrevolution and an uneasy transition to democracy. "I will a
7.  vote and undermine Indonesia's fragile transition to democracy. "The i
8.   He has managed to survive Indonesia's transition to democracy--and the l
9.  al infighting that marked Haiti's shaky transition to democracy. The count
10. Russia was consumed with its tumultuous transition to democracy. Now Yelt
11. the Olympics helped speed South Korea's transition to democracy and could
12. ince it began a rocky transition from dictatorship to democracy three year
```

In example 4 and 5, Taiwan's transition to democracy is positively evaluated, and the opposition's election victory in Croatia is also positively evaluated as a breakthrough in example 5, as can be verified from the extended concordance:

> Their victory was immediately hailed by the Clinton administration and the European Union as **a breakthrough in the difficult transition to democracy of the republics of the former Yugoslavia.**

However, the focus of evaluation in this group of collocates is frequently on difficulties in or problems of transition to democracy:

1. **The threatened internal defection from Karzai comes at a critical time for Afghanistan's troubled transition to democracy,** already a source of concern to the Bush administration, which strongly backs Karzai.

2. In Jakarta, Indonesian officials warned that **international pressure for government action to end the bloodshed** might provoke an anti-Western backlash that could derail the independence vote and **undermine Indonesia's fragile transition to democracy.**

3. **resentment among poor blacks who have grown impatient waiting for the material benefits that were supposed to follow the shift to democracy** seven years ago. Instead, their condition has worsened.

4. …the diplomats warned him that **Ecuador "had to continue on the path of constitutional democracy" or risk facing "isolation, not only from the U.S. or from Europe, but from the whole international community."**

5. **In Russia's unfinished evolution from totalitarianism to democracy, Sergei Pashin** crusaded for a state based on the rule of law…**was fired last week from his position as a judge by the Moscow City Court, marking another in a string of setbacks for one of Russia's premier legal reformers**…

In examples 1, 2, 3 and 5, various ongoing political events which are considered to undermine democratic transition are described. As for example 4, the focus of evaluation is on the outcome of democratic transition, specifically, how it has failed to deliver promised economic benefits. In addition to an evaluation of events in terms of their impact on democracy, in example 2, democracy is used to excuse or defend the government's actions which are negatively viewed by other countries. Below are concordance lines of another collocate, *step(s)*:

```
awed the process, it was a tentative first step to democracy. Amir Jabir, 42,
d fair standards" but was an important step toward democracy. The incumbent pr
ficials said were a first step toward establishing democracy in the nation. I
 some demonstrations, but that's the first step in democracy, " General Garner
  BODY: Iraq took its first faltering step toward democracy today, when a larg
EREFFECTS: MOSUL; In a Tentative Step Toward Iraqi Democracy, a Northern City
uld not last. "This is a serious step backward for democracy in Liechtenstei
resident, Mohammad Khatami, as a great step toward democracy when first vote
      aying. "This is a step toward building real democracy with the rule of
 arraf describes as a major step toward restoring democracy in Pakistan.
```

The scan of the concordance lines shows that elections are the event most frequently described as a step toward achieving democracy. While evaluation of events as a step towards democracy is positive with a sense of importance added by the use of the modifiers such as *serious, great, necessary, critical, major, giant, important, big*, it also conveys a long and uncertain journey-like sense accentuated by the modifiers such as *first, tentative, faltering, halting, limited, small*. Lastly, the collocates *years* and *decade(s)* are also used to highlight difficulties in establishing and furthering democracy with the exception of the example given in bold:

```
 coup that threatened to undo four decades of democracy. The interim gover
     Speight made clear that three decades of democracy in Fiji were at an end.
     undermined the country's four decades of democracy. They have vowed to ke
                   Nearly a decade and a half of democracy have erased the abuses
housing shortage despite nearly eight years of democracy and efforts of the


rty. Despite four years of democracy, Haiti remains the poorest country in
minister. But the years of democracy have been marked by a cavalcade of electi
     a threat, 20 years of democracy have only left Argentines discouraged an
     ebrated seven years of democracy, Mr. Mbeki seemed increasingly uncertain
rs. Despite eight years of democracy, Russia lacks broad-based political part
```

It is of note that causal relations between democracy and economic interest are assumed in the two underlined examples.

The 'commitment', 'threat', and 'transition' groups of collocates discussed above share the following semantic characteristics in construing democracy:

- democracy is a goal or destination to be reached
- democracy involves hardship, and takes commitment and time to achieve.

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The examination of contexts in which these collocates occur has shown that:

- *democracy* is used in the contexts which evaluate how committed or successful countries are in their pursuit of democracy
- *democracy* is used rhetorically as a moral high ground claimed by groups and individuals involved in internal conflicts
- the US is construed as an enforcer of democracy in other countries.

8.3. *Democracy* and collocates referring to countries and regions

As mentioned in the previous section, there is a group of collocates which refer to countries, individuals, different social groups and organisations. They are potential participants in the process of democracy. The analysis in this section will focus on references to countries and regions, which include:

> *china, congolese, iraq, liberians, pakistan, russia, russian, chinese, israel, peru, taiwan, german, indonesia, india, taiwan's, liberia, iran, mexico, iraqi, burmese, serbia, myanmar, kurdish, soviet, israeli, palestinian, turkey, cuba, haiti, venezuela, nigeria, afghanistan, yugoslavia, nepal, rwanda, burma, pakistani, korea, indian, germany, turkish, iraqi, france, egypt, hong kong, british, arab, middle east, latin, america, asia, africa, african, colombia, beijing, european, countries, nation, union*

The names featured in the list indicate which countries and furthermore what kind of countries are typically discussed in the context of democracy. The majority of the countries are either politically volatile (e.g. Pakistan, Israel, Nepal), in the midst of military conflict (e.g. Afghanistan, Iraq, Israel), or openly condemned by the US as undemocratic (e.g. China, Cuba, Burma, Iran). The exceptions to this are Germany and France. In the case of *British*, the scan of the concordance lines reveals that only two out of the total 15 occurrences (line 14, 15) refer

to Britain as a country and British democracy, as can be seen in the concordance lines given below.   It is also the case that references to *Congolese, Liberia, Liberians, Rwanda* are all used to refer to militant rebel groups such as *the Rally for Congolese Democracy, the Congolese Rally for Democracy, Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy, the Movement for Democracy in Liberia*).   *Rwanda* is used in phrases such as *the Rwanda-backed Rally for Congolese Democracy, the Congolese Rally for Democracy which is backed/sponsored by Rwanda*.

1	Briton who was jailed last week for 17 years for pro-democracy activism. The British consul in Yangon
2	2D BRITON JAILED -- A court sentenced a British democracy activist, Rachel Goldwyn, to seven years
3	by Michael Aris, the British husband of the pro-democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Mr. Aris,
4	is a crucial test of Nigeria's trajectory toward democracy. Since its independence from British rule
5	and British perceptions of the role of the police in a democracy. British officers like to point out their
6	public support. In this former British colony, where democracy can seem as quaint a relic as the firing
7	attack as a "brutal assault on the heart of Indian democracy," a sentiment echoed by British, French
8	that a group that helps the opposition, a British pro-democracy group, "gets its dirty money, its dirty
9	in Saudi Arabia, which have no proper respect for democracy." Tariq Ali, a leftist British commentator,
10	supported by several colleagues, as well as by pro-democracy leaders in this former British colony.
11	as the plight and divisions of Italian Christian Democracy, the British Conservative Party and
12	"and what is wrong with that?" Road Toward Democracy British colonialists created Nigeria in
13	tiny moment as a victory in the struggle toward democracy. "The idea," says a British friend who
14	not even the British Parliament, the cradle of democracy, was able to do. We voted with the
15	it, a reference to the riverside bastion of British democracy in London. The arc would straddle the

Overall, it seems that democracy is an issue associated with countries that are in some kind of trouble, whether it be political, economic or social.   An examination of concordance lines of *democracy* in the context of 10 different references to countries suggests that countries frequently receive a negative evaluation in terms of the state of democracy, as can be seen from table 8.2:

Country references	Positive	Negative	Justifying/ hypothetical	Other	Total
Germany/ German	14	25	3	5	47
Indonesia	14	23	5	1	43
India	18	19	1	16	54
Israel	3	22	5	19	49
Latin (America)	2	19	2	0	23
Mexico	24	11	3	2	40
Nigeria	5	20	3	0	28
Pakistan	5	28	10	7	50
Russia	7	37	2	4	50
Turkey	7	24	3	5	39

Table 8.2. Evaluation of 10 countries in the context of *democracy*

In the case of *Russia* and *Pakistan*, 50 randomly selected instances were examined, and for Germany, both the instances of *Germany* and *German* were considered, because *Germany* only occurs 19 times. While the 'other' group includes instances which are irrelevant or non-evaluative (e.g. *India, the world's most populous democracy*), the 'justifying and hypothetical' group includes occurrences in which democracy is used as a justification for one's action (example 1) or presented as something yet to be realised (example 2):

1. General Musharraf is but the latest army officer to **overthrow the government only then to claim that his intent is to make Pakistan safe for democracy,** and Mr. Sharif is not the first ousted leader to face trial and a hanging.

2. "We **want to see the earliest possible restoration of democracy in Pakistan,**" said James P. Rubin, the chief State Department spokesman.

Overall, negative evaluation is far more prominent with the exception of *Mexico* and *India*.

This prompted a further examination of contexts in which *democracy* is negatively evaluated, and it was found that there are different types of contextualisation of *democracy*. Firstly and perhaps most critically, a country's democracy itself is negatively evaluated. In the example above, Russian democracy is appraised as '*secretive*' and '*arcane*':

> As for ordinary Russians, they were left -- once again -- out in the cold
> and in the dark. If the extraordinary events of the last 11 days proved
> anything, it was that **Russia's fledgling democracy is as secretive and
> arcane as the Communist regime** it replaced seven years ago.

In the second example below, political parties in Russia as a democratic institution are negatively viewed as hierarchic and personality-oriented:

> The election process, in fact, is less open than it appears. **Despite
> eight years of democracy, Russia lacks broad-based political parties in
> the Western sense.** Instead, hierarchical movements organized around a
> single politician often dominate.

Side-effects or struggles in the process of establishing democracy are also evident. For instance, in the next example, democracy in Indonesia is negatively evaluated as inadvertently encouraging the Islamists' agenda to implement sharia law:

> Although efforts to enact sharia nationwide remain the subject of much
> dispute and little progress, **its advocates have become some of the most
> vocal players in Indonesia's nascent democracy.** They also have employed
> stealth. Using a new law that gives localities more autonomy, they have
> quietly enacted parts of their agenda in cities and jurisdictions…

In the example below, advancing democracy in Mexico is evaluated as a factor working against the president's commitment to alleviate poverty in the country:

> **Mexico is indeed becoming a democracy,** rather than the autocracy it was. **But this means that Mr. Fox has less power than any previous president. Despite his desire to lift the standard of living, the nation still has one foot in the developed world and the other mired in deep poverty.**

The another type of negative evaluation concerns actions or situations that are deemed to damage or undermine democracy:

1. …**India's leaders have seized on the Sept. 11 attacks to push a draconian new antiterror law that has stirred furious opposition** and promises to dominate the winter session of Parliament that began here this week…**As the world's most populous, heterogeneous and raucous democracy, India** has long grappled with how to balance its citizens' civil liberties with efforts to put down violent insurgencies that have spawned heinous attacks on civilians.

2. "This whole affair is a deep scar in German history," Thierse said. "We all have to work together now to clear up what happened so that we can limit **the damage that this affair has caused for democracy."**

The examples discussed above show that democracy is appraised in connection with certain socio-political issues or situations faced by the countries. While the state of democracy is evaluated, the issues on which appraisal of democracy is based are also highlighted and evaluated. Of note is the fact that the issues in question are not necessarily intrinsically related to democracy, but often to what matters to the US or the country in question. This is well exemplified, for instance, in the case of Taiwan. In 31 out of the total 57 occurrences of

democracy in the context of *Taiwan*, democracy is appraised in terms of the country's relations with China and the issue of independence, as made explicit in one example:

> "Democracy has really come to Taiwan," Mr. Hsieh said, "and **in Taiwan, democracy means independence.** But we must be practical and careful in our dealings with China.

In the next example, promoting of democracy in Pakistan is linked with the issue of curbing terrorism and nuclear proliferation which clearly is of US interest:

> For the Bush administration, **promoting democracy in Pakistan** is an especially ticklish challenge given **the urgent needs of fighting terrorism and preventing the leakage of Pakistani nuclear technology** to such hostile countries as North Korea and Iran.

In the example below, democracy of Colombia is evaluated as being under threat by the drug trade, a problem which directly affects the US as well as Colombia:

> This plan, according to United States officials, is nothing more than a fight against **drugs that are subverting Colombia's democracy and poisoning youths across the United States.**

In the next example, the US financial assistance to Colombia's fight against the drug trade is rhetorically coupled with supporting Colombian democracy:

> The president had asked for $1.2 billion for his two-year plan to **support Colombia's tottering democracy and bolster its military efforts to fight the drug trade by reducing the booming production of cocaine and heroin in Colombia.** The House panel today added $500 million to…

The Colombian example above also illustrates another way of construing democracy in the context of foreign countries, that is, the discourse that spreading democracy is the US mission, as declared by President Bush in the quote given in the introduction section. This discourse is typically used in the context of foreign countries where the US is engaged in direct military or economic intervention. For instance, in 61 instances of *democracy* occurring in the context of Iraq, out of the total 137 occurrences, the US is construed as a builder and facilitator of democracy in Iraq.

25	its long-term ambition of transforming Iraq into a stable democracy. But when Baghdad fell, Garner and his team
26	here say. As American authorities consider how to build democracy in Iraq, they have repeatedly held up this
27	attacks. At least $100 million would have to be spent for democracy-building efforts in Iraq, along with $20 million
28	of a still skeptical world in building the "young democracy" in Iraq. The response was cool, reflecting the
29	Hussein Iraq could be fashioned into some form of democracy. In this view, an Iraq under new governance
30	fuel could ultimately hamper efforts to bring stability and democracy to Iraq. "It is not in the interest of the West for
31	in trying to defeat American efforts to install a working democracy in Iraq. Opponents object to both the
32	said today that it was determined to see an "Islamic democracy" built in Iraq and that it had recently warned
33	flags. While the Bush administration talks of bringing democracy and representative government to Iraq, for
34	Mr. Bush also said that he expected that establishing democracy in Iraq would be hard, and that if Mr. Hussein
35	food, protect the nation's resources, help Iraq build a democracy and then leave. The war has not begun. But

Below are examples of other countries which are represented as a goal of the US mission of spreading democracy:

1. …the people whose support could help advance **the Bush administration's professed mission: to bring democracy to the Arab world**.

2. Since then, **Washington has poured $ 3 billion into Haiti to fortify its nascent democracy** while watching with trepidation as Lavalas, which…

3. **The U.S. Agency for International Development Cuba program has given more than $20 million** to U.S. groups working with the Cuban opposition since 1996 **to help bring about a peaceful transition to democracy.**

4. While the broad outlines of **the $ 41 million U.S. democracy-building campaign in Serbia** are public knowledge…

In example 4, the *democracy-building campaign* refers to the US funding of Serbian opposition's election campaigns to oust Milosevic and bring about regime change. This illustrates well how *democracy* is used to give a positive spin to US actions that serve their own interest.

The US' portrayal of itself as being on a mission to spread democracy abroad is not always viewed favourably by others:

1. Compounding the feelings among Arabs is anger at their own authoritarian governments and **frustration that the United States preaches democracy in the Arab world but backs monarchies and single-party states to its own benefit.**

2. **In Marbella, Moustafa Sherif, 40, an Egyptian financial adviser, said** Americans did not understand the Arab mentality and **could not simply impose an American-style democracy on Iraq.**

3. Moreover, the administration's early embrace of the brief ouster of President Hugo Chavez of Venezuela last month **left some Latin Americans doubting American support for democracy.**

While the US's agenda of promoting democracy in other countries may be perceived as being motivated by self-interest and operating on double standards, the discourse of democracy as the US mission is shown to be a central way of contextualising *democracy* in representing the US relations with foreign countries.

This section has investigated how the keyword *democracy* is used in the context of foreign countries, and the findings include:

- names of countries or regions occurring most frequently with *democracy* typically represent politically or socially unstable countries or regions
- *democracy* is used to evaluate socio-political problems or difficulties faced by the countries
- the issues often reflect the countries' own or US interest, not directly linked with democracy
- the discourse of democracy as a mission construes the US as the facilitator and promoter of democracy and other countries as a goal of the US mission.

In summary, the contextualisation of *democracy* occurring with references to foreign countries projects top-down relations between the US and other countries by which other countries are judged for their political and social problems and the US claims the role of the guardian of democracy to propagate it to other countries.

8.4. *Democracy* and grammatical collocates

So far, the analysis has focused on lexical collocates of *democracy*. The rest of the chapter will discuss the semantic profile of *democracy* built from lexical items occurring with grammatical collocates of the word. Grammatical words usually head a collocate list of any word and the three most frequent collocates of *democracy* are, indeed, ***of***, ***and*** and ***to***. Grammatical words by themselves may not offer much, but act like a net to capture lexical items occurring around them from which a semantic profile of a word can be built. Many individual lexical items do not occur frequently enough to feature on the collocate list, but are semantically linked. Grammatical words can be an effective tool to gather these lexical items,

as will be demonstrated in the subsequent analysis.   This is the main rationale behind choosing

to take the collocates *of*, *and* and *to* as the starting point of analysis in this section

8.4.1. *And* as a collocate of *democracy*

And is the third most frequent collocate of *democracy* after *the* and *of* with the frequency of

2,608, and the most frequently occurring collocate in the R1 position of *democracy* as a node

word with the frequency of 1,008.   In the previous section on the lexical collocates of

democracy, identified is a group of nouns which refer to certain social and economic values

which include:

> *rights, human, freedom, rule, law, peace, elections, market, economic, development, stability, economy, respect, reform, justice, security, tolerance, liberty, markets, reforms, prosperity, openness, capitalism, pluralism, governance, freedoms, liberties, society, Islam, open, free, labor, constitution, trade, independence, expression*

A quick scan of the concordance lines of these collocates shows that they frequently occur with

and, as shown in the concordance examples of *freedom*:

```
ssues, but also to support sweeping calls for democracy and freedom, which was
mely rare occurrence. "Reform, participation, democracy and freedom of speech
nt compared that to "a mission of freedom and democracy in Afghanistan and
, for example, that the Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress is able to op
 in the defense of freedom and the advance of democracy, our two nations will
ch extolling the virtues of freedom, justice, democracy and the rule of law,
ally the dinars in their pockets. Freedom and democracy, it would seem, are
-arm election that illustrates the failure of democracy and political freedom
illing blood, to avoid oppressing freedom and democracy in Iraq," he said. O
ideas, " Mr. Enzi said. "Ideas of freedom and democracy are the keys to
```

These nouns indicate the values associated with *democracy*.   The analysis, therefore, will start from ***and***, looking at the wider range of lexical items referring to values linked to *democracy*, instead of being limited to the lexical collocates above.   The expression *democracy and freedom* is known as a binomial.

Binomials are typically realised by linking two words by coordinating conjunctions such as ***and*** or ***or***.   The words are of the same word class, whether they are nouns, verbs, or adjectives, adverbials.   In her corpus-based study of the binomial, Hatzidaki (1999: 136) defines it as follows: "…a form realizing the formula WORD1 *and* WORD2 is a binomial if its members are syntactically symmetrical, i.e. they belong to the same word class and have the same syntactic function".   The following are the sample concordance lines of the binomial, '*democracy and noun phrase*':

```
ar Ibrahim, raised issues of democracy and openness but was rejected by voters
ental organization promoting democracy and human rights said today that he pla
ut high-flown discussions of democracy and the rule of law seem less relevant
    a Macao where, he said, "democracy and freedom are an irreplaceable realit
 land of relative stability, democracy and prosperity in the former French Wes
 -nation group that promotes democracy and human rights, has adopted a charter
 e. The issues for him were "democracy and decentralization," he said, and whe
 ition that aims at bringing democracy and tolerance to the harsh system of Is
 lefield as demands for more democracy and human rights. For nearly an hour Ay
      lieved Havel would bring democracy and justice, but he really disappointe
```

The samples show what can be called a prototypical binomial such as '*democracy and justice*', '*democracy and freedom*', which fit the formula 'WORD1 and WORD2', but there are also examples such as '*democracy and the rule of law*' which do not exactly fit the criteria outlined above.   The presence of the determiner ***the*** do not strictly satisfy the formula WORD1 and

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WORD2, since the syntactic symmetry is not met.   However, Hatzidaki (ibid: 159) includes as 'expanded binomials' pairs of nouns with determiners which are 'recurrent', and this approach has been followed here.   Another point is that *democracy* is an uncountable noun when it is used to mean a system of government (*Collins COBUILD English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, 2001).   Thus, the formula WORD1 and WORD2 and the syntactic symmetry can not be fully satisfied when the word is coordinated with a singular countable noun in an example such as '*democracy and a market economy'*.   A decision has also been taken to include as expanded binomials pairs of nouns with post-modification such as '*democracy and respect for human rights', 'democracy and open competition for power', 'democracy and privatization of the state-owned newspaper'.*   Hatzidaki includes as 'expanded binomials the pairs in which either or both WORD1 and WORD2 are premodified by adjective or noun modifiers (e.g. *'greater democracy and additional personal freedom', 'democracy and market reforms'*), given that the items are 'associated with one and the same clause constituent', that they are 'placed on the same level of syntactic hierarchy' (ibid: 140).   Halliday and Hasan (1976: 234) also touch on the oneness of the noun groups coordinated by ***and***; 'a coordinate item such as men and women functions as a single whole; it constitutes a single element in the structure of a larger unit, for example, Subject in a clause'.   In the example of '*democracy and market reforms*' below, they are the constituent of the same clausal structure, that is, the object of the verb *build*:

```
ngovernmental organizations, independent newspapers and other efforts to
build democracy and market reforms in Belarus. But U.S. Ambassador
Michael Koza
```

Hatzitaki does not talk about noun pairs with postmodifications as shown earlier.   However it seems reasonable to consider them for discussion, since they behave in the same way as those

with premodifications, as illustrated below:

```
t to take the risk of an open and transparent election," the commentary
said. "Democracy and open competition for power will have to wait for
better days."


