

**A CORPUS BASED STUDY OF REPRESENTATION OF  
FOREIGN COUNTRIES IN THE SOUTH KOREAN PRESS**

**by  
Minhee Bang**

*A Dissertation submitted to the  
School of Humanities of the University of Birmingham  
in part fulfilment of the degree of  
Master of Philosophy  
in  
Corpus Linguistics*

Centre for English Language Studies  
Department of English  
School of Humanities  
University of Birmingham  
Edgbaston  
B15 2TT  
England

July 2003

UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAM

**University of Birmingham Research Archive**

**e-theses repository**

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

## Abstract

### **How do we see the world: a corpus-based study of the representation of foreign countries in the South Korean press**

This dissertation investigates how the South Korean press represents a number of foreign countries, particularly North Korea and the United States. Corpus investigation techniques are used with a corpus comprising articles from the on-line English versions of three Korean newspapers: *the Korea Herald*, *the Korea Times*, and *the Chosun Ilbo*. The corpus is half a million words and Wordsmith Tools has been used as a main analysis tool. Main findings from the analysis include:

- (i) Lexical items referring to North Korea indicate that its stereotypical image is largely maintained despite the policy change;
- (ii) North Korea is represented as a beneficiary of foreign aid;
- (iii) As an actor, North Korea is represented as an uncooperative partner for talks and an initiator of military activities;
- (iv) The US presidents performs a wider variety of verbal actions than other state leaders;
- (v) The US military presence in South Korea is represented as both a necessity and a threat;
- (vi) There are subtle lexical clues that the US is represented as more powerful than other states.

The study is a demonstration of how corpus linguistics can be incorporated as a methodology in critical discourse analysis. It is argued, following Stubbs (1996, 1997), that corpus linguistics can provide a viable solution to some of the problems of CDA; using corpora makes it possible for researchers to handle quantitative data and to produce an analysis which can be replicated, checked and challenged by other analysts.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Susan Hunston for the guidance and support she has given me in the course of completing this dissertation, and co-supervisor, Dr. Pernilla Danielson for helping me during the stage of corpus-building.

## Contents

### 1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Dissertation	1
1.2. Aim of the Dissertation	1
1.3. Outline of the Dissertation	3

### 2. Literature Review

2.1. The representation of Different Social Groups in CDA	4
2.1.1. Representation of Different Groups within a Society	5
2.1.2. Representation of Foreign Countries	8
2.2. Problems of Data and Methodology in CDA	10
2.2.1. Data	11
2.2.2. Methodology	12
2.3. Corpus Linguistics and CDA	15
2.3.1. Methodological Potentials of Corpus Linguistics for CDA	16
(1) Corpora as Data	16
(2) Methodology of Analysing Corpus Data	17
2.3.2. Corpus-Based Studies of Representation and Ideology	18
(1) Corpora as Complementary to Main Analysis	19
(2) Corpora as a Main Source of Analysis	21
2.4. Conclusion	31

### 3. Data and Methodology

3.1. Data and Corpus building	33
3.1.1. Data Source	33
3.1.2. Data Selection and Corpus Building	33
3.2. Methodology of Corpus Analysis	35
3.2.1. Looking at the Frequency Word List	36
3.2.2. North Korea as a Foreign Country	38
3.2.3. Frequency of Words Referring to Foreign Countries	38
3.2.4. Looking at Collocates	40

## **4. Discussion and Analysis 1**

4.1. Introduction	43
4.2. How is North Korea Referred to?	43
4.3. Forming and Maintaining Relationship with North Korea	47
(1) <i>Relations</i>	48
(2) <i>Talks and Dialogue</i>	51
4.4. What does North Korea Do?	56
4.5. What do Other Countries Do with North Korea?	60
4.6. Conclusion	64

## **5. Discussion and Analysis 2**

5.1. Introduction	66
5.2. US Presidents vs Other Foreign Leaders	67
5.3. Does the World Have a Policy on the US?	74
5.4. <i>Soldiers and Troops</i> : Asymmetry of Representation between Individual and Institution	84
5.5. Conclusion	92

## **6. Conclusion**

6.1. Summary of the Dissertation	94
(1) Collecting Data	94
(2) Identifying Targets of Analysis	95
(3) Analysing How the Countries are Talked about in the Corpus	95
6.2. Findings and Interpretation	96
6.3. Future Research Interests	97

<b>References</b>	100
-------------------	-----

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### **A CORPUS BASED STUDY OF REPRESENTATION OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES IN THE SOUTH KOREAN PRESS**

#### **1.1. Background of the dissertation**

This dissertation grew out of my interest in looking at how a corpus approach can be applied to critical discourse analysis (CDA) or critical linguistics. Discussions have centred on around problems of the methodological and interpretative framework of CDA including the following major issues, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 3:

- i) insufficient amount of data used for analysis;
- ii) lack of replicability of analytical framework;
- iii) overinterpretation of data;
- iv) circularity of interpretation.