e policy" of more engagement with Pyongyang. He also speaks often of
promoting democracy and respect for human rights in the South, which
until the 1980s was
```

In the examples given above, the two members of the first pair, '*democracy and open competition for power*' belong to the same syntactic hierarchy, namely the subject of the predicate, '*will have to wait for better days*', and '*democracy*' and '*respect for human rights*' in the second pair are the constituents of the prepositional phrase, '*of promoting...*' as the object of the predicate, '*promote*'.   To sum up, the further discussion of the binomials will cover not only binomials of the nucleus form made up of the two single nouns, but also expanded binomials which consist of two noun phrases either premodified or postmodified.   This will enable the data to be as inclusive as possible.

The search of *democracy* with **and** occurring within a four word span has yielded 1,462 occurrences of *democracy* with **and** occurring to the right and 914 occurrences of *democracy* with **and** occurring to the left.   The four word span has been chosen not only to include instances such as *democracy and freedom*, but also *less corruption and more democracy* and *the world's sixth-largest economy and a sophisticated Western democracy*.   The search has also identified a small number of instances such as '*democracy, accountability and transparency*', '*democracy, freedom, equality and the law of rule*'.   Strictly speaking, these are multinomials,

but included for analysis. Then, each concordance line has been manually checked and the total of 1,168 instances are identified as binomials.

The next thing to consider is the semantic relations of the noun groups in binomials. Four semantic relationships realised in the binomials are discussed and summarised by Hatzitaki; (near) synonymous, antonymous, complementary, and hyponymic (ibid: 105-114). The current discussion does not concern itself as such with the theoretical issues involved in establishing these semantic relationships. What is of interest here is the potential of binomials to set up aforementioned semantic links between otherwise independent or unrelated concepts or entities when two or more noun phrases are coordinated by *and*.

The word *democracy* is called a banner word (Hermanns, 1994 from Teubert, 2001). Banner words are words which 'positively identify a discourse community and the ideas it stands for' (Teubert, 2001: 49). Jeffries (2003: 532) also remarks that democracy is one of those 'naturalized ideologies' that cannot be questioned. That is, democracy is regarded as universally good. One possible effect of such a banner word occurring in binomials is that words coordinated with the banner word may be rendered positive by association. These points will be recalled shortly in discussion of the results. The full list of noun phrases coordinated with '*democracy*' can be found in Appendix1. The first observation made from the noun groups is that the majority of them represent concepts, values or institutions perceived as positive. Some of the noun phrases represent what constitutes a democratic society such as *rule of law, independent judiciary, free press, civil institutions, constitution, elections*. Some noun phrases represent what can generally be considered essential values in a democratic society such as *human rights, freedom, liberty, equal opportunity, meritocracy, openness,*

pluralism, social justice. *Human rights* as an individual item is the most frequent binomial

partner for *democracy* with a frequency of 144.   These are some of the concordance lines of

'*democracy and freedom*', and '*democracy and human rights*':

```
part that shows clearly that we do not have a democracy and freedom." LOAD-DA
World War II, he told the audience, promoting democracy and freedom would take
g and to emphasize their shared principles of democracy and freedom. "Those a
led, they should use that opportunity "to win democracy and freedom for the co
 with typical bombast, a blow for "pluralism, democracy and freedom." Eventual
rks perceived as criticism of their record on democracy and human rights. In a
 would like to see changed. He is a member of democracy and human rights commi
mmediate reports of progress in disputes over democracy and human rights, in
at Islam is not necessarily incompatible with democracy and human rights. "We
ng that "some Muslims, under the pretext that democracy and human rights are n
```

There are also noun phrases such as:

> *development, economic growth, economic prosperity, economic recovery, economic stability, economic success, economic reforms, peace, prosperity, security, stability*

These noun phrases represent positive values and concepts.   However, what is open to question

is how intrinsically they are connected with the word *democracy*.   Democracy does not

necessarily entail stability or prosperity, and it is also possible to have stability and prosperity

without democracy.   This leads to the second observation that there are different degrees in the

strength of the connection of the noun phrases with *democracy*.   The semantic link between the

word *democracy* and words like *freedom* or *human rights* is relatively transparent and

uncontroversial, whereas the link is less apparent in *democracy* and words like *stability* or

prosperity.   In the binomial relation, coordinated items are construed as one unit, and a

semantic link is assumed between the items.   There are more noun phrases with a weaker or less transparent semantic link with the word *democracy* such as:

> *capitalism, American-style capitalism, wide-open brand of capitalism, economy, economic liberalization, market economy, market reforms, market capitalism, market economy, free market economy, market economics, market forces, free markets, free enterprise, free trade*

These all refer to a capitalist economy.   This group of noun phrases referring to capitalism is the third most frequent after the noun phrases referring to human rights (144 occurrences) and the noun phrases referring to freedom (103 occurrences) with a frequency of 87.   Capitalism is not universally recognised as something desirable or positive.   To some, capitalism is a 'stigma word', the opposite of a banner word, but to some, the word is synonymous with prosperity. What is of interest is the linguistic conflation of the two separate concepts into something intrinsically connected:

```
y as a "result of an incomplete transition to democracy and market reform." Gl
w on projects that promote better government, democracy and market forces -- t
ties in former Soviet states say they support democracy and market economics,
ia's post-Soviet transformation -- to build a democracy and market capitalism
pendent newspapers and other efforts to build democracy and market reforms in
he Communist era. Putin has vowed to preserve democracy and market capitalism
burdened by Russia's unfinished transition to democracy and market capitalism.
Argentines express their dissatisfaction with democracy and market reforms. Tr
```

```
nist Government, has proved his commitment to democracy and capitalism. Poland
hey are making nuts-and-bolts progress toward democracy and capitalism. Budge
states and an ideological belief in spreading democracy and capitalism. "This
ent with the results of just over a decade of democracy and capitalism. Turno
ntry that has made a successful transition to democracy and capitalism. Mr. Bu
 ties to encourage China to greater openness, democracy and capitalism. But as
```

It can be seen from the concordance lines that the co-text of '*democracy and capitalism*' is overwhelmingly positive.   It is construed as something worth pursuing (*efforts to build, transition to, progress toward, encourage, commitment to, spreading*) and protecting (*vowed to preserve, support, promote*).   By being presented as a single grammatical unit, it is argued, not only is a semantic link assumed between the words *democracy* and *capitalism (market capitalism, market economics, market forces, market reforms)*, but also whatever negative associations that may be attached to *capitalism* is overshadowed by being associated with the banner word *democracy*.

In the rest of the section the analysis will look at whether there is any pattern in the way the noun phrases occurring with *democracy* in binomials are associated with names of countries and regions.   1,168 instances of binomials have been examined to identify references to countries and regions in each instance.   The examples of binomials occurring as part of the organisation names were excluded from the count (e.g. *the center for free elections and democracy*).   A total of 951 binomials were found to be used in the context of country and regional references.   The full list of countries and noun phrases occurring with *democracy* as binomials is given in Appendix 2.   The analysis of concordance lines shows:

- as an individual country, Iraq (78), Russia (70), Iran (63), China (43), and Turkey (41) attract most binomials
- collectively, African countries (25) attracts most binomials
- different noun phrases tend to be associated with different country names.

The noun phrases paired with *democracy* represent a variety of values and issues.   The analysis shows that certain values and issues tend to be more closely associated with one country than

others. This is illustrated in the distribution of the noun phrases which are grouped into the five topic areas:

	Freedom	Human rights	Economic issues	Political issues	Social issues
Iraq	18	6	9	27	15
Russia	5	5	27	18	10
Iran	22	12	0	16	12
China	9	11	5	18	1
Turkey	3	11	3	11	13
Africa	1	6	5	14	2

Table 8.3. Countries and the values and issues represented in the binomials of *democracy*

Most notably, the noun phrases in the economic issue category occur most frequently with references to Russia, while no instance of the category is found with references to Iran. The noun phrases occurring with the references to Russia all refer to the capitalist market system:

capitalism, economic reform(s), free market(s), free enterprise systems, free market economy, market economy, market capitalism, market economics, market reform, open market, Western system of market, Western style prosperity

The category of freedom is most frequently associated with Iran and Iraq. What is distinctive about freedom associated with Iran is that it is often elaborated in terms of type of freedom:

personal freedom, political freedoms, western-style freedom, cultural freedoms, individual freedom, social freedom, freedom of expression

This is in contrast with the more general sense of freedom associated with other countries.

Meanwhile, the human rights category is most frequently used in the context of China, Iran, and Turkey. The noun phrases paired with *democracy* seem to represent what is perceived as an issue for the countries by the US. This can be further observed from the noun phrases for the socio-political issues categories introduced next.

The noun phrases representing political issues are a major category for all countries, as can be seen from table 8.4:

Country	Noun phrases
Iraq	*alternation of competing groups, decentralized government, disarmament (2), federalism (2), independent judiciary, Iraqi control of the country, Iraqi self-rule, law, liberation, non-violence (2), peace (2), pre-emption, regime change, representative government, repression, sovereignty, stability (5), totalitarianism*
Russia	*advanced political culture, arms control, dictatorship of law, international ties, law-based state, law, rule of law (2), more guidance from government, political credo, reform, stability, political stability, security, strong state, territorial integrity, vertical power*
Iran	*change, decision-making, dictatorship, elections, improving relations with the US, national pride, political pluralism, respect for law, rule of law (6), rule of people, stability*
China	*free elections, free trade unions (2), jingoism, independence, law (2), rule of law (7), respect for the rule of law, self-government, separation of powers*
Turkey	*country's hopes of joining the EU, integration with Europe, peace (3), rule of law (2), transparency, treatment of its Kurdish minority, treatment of its Kurdish population, Western leaning*
Africa	*dictatorship, elections, good governance (5), good government, peace (3), rule of law, self-reliance, transparency*

Table 8.4. Countries and the noun phrases representing political issues

While some noun phrases are shared, there are noun phrases which are used in the context of particular countries. Table 8.5 below shows the noun phrases classified into the social openness category:

Country	Noun phrases
Iraq	*civil society, civilized values, culture, democratic values, fairness, Islam (2), Islamic traditions, moderation, pluralism, religious tolerance, respect for diversity (2), role for women, tolerance*
Russia	*civil society (3), civic ideal, common values, consolidation of society, free press, openness (2), public spiritedness*
Iran	*civil society, equal rights for women, Islam (5), openness, open competition for ideas, tolerance (3)*
China	*openness*
Turkey	*democratic values, equality, Islam (6), justice, secularism, sharia, tolerance*
Africa	*openness, civil liberty*

Table 8.5. Countries and the noun phrases representing social issues

Again, as argued in the previous section, there is a question of how strong or transparent the semantic link is between *democracy* and the noun phrases introduced here. The noun phrases such as *human rights, freedom, equality, openness, the rule of law, tolerance, dictatorship, totalitarianism* can be said to have a fairly uncontroversial semantic link with *democracy* (the last two nouns as opposing concepts to *democracy*). However, as in the case of references to capitalism and free market discussed in the previous section, some of the noun phrases introduced above are not always perceived as semantically linked to *democracy*. For instance, there is no apparent semantic link between *democracy* and noun groups such as *disarmament, federalism, pre-emption, security, stability, sovereignty, Iraqi self-rule, regime change* occurring in the context of Iraq. These noun groups clearly represent the issues facing Iraq and the US

agenda in Iraq.   Semantically, by being coordinated as a binomial, it is possible that a semantic link is 'manufactured' between *democracy* and these noun phrases, such that democracy is contingent on the things represented by these noun phrases, or democracy brings about these things.   The same point can be made about the noun phrases, *improving relations with the US* (Iran)*, country's hopes of joining the EU, integration with Europe* (Turkey)*, good governance* (Africa)*, independence, self-reliance* (China).

So far, the semantic relations construed between *democracy* and the noun phrases have been complementary.   However, the relations can also be contrasting.   One of the collocates in the social openness category is *Islam*.   By being coordinated with *democracy* as a binomial, *Islam* is contextualised as an opposing concept to *democracy*, as illustrated in the examples below:

1. Turkey is a **stable synthesis of democracy and Islam** in a volatile Islamic world. Many regard it as a model for moderate Muslims and a counterweight to the angry voices of radicals.

2. Now, nearly six months later, this **experiment in reconciling Islam and democracy** is struggling to produce results.

3. But the experiment -- like many of Iran's efforts for the past 22 years to keep the modern world at bay and create a state **blending Islam and democracy** has been only partially successful…

4. And indeed, Iranians today are **experimenting with two volatile chemicals -- Islam and democracy** -- not only in politics but also in the press, the cinema, the bazaar, the mosques, the universities and…

The contexts indicate difficulties involved in combining democracy and Islam.   Turkey being successful at achieving this is presented as an exception in example 1.   In these examples,

Islam is implicitly negatively evaluated by being positioned in opposition to the positively connoted *democracy*.

To sum up, the binomial can potentially create a semantic link between words which, in other contexts, may represent unrelated values and issues.   This is observed from the way in which *democracy* renders semantically positive or negative the noun phrases with which *democracy* is paired.   Meanwhile, the noun phrases reveal what is deemed an issue for the countries by the US or where the US interest is vested in its relations with different foreign countries.

8.4.2. *To* and *of* as a collocate of *democracy*

The majority of *to* and *of* occur to the left of *democracy*, as can be seen from the collocate list in the Patterns mode produced by Wordsmith Tools:

Word	Total	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
OF	2,770	242	251	315	**406**	**922**	0	42	69	127	219	177
TO	2,253	224	239	234	**367**	**468**	0	**156**	111	146	170	138

The analysis will focus on the collocates of *to* and *of* occurring to the left of *democracy*.   For analysis, all the instances of *democracy* occurring with *to* and *of* within a five word span to the left, which is a default word-span in Wordsmith Tools, were extracted from the corpus.   This was done by searching for *democracy* with *to* and *of* as the context word which must be present within the five word span of *democracy*.   The search yielded 1,332 occurrences of *to* and 1,903 occurrences of *of*.   A quick scan through the concordance lines showed a number of examples which were not relevant, such as the following:

```
on from the Council of Europe, a democracy forum that carries substantial mora
 its share of mistakes, but in a democracy you pay for those in elections, not
n of the free flow of ideas in a democracy," he said. Norman J. Pattiz,
```

The five word span may include irrelevant examples shown above, nevertheless it is helpful in catching examples like these in which the distance is more than one word between *democracy* and *of*:

```
1.  to the promotion of human rights, peace and democracy around the world,

2.  as it struggled to establish free markets and democracy at a time of
```

The concordance lines were individually examined and irrelevant examples deleted.   In the case of the collocate *to*, 1,067 occurrences were identified as valid after the deletion of irrelevant examples.   The most frequent grammatical sequences observed are as follows:

- *noun/ adjective/ verb + to + (a, adjective, possessive) + democracy (e.g. transition to an imperfect democracy/ rough road to democracy/ commitment to Russia's nascent democracy/ Pakistan's return to democracy/ returned to democracy in May/ committed to democracy)*

- *verb/ noun + to + verb + (a, adjective, possessive) + democracy (e.g. struggled to build a functioning democracy/ efforts to achieve democracy and peace/ determination to strengthen democracy/ drive to restore democracy/ threat to Peru's fledgling democracy)*

- *adjective + to + verb-ing + (a, adjective, possessive) + democracy (e.g. committed to restoring democracy)*

It is clear that the lexical items occurring with *to* correspond to the lexical collocates categorised

as the 'commitment', 'threat', and 'transition' groups presented in section 8.2. While no separate discussion is needed of the collocates for this reason, it is demonstrated here that taking grammatical collocates as the starting point of analysis can yield similar results to lexical collocates. In the next section, the analysis of the lexical collocates of *of* will demonstrate that this method can also lead to findings which may be otherwise overlooked.

The collocate *of* is the second most frequent collocate of *democracy* after ***the***. As stated earlier, the majority of *of* occurs to the left of *democracy* as a node word, therefore the analysis here has been limited to the instances of *democracy* with *of* occurring to the left. The search was set to look for all the occurrences of *democracy* in the context *of* within a five word span to the left. The search resulted in a total of 1,903 concordance lines. As expected, the inspection of each line identified quite a number of irrelevant examples. The elimination of these examples left a total of 1,257 examples for further analysis. The examination shows that four grammatical sequences occur in the examples, and they are:

- *noun + of + (adjective/ noun/ determiner) + democracy (e.g. fruits of our current democracy, destruction of Chilean democracy)*

- *noun + of + verb-ing + (adjective/ noun/ determiner) + democracy (e.g. mission of bringing democracy, task of building a real democracy)*

- *adjective + of + (adjective/ noun/ determiner) + democracy (e.g. proud of our democracy, wary of democracy)*

- *verb + of + (adjective/ noun/ determiner) + democracy (e.g. smacks of democracy, have dreamt of democracy)*

The majority of the instances belong to the first grammatical sequence. Few examples belong

to the third and fourth categories.   The verbs occurring in the second grammatical sequence (42 instances) include *promoting, bringing, building, creating, developing, supporting, solidifying, teaching, adopting, restoring, protecting, ushering, undermining, destabilizing, kidnapping, scorning*.   This semantic pattern of construing *democracy* as a goal of 'promoting' and 'undermining' has been discussed in section 8.2 on the lexical collocates of *democracy*, and therefore will not be pursued any further in this section.   The analysis will focus on the first grammatical sequence, ***noun + of + (adjective/ noun/ determiner) + democracy***, in particular, noun phrases preceding ***of***.   The remainder of the section will examine a selection of semantic categories drawn from the noun phrases occurring in the sequence.

8.4.2.1. *Democracy* as an actor and a goal of nominalisations

To begin, it is noted that many of the nouns are nominalisations.   This is when verbs and adjectives are reworded as noun phrases (Halliday, 2004: 656).   When the nouns were closely examined, certain semantic patterns emerged revealing a particular way in which *democracy* is construed in the corpus.   The nouns can be unpacked and 'de-nominalised' into possible corresponding verbs.   For example, *arrival* in *arrival of democracy* can be de-nominalised into the verb *arrive*.   This exercise is, by no means clear-cut or precise.   What is attempted here is to reconstruct the underlying semantic relationship between *democracy* and the nominalisations followed by ***of***.   Below are the nominalised processes which construe *democracy* as an actor (167 occurrences):

> *achievements, advance, advent, appeal, arrival, awakening, beginning(s), breaking point, birth, bloom, byproduct, challenges, clamor, clamor and jostle, dawn, death, decline, deepening, demands, demise, development, emergence, end, evolution, expansion, failings, failure(s), fall, faltering, flowering, formation, fruition, fruits, fumes, functioning, give-and-take, growth, intersection, manifestation, march, maturation, maturing, growing maturity, outbreak, outcome, pace, progress, prosperity, re-emergence, requirements, return, rise, root(s), rough and tumble, spread, success, surge, surprises, threat, touch, triumph(s), unraveling, urges, victory, wave, winds, workings*

Firstly, democracy is metaphorised by these nominalisations. The semantic theme that runs through the majority of the noun groups is that democracy is 'cyclic'. The noun phrases such as ***birth, growth, development, maturing, maturation, growing maturity, roots, bloom, flowering, fruition, fruits, evolution, fumes (in decomposition) death, demise*** metaphorically construe democracy as a kind of a living entity that goes through a cycle of life, growth, and death. Meanwhile, the following group of noun phrases construes *democracy* as a historical cycle which has a beginning and an end, rises and falls, and prospers and declines:

> *advent, arrival, awakening, beginning, dawn, rise, emergence, formation, return, re-emergence, manifestation*; *achievements, advance, pace, progress, deepening, spread, expansion, prosperity, march, success, triumph(s), victory*; *decline, fall, end*

Metaphorisation of democracy as a cyclic entity gives a sense of inevitability and destiny that it is something bound to happen and to be embraced. The nouns ***outbreak, surge, wave, winds*** also add to a sense of inevitability that cannot be stopped. In section 8.3, it was found that democracy is metaphorised as a destination to be reached. This is conceptually a linear process, but both the cyclic and linear representations share the sense of inevitability. It was also found that the defining semantic characteristic of the metaphorical construal of *democracy*

as a destination is the sense of difficulty getting to a destination, expressed by a group of modifiers (e.g. *tenuous, uneasy, turbulent, difficult, fragile, decadelong*). This sense of difficulty is also conveyed in a group of nominalisations which are *byproduct, challenges, demands, give-and-take, requirements, urges, threat, surprises, clamor, clamor and jostle, rough and tumble, breaking point, faltering, unraveling, failure(s), failing(s).* The representation of democracy as a cycle of life and history, and a destination seems to suggest that democracy is a historical and natural inevitability, and countries have no option but to embrace and pursue it, despite the difficulties.

At the same time, *democracy* is construed as a goal of nominalised processes (236 instances) such as:

<div style="border:1px solid">

abuses, advocacy, affirmation, betrayal, combination, consolidation, creation, declaration, defense, demonstration, destruction, discussions, dispensation, display, disruption, dissemination, distrust, dream, embrace, enhancement, erosion, eschew, establishment, exercise, expectations, export, expression, extension, furthering, grasp, guarantee, imposition, infringement, integration, introduction, lack, loss, misunderstanding, mixture, mobilization, mockery, mugging, murder, nurturing, preservation, proof, promises, promotion, pursuit, re-establishment, reinforcement, reinstitution, reintroduction, restoration, revival, robbery, rollback, search, show, stifling, strengthening, support, suppression, surveys, suspension, sustenance, synthesis, talk(s), taste, test, threat, throttling, travesty, undermining, understanding, view, violation

</div>

These noun phrases construe *democracy* as a goal and roughly fall into four meaning groups:

- understanding and embracing: *grasp, misunderstanding, understanding, dream, embrace, expectations, taste, discussions, talk(s), view*

- establishing and proving: *creation, declaration, dispensation, establishment, integration, introduction, pursuit, re-establishment, reinstitution, reintroduction, restoration, search; combination, exercise, expression, mixture, synthesis; demonstration, display, proof, show*

- protecting and promoting: *advocacy, affirmation, consolidation, defense, dissemination, enhancement, export, extension, furthering, guarantee, imposition, mobilization, nurturing, preservation, promises, promotion, reinforcement, reintroduction, restoration, revival, strengthening, support, sustenance*

- undermining: *abuses, betrayal, destruction, distrust, disruption, erosion, eschewing, infringement, loss, mockery, mugging, murder, robbery, stifling, suspension, suppression, test, threat, throttling, travesty, undermining, violation*.

As a goal, *democracy* is construed as a beneficiary of conflicting acts of protecting and undermining. The semantic category of 'undermining' also corresponds to the 'threat' category of lexical collocates (e.g. ***threat, blow, danger***) discussed in section 8.2.

8.4.2.2. *Attributes, principles, style* of *democracy*

This section will examine other noun phrases occurring with ***of*** and their contextualisation. The first group of lexical items is represented by collocates such as ***façade, trappings, appearance***. The items included in the group may not be synonymous in a strict sense, but they are used in the contexts which concern one specific aspect of democracy in countries. A sample of concordance lines is given below:

```
 nd Uzbekistan, even the symbolic attributes of democracy are missing; elsewh
any exercise so plainly lacking in the basics of democracy as practiced in oth
that will preserve the formal characteristics of democracy, and will most like
pposition newspapers, but it's just the decor of democracy, not the real thing
```

```
     and better access to education. ELEMENTS OF DEMOCRACY Expected effects Pr
e Warsaw Declaration, will stipulate elements of democracy: free and fair elec
ent in a country in which, despite the facade of democracy, every president s
s. The system afforded only the barest facade of democracy and was a constant
     an interview. "It's a crack in the facade of democracy in this country." "
ing autocratically while maintaining a facade of democracy. And there is a wid
```

The nouns phrases (47 occurrences) in this group include:

> *ingredient(s), appearance, atmospherics, attributes, basics, formal characteristics, décor, elements, façade, form, public forms, hardware, institutions, label, mask, suit, semblance, trappings, veneer*

When looked at closely, it becomes clear that the contexts in which these words occur are mainly evaluations of how democratic or undemocratic countries are, in terms of their democratic institutions.   In the following examples, countries are viewed as having no or only nominal democratic institutions:

1. ```
   some former Soviet republics in Central Asia, such as Turkmenistan and
   Uzbekistan, even the symbolic attributes of democracy are missing;
   elsewhere the opposition is allowed to exist but is too weak to win.
   Outside the
   ```

2. ```
   seven years. On the face of it, it might seem hard to believe that any
   exercise so plainly lacking in the basics of democracy as practiced in
   other parts of the world -- no opposition candidate, no election
   campaign, no public
   ```

3. ```
   which he would propose a broad change in the Mexican electoral system.
   Mexicans had long settled for the appearance of democracy. During
   decades when the PRI was untouchable, it held ritual elections every
   six years. When real
   ```

The other contexts evaluate an entrenched authoritarian state in certain countries, despite the apparent presence of democratic institutions:

1. Europe -- maybe its last for a long time -- is in danger of slipping away. **The trappings of a Western democracy are all in place.** Ukraine can hold free elections with the best of them, and its leaders say they are committed to laissez-faire capitalism and enlightened self-rule. **But too often, it is a shell concealing an Eurasian core. Outsiders say the bureaucracy still shows its Soviet genealogy.** Communist legislators block the most crucial reforms.

2. …majority rule. The aim of this system, they say, is to allow Hong Kong **all the outward trappings of representative democracy**--polling booths, competing parties, breathless media coverage, candidates pressing the flesh--**while ensuring that the prosperous enclave remains firmly in the grip of Communist Party leaders in Beijing.** Since Beijing reclaimed sovereignty over…

3. …accuse of failing to understand them. But **beneath the veneer of Turkish democracy lies a society where the generals, who have seized power three times, still hold sway.** Freedom of expression is restricted to muzzle Kurdish separatists and anyone who tries to mix religion with politics, while torture remains an accepted weapon of the security forces in certain circumstances.

The second group of noun phrases for discussion are *aspect(s), brand, concept(s), definition(s), form(s), idea(s), kind, meaning(s), mode(s), nature, notion(s), system, style, type, version, vision* (63 instances). This seemingly disparate set of nouns shares the contexts concerned with the issue of how democracy is interpreted and adapted. Apart from the collocate *style* which has already been discussed in section 8.2, the identification of the other collocates demonstrates how grammatical words can capture what can be left out when the analysis

focuses only on high frequency individual lexical collocates.   Below is a sample of extended

concordance lines:

1. **Chinese leaders promote the concept of democracy mainly as a way of enhancing the credibility of the Communist Party and fighting corruption by low- and middle-ranking officials.** Mr. Hu almost certainly does not plan to push Western-style democracy…

2. seems to be supporting Putin. In taking on the Communists now, **Putin seems to be fine-tuning even further his often-articulated idea of a "managed democracy,"** in which opposition seems to be tolerated only as long as it is controllable. "Putin didn't need them anymore," said…

3. When General Musharraf describes **his vision of "genuine democracy," it is democracy through a military looking glass.** "I believe in unity of command," he said at a news conference.

4. irresponsible," she fumed. "They are abrogating their responsibility." Shida is not alone in her frustration. Japan approaches a national election Sunday as **its own version of democracy, one that avoids debate on many issues, clings to the status quo and relegates the public to a supporting role**, many Japanese…

5. Mr. Museveni, 56, has been lecturing not only students but all Ugandans on **his version of democracy**…The Movement is what Mr. Museveni calls a no-party state…**His argument is that political parties divide Ugandans by ethnicity and religion -- and that those splits gave rise to leaders like Idi Amin and Milton Obote, whose reigns ended the lives of tens**…

The countries in question are China (1), Russia (2), Pakistan (3), Japan (4), and Uganda (5).

They are all negatively evaluated for appropriating and interpreting democracy to suit their own

interests and agendas.   Another issue is a tension between the US or Western interpretation of

what democracy should be and other countries' resistance to it, as noted in discussion of the

collocate *style* in section 8.2.   This is exemplified in the examples below:

1. Even **Mr. Bush's efforts to paint a grand vision of democracy in the Arab world, starting in Iraq, backfired**, with Mr. de Villepin gaining support by warning that **the United States had dreams of remaking the Middle East in its own image of democracy.**

2. Mass action by the people is the truest form of democracy, Philippines-style. "Democracy is a work in progress," said Paulynn Sicam, editor of Cyber Dyaryo, an internet magazine. **"Don't judge us by a standard version of democracy like you learn in the States.**

Separately, the nouns *concept(s), idea(s), nature, aspect(s), definition(s), meaning(s), notion(s)* are also used to evaluate lack of understanding of democracy by people in other countries.   In example 1, it is Congolese people who are described as having little understanding of democracy, while indigenous Arab organisations are described as needing to be 'trained' to understand democracy in example 2:

1. **Much of the citizenry, illiterate and spread out in jungle as vast as all of Western Europe, is somewhat removed from the concept of democracy.** "We don't have experience with real elections," said Dr. Mbwebwe Kabamba, the head…

2. worked for the United States Agency for International Development in the early 1990's, has also devised **projects that call for training Arab nongovernmental organizations in aspects of democracy and the rule of law.** But how open…

The next group of noun phrases includes *values, ideal(s), logic, tenet(s), principle(s), language, message, precepts, rules* (97 occurrences).   An examination of the concordance lines suggests that the contexts centre around the issue of whether democratic principles or values are accepted

and observed:

1. ers **have yet to fully embrace** the principles of democracy, including a free
2. rope and Russia **embraced** the same principles of democracy. "All countries o
3. showed he **will not compromise** the principles of democracy by letting terror
4. ian, said: "Everyone **agrees on** the principles of democracy and freedom, but
5. f Erbil this week to **affirm** common principles of democracy and pluralism in

6. incumbent, accusing him of **flouting** the rules of democracy. "His attitude i
7. r faction, the aim is to **strengthen** the rules of democracy." Even with such
8. red today that **"according to** elementary rules of democracy, Haider's party
9. leaders. "Here's a guy **breaking** all the rules of democracy," Mr. Mbeki said,
10. the vote, and **according to** elementary rules of democracy, he should be ab

A closer look at the extended contexts of the examples shows that there are two patterns of contextualisation.   In the first context, as shown by the concordance lines above, countries or their leaders are evaluated on the issue of how fully they have embraced democracy:

1. Jiri Pehe, a political scientist at New York University in Prague, says that 12 years after the fall of Communism, **many of the country's leaders have yet to fully embrace the principles of democracy, including a free press.** "This is a semiliberal corrupt regime, and the antidemocratic attitudes that were bred into people during Communism…

2. **The group called on Syria to join the world's "common language" of democracy by expanding civil liberties, liberalizing press freedoms and releasing political prisoners**, whose number they estimated at 1,500.

3. a group of international observer from the nonpartisan National Democratic Institute for International Affairs sharply criticized General Musharraf, saying that he awarded himself near-absolute powers in August, and that **his selective bans on less-educated** -- and otherwise unfit candidates -- **flouted international norms of democracy.**

The second pattern of contextualisation is rhetorical, rather than evaluative, in that the issue of advocating democratic principles is used to justify one's actions as morally superior or necessary:

1. [the Northern Irish Unionists leader David Trimble has refused to work with the Republican party Sinn Féin]

   Ulster Unionists said Mr. Trimble's stature had risen because **he had stood up to Mr. Blair and to President Clinton, who had called him during the past week urging him to take the risk for peace. "He showed he will not compromise the principles of democracy by letting terrorists sit in government,"** said Arnold…

2. [the Indonesian military has launched bloody crack down on East Timor's independence movement]

   he Pentagon counters that on the contrary **this is the moment to educate Indonesian officers and their units in the principles of democracy and respect for human rights,** and to nurture crucial personal relations with them.

3. The leader of the Shiite Dawa Party, Ibrahim Jafari, and Adnan Pachachi, a leading Iraqi diplomat of the 1960's, traveled to the Kurdish stronghold of Erbil this week **to affirm common principles of democracy and pluralism in the formation of a new Iraq.**

In example 2, the promotion of democratic principles and human rights is presented as the US military's justification for their continued involvement with the Indonesian military. Again, the rhetoric of promoting democracy abroad is employed to dress up the US' actions. In example 3, the adjective ***common*** hints at the religiously and ethnically divided political reality of Iraq. The act of affirming democracy (and federalism) as a common value can be interpreted as a rhetorical attempt to bridge the division.

What is implicitly assumed in these examples is that it is universally good to embrace and promote democratic principles and values, and every country should do this. Interestingly, in the following example, the former International Olympic Committee head's insistence that maintaining unity takes priority over following '***the rules of democracy'*** goes against this assumption, and the modal expression '***cannot afford to'*** is used to hedge the proposition:

> ```
> Samaranch has long insisted the Olympic movement cannot afford to follow
> the rules of democracy and under his 18-year tenure has strived to
> maintain unity above all else -- a dictate that IOC minions have meekly
> followed.
> ```

8.4.2.3. *Beacon, example, model* of *democracy*

The last group of nouns to discuss are ***beacon, model, example, bastion(s), bedrock, inspiring forces, lone light, showcase, stalwart, anchor, promoter, outpost, defender, promoter, supporter, standard bearer*** (30 instances). Here are some of the instances in which these noun phrases occur:

> ```
> 1.  rise of Iraq as an example of moderation and democracy and prosperity
> 2.   praised it as a "great example of embryonic democracy," ethnic Kurds
> 3.   transform Kosovo into a model of multiparty democracy that settles a
> 4.  in Arab countries that are hardly bastions of democracy and liberty.
> 5.  the continent, sits South Africa, the beacon of democracy and the unco
> 6.  Pakistan can fulfill its destiny as a beacon of democracy in the Muslim
> 7.  ould be part of an effort to create a beacon of democracy in the Middle
> 8.  vent about trying to remake Iraq as a beacon of democracy and a country
> 9.  merican slaves in 1847, was once the bedrock of democracy in Africa, he
> 10. ATO to other Islamic countries as an example of democracy. After For
> ```

Countries are represented in three ways by this group of nouns.   There are examples of positive evaluation of countries' current state of democracy, as in the concordance line 4 and 10.   South Africa and Turkey are described as *a beacon of democracy* and *an example of democracy* respectively.   Below is the expanded concordance line 10.

```
regard Turkey as a friend and a partner against terrorism, the United
States continues to hold up the only Muslim-majority member of NATO to
other Islamic countries as an example of democracy. After Foreign Minist…
```

However, more frequently, as in the concordance line 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, a country's status as a model democracy is presented as a goal that is yet to be achieved and that needs to be worked on.   A longer stretch of the concordance line 1 is given below:

```
United States forces there would not deter him from what he cast as a
lengthy mission to reduce threats from the Middle East. "The rise of Iraq
as an example of moderation and democracy and prosperity is a massive and
long-term undertaking," Mr. Bush said in a speech to military personnel…
```

Next, some countries' status as a model democracy is negatively appraised in terms of their current state of democracy, as illustrated in the following three examples including the extended concordance line 9:

1. personnel carriers and clutching assault weapons. **Liberia**, founded for freed American slaves in 1847, **was once the bedrock of democracy in Africa**, he said. "And now this is the bitter pill we must swallow as Africa's oldest republic,

2. they will come." **Japan is a stalwart of democracy in Asia, but its voters are vastly cynical about politics, and generally uninterested in their elected representatives.** "I don't trust politicians," said

```
3.  dissolution of the national assembly dominated by the Socialist Party.
    While Senegal is considered a model of democracy in Africa, no
    opposition party has ever managed to win power. President Diouf has
    held power for 20 years, and
```

The phrase *bastions of democracy* is used to emphasise how undemocratic countries in question are:

```
    add, Israel's perceived shortcomings pale in comparison with violations
    in Arab countries that are hardly bastions of democracy and liberty. Even
    so, Mr. Sharon clearly takes the case seriously, and his government has…
```

Lastly, in the case of *defender, promoter, supporter, standard bearer*, they all refer to the US by non-American speakers and carry negative evaluation on the US actions essentially as hypocritical and self-interested:

```
1.  "Now can the U.S., the self-styled standard-bearer of democracy and
    freedom in the world, question the integrity of the Egyptian
    elections?" wrote Egyptian editor Samir Ragab. "Absolutely not."
```

```
2.  "It appears that America, the 'defender of democracy,' is set to
    endorse the questioned legitimacy of Obasanjo with this planned visit,"
    according to an editorial in the Daily Trust, a Nigerian newspaper.
```

8.5. Conclusion

As mentioned in introduction, the fact that *democracy* comes up as the keyword of the corpus can be interpreted as a quantitative indication of the importance of democracy in the US media discourse on foreign countries.   This prompted to examine the use of *democracy* in the corpus.

The analysis has focused on the semantic and contextual patterns of lexical collocates of *democracy* and other lexical items occurring with the grammatical collocates **and**, **of** and **to**. This revealed the recurrent semantic patterns in the contextualisation of *democracy,* which can be summed up as follows:

- *democracy* is used as an evaluative tool to discuss political, social, and economic problems of foreign countries
- *democracy* is used as a rhetorical tool to justify and defend actions taken by countries and leaders
- countries are construed as continually attempting, or being under pressure to build democracy, but often failing or unwilling to do so, while the US is portrayed as a facilitator and guardian of democracy, even though *democracy* is often rhetorically employed to mask its own self interest.

With regard to methodology, firstly, it is worth mentioning that the use of grammatical collocates has proved effective in identifying lexical items which are not individually high frequency, but share certain semantic and contextual aspects with each other. Secondly, the analysis has focused on the collocational patterns of the word *democracy* and how it is contextualised in the corpus of foreign news reports, a particular text type rather than how *democracy* is used in the context of a specific country. Although section 8.3 has examined the use of *democracy* in the context of the references to a number of individual countries and regions, no individual country has been discussed in depth. Alternatively, a subset of concordance lines of *democracy* in the context of, for instance, *South Korea* could have been extracted and analysed. The Context word function of Wordsmith Tools can be employed for the extracting of the concordance lines. Further, a comparative study could be carried out in order to see how *democracy* is used in a corpus of South Korean newspapers, to continue with the same example. Although no explicit distinction is attempted, many of the instances

discussed in the main section are uttered by speakers from other countries, and therefore represent non-American views of democracy. This is partly observed from the collocational patterns which convey conflicting views on the interpretation and application of democracy and the perception that the US promotion of democracy in other countries is an imposition or an act of self-interest. It would be interesting to see whether or how much of the findings in the current discussion is reflected in South Korean press and whether there may be any semantic and contextual pattern in talking about democracy unique to the South Korean context.

Finally, a considerable proportion of analysis of *democracy* involved looking at extended stretches of texts because it was felt that a purely quantitative approach would not be adequate for establishing the patterns in which *democracy* is contextualised. The approach taken throughout this thesis has been intended to complement and expand on the results of the quantitative analysis with the qualitative analysis. The difficulty, however, is that only a limited amount of data could be processed by manual analysis given the time constraints. In practical terms, it was not viable to manually analyse all instances of *democracy* in detail. Instead, the qualitative analysis was carried out on a selected group of collocates. As a result, it was not possible to make any generalisation about the frequency of different patterns of the contextualisation of *democracy*. This illustrates difficulties involved in using a relatively large corpus when the analysis requires a closer look at the contexts. Nonetheless, it is argued that the analysis has been enriched by the selective use of the qualitative methods.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

9.1. Introduction

This chapter begins by summarising the main findings of the study. I will then discuss how successful the thesis has been in meeting the methodological objectives set out in Chapter 2. Lastly, I will suggest several areas for future research.

9.2. Findings and themes

This study investigated various aspects of the representation of foreign countries in the US press. While this thesis has been eclectic in terms of what is analysed and the methodology employed for analysis, each of the findings contributed to the two general themes of 'asymmetry' and 'stereotype'. Firstly, the results are consistent in demonstrating the degree of asymmetry in the representation of foreign countries in the US press. It is not surprising to find the theme of asymmetry emerging in a discussion of the representation of foreign countries. Asymmetry is a common theme and is talked about in other work on newspapers and representation. For instance, studies on racism, immigration, or discrimination against women or older people are all concerned with asymmetry in power. What makes the current study different is partly the level of detail in the analysis which was achieved by the use of the incremental collocations method (see Chapter 4). The study also found that asymmetry is not absolute, but proportional, and demonstrated the degree to which this is the case by the use of semantic groups and frequency information which is not available to research which

does not use a corpus or is based on a relatively small-sized corpus. Before I go on to discuss this in more detail, I shall summarise the findings and discuss how the findings reflect the theme of asymmetry. The main findings are as follows:

1. Chapter 4 analysed the premodifiers of the four keywords *country, countries, nation* and *nations*. It was found that classification can imply evaluation even though its apparent function is to describe factual aspects about countries such as size, produce, or religion of a country. It was also found that the premodifiers which describe negative aspects of countries are invariably more lexically varied than those which describe positive aspects of countries and tend to be over-lexicalised

2. Chapter 5 analysed the collocates of *Arab leaders* and *European/EU/European Union leaders* with a focus on the process types represented by these collocates. The verbal and mental processes were identified as the two most frequent types for both groups of leaders. It was found that Arab leaders are construed more as vocally demanding and reactionary, while European leaders are construed more as debaters and decision-makers

3. Chapter 6 analysed the verbs of saying occurring as collocates of *Blair* and *Hussein*. As a sayer, Tony Blair is attributed with a wider range of verbs of sayings and construed as more articulate and statesmanlike. On the other hand, Saddam Hussein is attributed with a relatively limited range of verbs of saying and construed as a more dictatorial and single-facetted

4. Chapter 7 analysed the two very frequent groups of collocates of the keywords *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*: the lexical collocate *said* and a set of six grammatical collocates (*from, for, in, of, to, with*). The analysis found the common theme of collectivisation of different degrees in the way the four country names are used. As a sayer, North Korea is represented as the most collectivised followed by China, while Japan is represented as the most individualised. Meanwhile, collocating with the grammatical words, *North Korea* occurs most frequently as a collectivised beneficiary followed by *China*, while *South Korea* and *Japan* occur most frequently as geographical location

5. Chapter 8 analysed the collocational patterns of the keyword *democracy*. It was found that *democracy* is used to evaluate usually negative economic and political

situations of countries and to construct a positive image of the US as a promoter and supporter of democracy in its relations with other countries.

Asymmetry in the economic and political status of countries is reflected in the premodifiers. The view of the world transmitted in the classification of countries is polarised and hierarchic. Asymmetry also is characteristic in the representation of countries and leaders as a sayer. The leaders of the West, European leaders and the then British Prime Minister Tony Blair are first and foremost given more voice than Arab leaders and the then Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in the corpus. They are construed as more articulate and balanced speakers, as observed from a wider range of the verbs of saying and their semantic functions attributed to the leaders. Furthermore, Japan and South Korea which are regarded as friendly with the US are given more voice than North Korea and China. North Korea is more frequently represented as a topic than as a sayer. Lastly, asymmetry can also be observed from the collocational patterns of *democracy*. Asymmetry of power is set up between the countries which are construed as failing to or yet to achieve democracy and the US which is construed as being engaged in promoting and supporting democracy in these countries. The presupposition is that the US is in a superior position to define what democracy is and appraise how it should be implemented in other countries. This is found to be a cause of contention and challenged, as illustrated in the contexts in which a group of collocates of *democracy* occurs such as *aspect(s), brand, concept(s), definition(s), form(s), idea(s), kind, meaning(s), mode(s), nature, notion(s), system, style, type, version, vision* (See section 8.4.2).

Secondly, the theme of stereotype emerges from the various analyses. Fowler (1991:17) defines stereotypes as 'socially constructed mental pigeon-holes into which we slot events and individuals in order to make them comprehensible', and points out how news values interact with stereotypes:

The formation of news events, and the formation of new values, is in fact a reciprocal, dialectical process in which stereotypes are the currency of negotiation. The occurrence of a striking event will reinforce a stereotype, and, reciprocally, the firmer the stereotype, the more likely are relevant events to become news.

It was found that some countries are consistently negatively represented. In the analysis of the premodifiers, for example, countries in Africa are classified in terms of poverty and instability, and Muslim countries are described as undemocratic and a source of instability, posing a risk to the West. The findings seem to conform to and therefore potentially reinforce the existing stereotypes of African and Muslim countries. In the analysis of grammatical collocates of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea*, it was shown that North Korea is construed both as an aggressor and as a beneficiary of financial aid. This way of representing North Korea was also found in the corpus of the South Korea press (see section 4.4 and 4.5 of Chapter 4 in Bang, 2003). It seems that the depiction of North Korea as an aggressor and a beneficiary is a dominant way of representing the country in the mainstream US and South Korean press, adding to the stereotype of North Korea, the 'isolated, communist, rogue' country (see section 4.3.3 in Chapter 4). Meanwhile, the analysis of the representation of the speech of Tony Blair and Saddam Hussein demonstrated how stereotyping might be achieved in a more subtle way over time (Bang and Hunston, 2008). The status of the two men as the leader was markedly different. Initially, it was expected that the construal of the two leaders as a sayer would reflect that. This was the case partly in terms of the differences in the overall frequency of the verbs of saying occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein*. It was found that Blair is represented as a speaker six times more frequently than Hussein is. This kind of overall frequency differences can only be observed from the use of a relatively large corpus, and is evidence of how a pattern of representation is cumulatively built over time and across texts. On the other hand, the semantic grouping of the verbs of saying attributed to Blair and Hussein showed that there

was a great deal of similarity as well as difference in the semantic functions of the verbs occurring with *Blair* and *Hussein*. The only semantic group which was not shared is the 'defending' category (e.g. DEFEND, JUSTIFY, DELIVER A DEFENSE OF) and this occurs exclusively with *Blair*. This suggests that stereotypes may be built cumulatively in the newspapers such as *the Washington Post* and the *New York Times* which claim to offer a balanced view of the world (Bang and Hunston, 2008).