Corpus linguistics may be able to offer a viable solution to some of the problems posed if not all of them.

#### **1.2. Aim of the dissertation**

The dissertation aims to overcome some of the problems involved in the practice of the CDA by exploiting corpus technology. In particular it focuses on how representation of different

groups and events can differ or can even be distorted in accordance with different ideological stances. According to Stubbs (1996, 1997, 2001), using corpora, first of all, makes it possible for researchers to handle quantitative data, which can help increase credibility of interpretation and generalisation. It can also improve replicability of the analysis in that the concordance software will produce the same patterns in one corpus regardless of who analyses them and the results can be checked and challenged by other analysts. We cannot completely rule out subjectivity and circularity involved in the interpretation of what has been discovered by the concordance program since these aspects are an intrinsic part of the interpretative process (Clark, 1992, Hunston, 1999, 2002, Stubbs, 1997, 2001). However, it will be argued that the rigour of the interpretative practice can be bolstered by the quantitative and replicable nature of the corpus approach. The current study uses a half-million-word corpus of three Korean newspapers, which use English as a medium, and investigates how two foreign countries – North Korea and the US – are represented in the South Korean press. Using the concordancing software Word Smith Tools, the analysis will concentrate on key collocations of the lexical items referring to some foreign countries which feature in the corpus. Representational patterns of each foreign country will be drawn from the collocational behaviour of these key collocates.

### **1.3. Outline of the dissertation**

The dissertation comprises six chapters: Chapter 1 Introduction, Chapter 2 Literature Review, Chapter 3 Data and Methodology, Chapter 4 Analysis and Discussion 1, Chapter 5 Analysis and Discussion 2, and Chapter 6 Conclusion. The four main chapters are summarised here. In chapter 2, a review of the literature is carried out focusing on:

- i) discussion of the previous studies on the representation of different groups;
- ii) discussion of the criticisms on the methodological and interpretational practice in CDA;
- iii) discussion of the application of corpora to CDA;
- iv) discussion of previous corpus-based studies in CDA

Chapter 3 firstly describes the process of data collection and corpus-building and some methodological implications involved in the process. Secondly, how information on frequency and collocates is extracted will be explained in order to decide key lexical items for analysis. The results of analysis are presented in chapter 4 and 5. Chapter 4 discusses how North Korea is represented in the corpus, focusing the following points:

- i) lexical items referring to North Korea;
- ii) North Korea as an actor;
- iii) North Korea as a beneficiary;

In chapter 5, the representation of the US is analysed from the following perspectives:

- i) the pattern of the verbal actions of the US Presidents;
- ii) the collocates of the lexical items referring to the US military;
- iii) the collocational pattern of the word, '*policy*'.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1. Representation of different social groups in critical discourse analysis

In this Chapter, I will discuss some previous studies in the field of critical discourse analysis (CDA) that are concerned with how different social groups are represented in the news media. According to one of the pioneers of the field, Fowler (1996), the problem of representation is one of most basic questions pursued by practitioners of critical discourse analysis or critical linguistics. The first thing to bear in mind is that the decision as to what event or person gets reported in the news is not an ideologically neutral process as Hall says:

**The media do not simply and transparently report events which are ‘naturally’ newsworthy in themselves. ‘News’ is the end product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories (in Fowler, 1991:11).**

Once the decision is made about ‘what to include and what to exclude’ (Fairclough, 1995:4), the issue is how to represent what is chosen, and it is not an ideologically straightforward process either. Fowler (1994: 4) says:

**Critical linguistics insists that all representation is mediated, moulded by the value-systems that are ingrained in the medium (language in this case) used for representation; it challenges common**

**sense by pointing out that something could have been represented some other way, with a very different significance.**

The interest of the CDA lies in the role of language in the construction of a particular representation of an event or group, as expressed by Fowler (1991:10):

**My interest is in the contribution of detailed linguistic structure – syntax, vocabulary structure, and so on – to moulding a representation of the world in news text.**

One of the questions set out by Fairclough in his study of media text also addresses the relationship between language and representation, as shown below:

**...the ideological work of media language includes particular ways of representing the world (e.g. particular representations of Arabs, or of the economy)...(Fairclough, 1995:12).**

### **2.1.1. Representation of different groups within a society**

This section briefly reviews some previous studies that investigate the issue of representation of various social groups based on the CDA framework. Trew (1979) compares how a group of youths involved in a violent incident was presented by two ideologically contrasting newspapers: *the Sun* which is outspokenly right-wing and *the Morning Star*, which is the official organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain. According to his detailed analysis of transitivity, the youths in *the Sun* were predominantly positioned as an agent of transactive processes such as *attacked (a group of professional photographers), stone (the police)*. Trew

suggests that this grammatical positioning of the youths contributes to the construction of their image as an instigator of violence. Meanwhile, in *the Morning Star*, there was only one where the youths are agent, and that is in a non-transactive action, 'running'.