9.3. Reflection on methodology

In the methodology chapter, the three methodological objectives of the study were outlined as follows:

1. to find out how a general topic such as the representation of foreign countries can be investigated using corpus-methods
2. to find out how far a bottom-up approach can be taken in analysis and interpretation
3. to find out if cumulative effects of language use can be observed in the way countries are represented in the corpus.

In the light of the findings summarised in the previous section, the overall assessment is that these objectives are successfully met to a large extent. Adapting the corpus-infused approach, the study has shown that:

1. a general topic can be refined into more specific items for analysis without the analyst pre-determining them
2. items chosen for analysis can be analysed with a minimum set of pre-analysis assumptions
3. a relatively balanced interpretation can be achieved by framing and checking it against the findings from the corpus.

There is no single corpus linguistics method. The approach taken in the current study was shaped by the decision to investigate a general and open-ended topic. This decision led to the next decision that the corpus would be built in the way that ensured a random selection of articles, and therefore would minimise the analyst's preconceptions of the corpus. This let the research questions and methodology develop from the corpus. However, this is not to say that I approached the corpus without any expectations or assumptions. Any critical study of language comes with certain preconceptions and expectations, and a purely corpus-driven approach may be a myth. For instance, the topic of the representation of the speech of Tony Blair and Saddam Hussein in Chapter 6 was not something I chose to analyse before the corpus was built. The topic emerged from the observation of the keyword list and collocate list. At the same time, my decision to analyse the representation of the two leaders was informed by my assumptions about their status as a leader and relations with the US. In this sense, the methodology of this study is *corpus-infused* rather than either corpus-based or corpus-driven.

The study's goal of observing the cumulative effects of language use has been partially successful. The analysis of the representation of the speech of Tony Blair and Saddam Hussein showed how the use of the verbs of saying may cumulatively contribute to stereotyping of the two leaders. Similarly, the analysis of the verbal and mental processes attributed to Arab and European leaders indicated a cumulative aspect of the construal of the two groups of leaders. The analysis focused on the semantic functions shared by individual lexical items. As acknowledged in the methodology chapter, there may be objections to the use of semantic grouping. However, the semantic grouping was employed initially because it was found that lexical words often did not occur frequently enough to form a recurrent pattern, even though the corpus was relatively large. Moreover, each instance of individual words is meaningful in that it contributes to the forming of semantic patterns which construe

people or events in a certain way.

While the results gained from the use of semantic groupings were productive and revealing, the initial reason for using them reflects what seems to be inherent difficulties in manually analysing a large-sized untagged corpus. On the one hand, the amount of data to deal with was somewhat overwhelming, and the analysis was time-consuming and laborious especially when it involved the examination of longer stretches of text. On the other hand, at the same time, not enough data was available in some cases. This thesis has been an experiment in methodology as much as it has been answering the question of how foreign countries are represented in the US press. Despite its limitations, I believe that this bottom-up discovery approach has served well answering the question overall.

9.4. Suggestions for future research

There are two areas worthwhile earmarking for future research. The first area is language change traced through a diachronic corpus. Corpus methods suit a diachronic study. For example, the frequency of words across different time periods can be automatically produced and compared (e.g. Johnson et al, 2003, Toolan, 2003). Meaning change can be observed by comparing the collocations of given words in different time periods (e.g. Sigley and Holmes, 2001, Teubert, 2001). According to Teubert (2007) who proposes diachronic corpus linguistics, collocations are where 'units of meaning' can be found and the aim of corpus linguistics should be to examine how meaning changes in the course of being paraphrased and interpreted in different texts from different time periods.

Two potential topics for a diachronic study have been identified in the course of the analysis of the current corpus. The corpus used for the current study covers a five year period from

1999-2003 with the events of 9/11 happening in the middle.   However, the corpus was not built for the purpose of a diachronic study, and the inclusion of newspapers before and after 9/11 was rather coincidental than intentional.   As it happened, the corpus was built in 2003, and the 5 year period was decided primarily with the size of the corpus in mind.   It can be hypothesised that the impact of the events of 9/11 would be reflected in the post 9/11 coverage of foreign news.   Therefore, it may be seen as a flaw of the study that no consideration was given to the events in the course of analysis, except for the brief reference in discussing the high frequency of *Muslim* and *Islamic* (section 4.3.4 in Chapter 4).   A study can be carried out to see whether the 9/11 indeed acted as a watershed event that changed the way foreign countries were represented in the US press, and if so, how it is manifested textually.

The keyword *democracy* may merit further investigation from a diachronic perspective.   The analysis of the collocational patterns of the keyword *democracy* identified three kinds of collocations.   The first group of collocates include *freedom, human rights, rule of law* which can be regarded as conventional associations.   The second group of collocates are terms to do with capitalism and economics such as *economic prosperity, capitalism, free market economy*.   The third group is the collocate *Islam*.   The analysis of the contexts in which *democracy* and *Islam* co-occur showed that they are used as opposing rather than linked concepts in the corpus.   My hypothesis would be that these are diachronically ordered.   The first group of collocates are most established, the second group of collocates are newer and less established, and the collocate *Islam* is the newest which reflects the emergence of a conflict between democracy and Islam.   It would be interesting to test the hypothesis and to trace the change in the collocational patterns of *democracy* over time.

The third opportunity for future research is a synchronic study of multiple perspectives on a

single international issue.   During the analysis of the collocational patterns of *China, Japan, North Korea* and *South Korea* in the corpus, it was observed that South Korea is treated as one of the neighbouring countries of North Korea along with China, Japan, and Russia as illustrated in these examples taken from the corpus:

- *administration was prepared to hold direct, one-on-one talks with North Korea, provided **its neighbors -- Russia, China, South Korea and Japan** -- assisted in resolving the crisis.*

- *At the moment, the United States and **four of North Korea 's neighbors -- Japan, South Korea, China and Russia** -- are trying to bring North Korea back into negotiations over its nuclear weapons program, with safeguards for verification.*

- *The most incendiary escalation of the stakes would be a test-firing of a long-range missile by North Korea, similar to one it launched in 1998 that alarmed **Japan and its neighbors**.*

This is also observed in the British press, as illustrated in this example taken from the BBC website:

- *The North Korean government are banking on the fact any further sanctions are opposed by the European Union and many of **North Korea's neighbours, including China, Japan and South Korea*** (http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/today/reports/archive).

South Koreans call Japan and China neighbours, but not North Korea.   To them, the two Koreas are one people, and North Koreans are brothers and sisters.   This is reflected in the observation that no instance of referring to North Korea as a neighbour was found in the South Korean press corpus (Bang, 2003).   On the other hand, 78 occurrences of the phrase *two Koreas* were found in the corpus of South Korean press.   The phrase was also found in the current corpus of the US press with a total of 209 occurrences.   However, these totals need to be viewed with the size of the two corpora in mind: the South Korean press corpus is

half a million words, while the current US press corpus is over 42 million words. The US press corpus is about 80 times larger than the South Korean press corpus. Potentially, the phrase *two Koreas* would occur 2,160 times in the South Korean press corpus of a similar size. This is only an estimate, but is an indication that the phrase *two Koreas* is more widely used in the South Korean press. Interestingly, the most frequently occurring lexical collocate of *two Koreas* in the South Korean corpus is *unification* with a frequency of 5, while it is *talks* in the US corpus. The unification of the two Koreas is a constitutional duty as far as South Koreans are concerned, and the collocational pattern seems to reflect this.

These observations seem to suggest two different perspectives concerning North Korea: South Korea's perception of its relations with North Korea as an issue of unification between the two Koreas and the US' perception of South Korea as one of the interested parties in the North Korean affair. This issue of multiple perspectives can be further pursued in a comparative study of the corpus of the US, South Korean and possibly North Korean press. The questions may include:

1. how the relations between North and South Korea are represented in the US and the North Korean press
2. whether the US perception of South Korea as just one of the interested parties in the North Korean affair is reflected in the South Korean press, and how it is interpreted
3. how South Korea's role in the relations with North Korea is evaluated in the US and North Korean press.

In conclusion, this thesis has demonstrated the benefits of using the corpus methods to investigate the representation of foreign countries in the press and has clarified the processes by which asymmetry and stereotype can be cumulatively construed.

APPENDIX 1. NOUN PHRASES OCCURRING WITH *AND* AS BINOMIALS

accountability, accountable political leaders, advanced political culture, civic society, civil society, civil institutions, civil rights, civil society, civilian rule, civility, civilized values, coexistence, common values, conflict resolutions, constitution, constitutional means, constitutionally mandated human rights protection, courts, credible institutions, cultural freedoms, democratic institutions, democratic reforms, democratic values, development, economic growth, economic prosperity, economic recovery, economic reform, economic stability, economic success, elections, electoral assistance, equal opportunity, equilibrium, ethnic justice, fairer elections, fairness, free press, free speech, freedom, freedom of expression, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freer China, freedoms, good governance, good government, great civic alliance, greater personal freedom, growth, human rights, independence, independence movement, independent judiciary, independent justice system, intellectual freedom, judicial system, justice, law, legal system, liberties, liberty, meritocracy, modernization, openness, peace, pluralism, political freedom, political openness, political pluralism, political reforms, political values, press freedom, progress, prosperity, reconciliation, reform, religious tolerance, renewal, rights, rule of law, second independence, security, self-reliance, social freedom, social justice, social progress, solidarity, stability, strident press, tolerance, transparency, unification, unique culture, unity, women's suffrage.

APPENDIX2. REFERENCES TO COUNTRIES AND REGIONS AND NOUN PHRASES OCCURRING AS BINOMIALS WITH *DEMOCRACY*

Country and region	Noun Phrases
Afghanistan	*peace (9), reconstruction, development; freedom (2); Koran; Islamic principles; peace, rights; terrorism; cooperation, tolerance; civilian rule; human rights; Islam (2); equality, peace; pluralism; the rule of law, development; tolerance (2)*
Africa:	*dictatorship; elections; good governance (3); economic growth; the rule of law; openness; peace; capitalism (2); two-party democracy, free-market economics; free markets; freedom; good government; good governance, transparency, civil liberty; human rights (5); peace, human rights; economic reform, development; self-reliance; development, stability*
Algeria	*an end to corruption; economic reforms; open competition for power*
Angola	*national reconciliation*
Burundi	*elections*
Congo	*good governance; stability*
Egypt	*civic culture; freedom of expression; civil society (3); development; economic liberalization; elections; free speech; intellectual freedom; pluralism; political values; civil society, minority rights (2)*
Equatorial Guinea	*civil society*
Eritrea	*human rights*
Ivory Coast	*order; relative stability, prosperity*
Liberia	*constitutional rule; freedom, having the international community help his country*
Morocco	*women; Islam; openness; social justice*
Mozambique	*free-market reforms; a wide-open brand of capitalism; free markets*
Nigeria	*fairness; the federal government; unity; wisdom; elections; stability (2); human rights; the continuation of military rule*
Rwanda	*reconciliation*

Senegal	*credible institutions*
Sierra Leone	*dialogue, cutting off the arms flow to other nations; revolutionary socialism*
South Africa	*its traditional authority; rights; constitutionally mandated human rights; efforts of the governing African National Congress to deliver basic services to those denied them under white rule; equal opportunity; discrimination, sexism, political correctness*
Sudan	*equal share in public life; secularism*
Tanzania	*development (2)*
Tunisia	*human rights*
Uganda	*economy*
Yemen	*pluralism, tolerance and any kind of voting*
Zambia	*politics*
Zimbabwe	*good governance; economic growth; economic success; good government; stability*
Austria	*responsibility, freedom; human rights (3); European values; liberty, respect for human rights; sovereignty*
Balkan countries	*stability; human rights; stability, prosperity*
Albania	*its business environment, the skills of people; economic prosperity*
Bosnia	*reconciliation, development*
Croatia	*human rights; privatisation of the state-owned paper*
Kosovo	*human rights (2); independence; peace, love; independence; the rule of law (2); normal life; civil society; a free economy*
Macedonia	*unemployment; a civic society; a sovereign government*
Montenegro	*decentralization*
Serbia	*development of the region, respect of borders; freedom; legality; reforms; an opening to the West; civil society (2); civilization; economic recovery; human rights (3); freedom of speech, the press; pro-European thinking; human rights, civil society; the open market; the rule of law*
Brazil	*pluralism, tolerance*
Britain	*laws, tradition of liberal democracy; meritocracy*
Bulgaria	*a market economy*
Burma	*freedom; human rights (5)*

Cambodia	*human rights*
Canada	*world security, freedom; labor; pluralism*
China	*human rights (7); the rule of law (7); free trade unions (2); freedom (4); human rights issues; jingoism; law; liberty (2); free markets; free enterprise systems; a freer China; greater openness, capitalism; commemorations for those killed in the June 1989 crackdown; economics; press freedom, free elections; law (2); rights; separation of powers; Hong Kong: self-government, human rights, respect for the rule of law; poor economy; human rights; (Tibet) freedom, independence;*
Denmark	*fairness*
Developing countries	*good governance (2); free-market economics*
East Timor	*civil rights; human rights, the rule of law; freedom, justice (2)*
Eastern Europe	*economic prosperity, stability, regional cooperation (2); fair treatment of minorities, peace*
Czech	*freedom; justice*
Hungary	*dictatorship*
Poland	*free economy; capitalism (3); free markets*
Romania	*anti-democracy; human rights, individual freedom*
Slovakia	*the rule of law (2)*
Europe	*enlightenment; freedom; peace; human rights (5); economic prosperity; freedom; individual liberty, free economies, the rule of law*
EU	*human rights (2); free markets, human rights, rule of law; liberty, respect of human rights, fundamental freedoms, the rule of law openness; freedom, peace, progress; the rejection of racism and totalitarianism; global security, certain values; free markets, common security*
Ex-Soviet Union countries	*democratic reforms; free markets; freedom, growth; prosperity; the rule of law*
Armenia	*human rights*
Azerbaijan	*political freedom*
Belarus	*human rights violation, market reforms*
Georgia	*human rights (2)*
Kazakhstan	*politics*

Kyrgyzstan	*social justice, ethnic peace, a thriving economy; western-style economic reforms*
Turkmenistan	*human rights, a market economy*
Ukraine	*transparent politics, a non-criminal economy; market economy; human rights; flailing economy, corruption-ridden leadership*
Uzbekistan	*an ingrained bureaucracy; human rights*
Ex-Yugoslavia	*a market economy; Belgrade dictatorship; human rights; respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms; stability; peace, stability*
France	*country; liberty; the orderly dismantling of France's empire*
Germany	*prosperity, trust; parliament; the freedom of press; the Nazi heritage; authoritarian tradition; better conditions*
Greece	*justice; freedom*
Haiti	*institutions (2); accountable political leaders; political leaders, the United Nations; peace*
Holland	*Dutch society; the memory of Mr. Fortuyn*
Honduras	*decentralization, poverty reduction*
India	*a temple; Constitution; economic interests; diversity, recent efforts at economic reform; socialism; development, peace;*
Indonesia	*our victory, our second independence; economic awakening; the rule of law; reform; anarchy (2); legality, stability; openness, transparency; decentralizing power; human rights (6); Islam (2); pluralism; respect for human rights; human rights, religious tolerance; the Indonesian constitution; openness, tolerance, the rule of law; corruption, weak leadership; mediation, peace, justice*
Iran	*elections; change; freedom(7); (greater) personal freedoms(3); political freedoms; western-style freedoms; Islam (5); liberty; modern life; freedom of expression, political pluralism; human rights (10); wisdom; additional personal freedom; freedom, equal rights for women; tolerance, respect for law; civil society; cultural freedoms; decision-making; dictatorship; individual freedom, the rule of law (6); freedom of expression (2); improved relations with the United States; liberties; national pride; openness; political pluralism; respect for human rights; people's*

	rights; social freedom (2); stability; the open competition of ideas; the rule of people; tolerance (2)
Iraq	*freedom (16); Islam (2); moderation, prosperity; peace; prosperity; its resources; Iraqi self-rule; sovereignty; stability(5); peace, stability; economic development; 150, 000 American troops; regime change; pre-emption, disarmament; true disarmament; law; liberation; reform; peace; decentralized government; a would-be-king; aid; American-style capitalism; an alternation of competing groups; an independent judiciary; freedom, culture, civil society; federalism, non-violence, respect for diversity; repression, totalitarianism; civilized values; democratic values; development; fairness; human rights (3); Iraqi control of the country; Islamic traditions; liberty; pluralism (2); prosperity; reform; religious tolerance; representative government; respect for human rights; federalism, non-violence, respect for diversity, a role for women; rights for all citizens; security (2); security, services, food on their plate; freedom, sovereignty; right of all Iraqis; tolerance (2)*
Israel	*government; freedom; courts; human rights; legal system; membership to the international community; civil society, modern economy; the logic of geography*
Italy	*pluralism, freedom; the rule of law*
Japan	*freedom, human rights, peace, international cooperation*
North and South America	*free trade*
South/ Latin America	*stability; free markets (2); human rights; trade; free trade (3); the economy; the free market; the physical and infrastructure integration; the rule of law (2)*
Argentina	*free-market reform; judicial system; market reforms*
Brazil	*respect for human rights; social revolution; the rule of law*
Chile	*human rights (2); art; the victims of his government*
Colombia	*violence; crime, regional integration, infrastructure; human rights; stability*
Cuba	*human rights (8); freedom; dictatorship; peaceful resistance; progress; human rights, the need for an orderly post-Castro transition; the US*
Dominican Republic	*the rule of law, human rights*

Ecuador	*constitutional order*
El Salvador	*justice*
Guatemala	*peace; development; security*
Nicaragua	*free markets; freedom, free enterprise*
Paraguay	*justice (2)*
Peru	*justice, equality; (political) stability; institutions; an independent justice system; dictatorship; human rights; more moderate policies; the future of Peru; respect for sovereignty*
Uruguay	*American values*
Venezuela	*security, defense; freedom; a great civic alliance; freedom; his removal; reform (2); the economy; the rule of law; unity*
Liechtenstein	*freedom*
Malaysia	*freedom; human rights; openness; political openness*
Mexico	*freedom; equality; equality, justice; human rights; tolerance, sensitivity; an ever more open market economy; justice, human rights; liberty, justice (3); internal democracy, fair competition, the law; economic stability; electoral competition; fairer elections; Indian rights; law; reform; the rule of law*
Middle Eastern/ Arab countries	*trade, development; greater openness; reform; human rights (3); freedom (2); possibility; secularism, enhanced human rights; free speech; freedom; modernization; political reforms; development, respect for the rights of its citizens; the rule of law; liberty; human rights, relations with Israel*
Bahrain	*Islam*
Lebanon	*free speech*
Jordan	*economic prosperity, flowing trade; monarchy; accountability; press freedom, other civil institutions; Shiite radicalism, other perceived threats*
Kuwait	*women's suffrage*
Qatar	*economy, entrepreneurship; free speech; criticism*
Syria	*more open economy; more liberty; freed trade; freedom of expression*
Mongolia	*free-market reform, a free press*
Muslim countries/ Islamic	*liberation of the Kurds; human rights; pluralism, real*

countries	economic development
Nepal	constitution; human rights; constitutional monarchy
Northern Ireland	violence; terrorism (2)
Norway	equality; human rights, rule of law
Oil rich countries	natural resources
Pakistan	economy; Muslim women, courage; future of Pakistan; peace; a strident press; terrorism, non-proliferation; civilian rule; equilibrium; secularism; the rule of law; nuclear non-proliferation
Palestinian territory	a single unified security service, less corruption; coexistence; reform; demography; new constitutional framework; an end to one-man rule; enlightenment, openness; accountability, transparency; cabinet with empowered prime minister; coexistence; market economics, action against terrorism; freedom; meritocracy; openness; other change; Palestinian political life; the rule of law (2); outcome of election; the peaceful methods, negotiation
Philippine	an economy that is a failure, a democracy that does not work; constitutional means; prosperity
Russia	civil society (3); civic ideal; dictatorship of law; free press; capitalism; freedom (4); the rule of law (2); free markets (6); a Western system of markets; openness (2); Western-style prosperity; public spiritedness; human rights (4); a free market economy (3); (a/ the) free market (3); a market economy (3); a step forward; stability, security, an advanced political culture; common values; political stability, consolidation of society; economic development; economic reform; economic reform, missile defense; economic reforms (2); its international ties; its legacy; (capitalism), a law-based state, personal and political freedom; law; market capitalism (3); market economics; market reform; open markets, arms control; more guidance from a strong government; one-superpower worlds; press freedom; market economy, human rights, distancing from the past; the American character; the memory of Soviet repression; the political credo; the rule of law; a thriving economy, a strong state; vertical power; development of democracy, territorial integrity; the deepening of

	democracy, the pursuit of indispensable reform
Saudi Arabia	*Islam; freedom of speech; religious tolerance, women's rights*
South Korea	*labor; peace (3); human rights (3); labor movements; respect for human rights; unification*
Spain	*the rule of law; business interests; freedom*
Swiss	*values, everything; neutrality, federalism*
Taiwan	*self-determination; freedom (2); identity (2); prosperity; advanced economy; ethnic justice; human rights; human rights, freedom; independence (3); independence movement (2); a market economy, a culture different from the authoritarian society in China; peace; unique culture; willingness to relax on formal independence; system*
Thailand	*openness (2); justice, peace, the rule of law*
Turkey	*Islam (6); the rule of law; secularist economic platform, an embrace of secular democracy; human rights (10); freedom, secularism; sharia; prosperity (2); peace; democratic values; freedom, equality, the rule of law; freedom; integration with Europe; its Western leaning; justice; openness; peace (2); the country's hopes of joining the EU; the treatment of its Kurdish population; tolerance; transparency; human rights, treatment of its Kurdish minority*
US	*(ideals of, promotes, stand up for, self-styled standard bearer of, teaching) human rights; (brought, devotion to, mission of, exporters of, promoting, reward) freedom; freedom, individual liberty; freedom, justice, the rule of law; (spread) capitalism; (the cause of) liberalization; (promotion of) human rights, peace; (deliver a speech on) women; defense of freedom, the advance of democracy; justice; (messages of, U.S. notions of) free markets, (U.S.'s support of) human rights; economy; (spreading) free trade; (promoting) human rights, free markets; (support) democratic solutions; (advocacy of) human rights, freedom, free enterprise; (indefatigable promoter of) conflict resolution; (promotion of) human rights, counterterrorism; (commitment to) freedom, the rule of law; (education in) human rights, civilian control of the military; (promote)*

	peace; (encouraged) the rule of law, open markets; (ideals of) freedom, fairness; (making the case for) American values; legitimacy (2); Islam, American foreign policy; (promote) better government, market forces
Vietnam	*capitalism; independence, social progress*
World	*human rights; justice, the rule of law*

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