Fowler (1985) looks at the representation of NHS patients in a report which appeared in *the Sunday Times*. He comments on how constantly patients and their illnesses are expressed by highly abstract words like *case*, *wait*, *matter*, and *list* and argues that the linguistic effect of these extremely impersonal expressions is to transform a human individual into a depersonalised object. He also looks at what kinds of verb patterns patients are assigned to in the report. The patients are rarely represented as agents of actions except waiting and some other actions that are non-transactive such as *getting out*, *relieve himself*, *cope with*, and *eases the pain* and are usually acted on by other professional people like doctors: *(patients) be called in*, *be readmitted* and *(doctors) squeezed (them) out*, *cram (them) in*, *throw (them) out*, *(health administrators) cut*, *reduce (waiting list)* and so on. Even though the article appears to be expressing sympathy for the patients, in fact, they are represented as powerless and dehumanised, and therefore, the article unwittingly reproduces the asymmetry of power, Fowler concludes.

Clark (1992) looks in *the Sun* at how women are represented in reporting of male violence, particularly sexual crimes against women by investigating the naming pattern of women victims. She (1992: 209) maintains that:

**Naming is a powerful ideological tool. It is also an accurate pointer to the ideology of the namer.**

**Different names for an object represent different ways of perceiving it.**

She finds women victims are categorized in terms of their sexual availability: the victims who are sexually unavailable are named as *wife, bride, housewife, mother, young woman, girl, school girl, girl guide, daughter*. In these cases, the male offender is degraded as a '*beast*', '*fiend*' or '*monster*' and held responsible for the crime. Meanwhile, the victims who are sexually available are named as *blonde, unmarried mum, Lolita* (a sexually active under-age girl), *blonde divorcee/mum*. The women in this category are not attached to or controlled by men, therefore the male offender is not villainised and the blame is shifted to the female victims who brought the attack on themselves by being sexually available. One of the conclusions Clark draws from the analysis is that this naming practice of the victims reflects a patriarchal viewpoint of women not as autonomous individuals but rather as the property of men.

Henley et al (2002) examine how anti-gay crimes are represented in the newspapers by analysing the frequency and specificity of referents to violence in news reports of anti-gay attacks. Two newspapers are chosen for comparison: *the Washington Post* which is relatively conservative and less gay-friendly and *the San Francisco Chronicle* which is more gay-friendly. The content analysis shows that referents to crimes against gays is four times less frequent than referents to crimes against straights and less specific words are used to describe crimes against gays in *the Washington Post*, while no such differences are found in the reports of crimes against gays and straights in *the San Francisco Chronicle*. The study also finds that there is a correlation between the reader's perception on the seriousness of the violence and the frequency of referents: the reader perceives a crime as more serious when the referents to the crime are more frequently used.

### 2.1.2. Representation of foreign countries

As introduced in the previous section, research into the representation of individuals and of groups is fairly well-established. However it seems that relatively little research has been done into the representation of foreign countries. In this section, I will discuss two studies of the representation of foreign countries, which are of direct relevance to my own study. Brooks (1995) analyses news reports on African countries (excluding South Africa) taken from two British newspapers, *the Daily Telegraph*, and *the Guardian*. Firstly, she examines what topic areas are most frequently featured in the reports. These are as follows: civil war, civil conflict, aid, human rights, politics, crime, and disaster. She (1995: 465) asserts that:

**Africa is portrayed as a homogenous block with violence, helplessness, human right abuses, and lack of democracy as its main characteristics. The cumulative effect of a homogenous selection of regularly occurring subjects is the construction of a stereotypical representation of Africa in the minds of readers.**

The headlines from the reports are analysed from a several different perspectives. For example, she looks at how Africa is metaphorically formulated in the headlines and gives six metaphorical categories that characterize Africa in the two newspapers:

- i) Africa is the heart of darkness (e.g. *Why give life-blood to this heart of darkness?*);
- ii) Africa is a place of witchcraft (e.g. *Suit, tie and a touch of juju*);
- iii) Africa is a parasite/dependent (e.g. *France's black burden*);
- iv) fighting is an uncontrollable flood or tide (e.g. *Liberian talks fail to stem brutal tribal*

*feud*);

v) riots are an uncontrollable disease/fire (e.g. *Kaunda threat as food riots spread*);

vi) African leaders are animals, beggars, criminals, gangsters and sycophantic suitors (e.g.

*Doe clings to power as net closes on Monrovia*).

In his analysis of a newspaper report on events in Soweto, South Africa, Lee (1992) similarly discusses how the people of Soweto are metaphorised as a natural force from a white perspective: *(they) had been 'simmering' with unrest and then 'erupted', and later 'swept through' a roadblock like a river* (p.93). Another feature she analyses is quotation patterns. Her finding is that Africans are much less quoted than westerners and what they say is often contradicted or discredited by western sayers. While African sayers do not confirm or evaluate what westerners say, westerners are usually quoted to confirm and evaluate the statements and actions of Africans even when what they say is based on circumstantial evidence or rumours. The study shows that Africa is represented in a very uniform and stereotypical way by two British newspapers, even though the two newspapers are known to stand on very different ideological grounds. This, she argues, demonstrates that the range of views in the media and society is constrained within narrow ideological parameters.

Galasiński and Marley (1998) investigate foreign news reports in the British and Polish daily newspapers and national weeklies in order to see 'ideologically significant representations of place in relation to agency' (p.568). They investigate which countries are routinely presented as a location and which countries are presented mainly as an actor. Their main findings can be summarized as follows:

In the Polish press

- i) The agency of the Third world actors is either removed by the use of impersonal forms, passive voice, nominalizations;
- ii) Or backgrounded by spatialisation or circumstantialisation (e.g. *come from South America, is rising in Brazil*);
- iii) When the agency is explicitly featured, the agent is usually foreigners from the G7 or elite EU countries (e.g. *Americans evacuate...*);

In the British press

- iv) In the coverage of the central eastern European and EU countries, only agents from the G7 countries are explicitly referred to;
- v) The representation of Russia is similar to that of the Third world countries in the Polish press, in that the agency is usually realized through spatialisation (e.g. *from Russia, in Russia*)

The authors argue that the importation of the elite foreigners (including the British) into the central eastern European or EU countries can be seen as imposition of ‘our British kind of perspective’ while Russia is excluded from this grouping possibly because of ‘the ghost of Cold War enmity and distrust’. The study shows how the existing division of the world is reflected in the representation of the foreign countries in terms of their agency construed in the press.

## **2.2. Problems of data and methodology in CDA**

Since its inception, CDA has been criticised and challenged for various reasons. In this section, the discussion will focus on some of the problems which are related to data and methodology,

and can be overcome by the application of the corpus technology.

### **2.2.1. Data**

The most frequent criticism on CDA is that data used for analysis are often too small and fragmented. As a critical linguist, Fowler himself acknowledges that data used in CDA ‘tend to be ‘fragmentary and exemplificatory’ (1996: 8). In a review of *Language and Ideology* (1979, Kress and Hodge) and *Language and Control* (1979, Fowler et al), Sharrock and Anderson (1981: 288) comment on the inadequacy of the amount of data:

**The fragments of data they present – newspaper cuttings, extracts from books of rules, imaginary conversations and so on – may be adequate for many kinds of linguistic work and some kinds of sociological work, but they will not do for these linguistic exercises, which are only significant in the context of large claims about the nature of belief and about the broader structure of the society. For those, they would need much more evidence...**

In Sharrock and Anderson’s view, CDA needs to base its analysis on data which cover wider social contexts since its aim is to study the relationship between language and the complex ideological structure of the society, not just partial linguistic features. Taking an example of Fairclough’s analysis of some extracts from a book on pregnancy in *Discourse and Social Change* (1992), Widdowson also expresses his doubt on using text fragments. His reservation lies in the fact that these fragments are decontextualised. As a result, they lack all the contextual information needed by the reader for an understanding of the text:

**The first thing to notice is that what we have here is a text fragment. We do not know how it functions in relation to the rest of the booklet. Furthermore, the three extracts that we have are discontinuous: a whole subsection between the second and third has been omitted. No reason is given for this. We do not know either anything about what the motivation for the text was: if, or why, it was commissioned, and by whom...(Widdowson, 1996: 62).**

Concerning the data selection, another problem raised by Stubbs (1997) is the representativeness of fragmented data. In the case of sampling data on a particular topic in a particular genre (e.g. poverty covered in the British media as in Meinhof and Richardson, 1994), Stubbs points out that the sample data may not include all the range of variation on the topic even though the representativeness can be claimed on the basis that the data has been randomly selected. Furthermore, when only parts of texts are analysed from that sample data, it is hard to see any justification for making generalizations out of the analysis.

### **2.2.2. Methodology**

CDA has also been criticised for its methodological weaknesses. The most frequently mentioned methodological problem is CDA's tendency to derive ideological bias directly from linguistic forms. Fowler (1991: 67) states that:

**...any aspect of linguistic structure, whether phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic or textual, can carry ideological significance...**

Fowler et al (1979, chapter 10), Fairclough (1989, chapter 5) and Fowler (1991, chapter 5) give

a checklist of linguistic features to focus on, which may bear ideological implications for analysis. Thus, much of analysis in CDA has been devoted to investigating linguistic features such as transitivity and nominalisation in order to reveal ideology embedded in a text. However, it is considered highly problematic to assume one-to-one correlation between linguistic form and ideology (Durkin, 1983, Frawley, 1987, Grimshaw, 1981, Richardson, 1987, Sharrock and Anderson, 1981, Stubbs, 1996, 1997, 2001, Widdowson, 1996, 2000). For example, Sharrock and Anderson point out that the use of agentless passive form is too often interpreted as a concealment of responsibility when another interpretation could be offered:

**They make much of the fact that many sentences lack – in grammatical terms – a clearly identifiable ‘agent’ and argue from that, or imply, that concealment is going on. If, however, they saw those sentences in the context of other sentences in the same text, they would see that the ‘agent’ can be quite clearly and unproblematically identified (Sharrock and Anderson, 1981: 290).**

Frawley (1987: 390) makes the same point about the use of the agentless passive:

**Deletion of agentives, which is a much-recycled grammatical item for analysis, is not inscribed with the meaning of deferral of responsibility.**

Fowler later concedes that there is no direct one-to-one correspondence between one linguistic form and any particular ideological intention:

**The theory of critical linguistics acknowledges that there is a lack of invariance between linguistic structures and their significances. This premiss should be affirmed more clearly and insistently**

**than has been the case. Significance (ideology) cannot simply be read off the linguistic forms that description has identified in the text, because the same form (nominalisation, for example) has different significances in different contexts...(Fowler, 1996: 9).**

The attempt to assume direct relations between linguistic forms and ideological implications results in contrived analyses. Analysts may claim that the use of a certain linguistic form, (e.g. the agentless passive) is intended to function in a certain ideological way (e.g. a way of obscuring responsibility) even when it is possible that there are other motives for using it. For example, in Brooks' article (1995), which has been discussed earlier, part of the analysis is concerned with the nominalizations in a thematic position. The examples of the nominalizations presented in the analysis are only three, which are taken from the data set, which comprises of 133 headlines. Subsequently, Brooks makes a statement on the ideological implications of these nominalizations:

**These nominalizations may reflect certain naturalized assumptions or beliefs operating within the society in which a text is produced. For example, underlying DT33 *The changes that Moi holds back at his peril* is the belief that progress is the direct result of change involving the introduction of a universally applicable political and economic system (Brooks, 1995: 479).**

The amount of data which Brooks uses to establish the ideological effect of nominalizations seems hardly adequate for such a general claim. There is also no clear interpretative link given as to how 'the belief' on this particular concept of 'progress' is derived from the nominalised phrase '*the changes*'. The analysis lacks in rigour both in terms of data quantity and analytical clarity. Stubbs draws our attention to another methodological aspect which has been under-

explored in CDA :

**Since the essential claim concerns differences caused by different language use, it follows that studies of language use and cognition must be comparative. Only very few CDA studies compare individual texts, or compare features of texts with norms in language, or compare text types diachronically (Stubbs, 1997: 107).**

His concern is that there are relatively small comparative or historical studies in CDA while it is primarily ‘concerned with the ideological relativity of representation (Fowler, 1996: 10)’ in different social or historical contexts from different points of views.

### **2.3. Corpus linguistics and CDA**

As a way of overcoming some of the data and methodological problems of CDA, a number of researchers have tried to combine corpus linguistics with CDA. The role of corpora, in some cases, is complementary to the main analysis (e.g. Caldas-Coulthard, 1993, Fairclough, 2000, Hardt-Mautner, 1995). In others, they are used as a primary source on which analysis is based and from which conclusion is drawn (e.g. Flowerdew, 1997, Krishnamurthy, 1996, Morrison and Love, 1996, Orpin, 1997, Nesi et al, 2002, Piper, 2000a, 2000b, Stubbs, 1996). The rationale for using corpora in critical study of language will be given in the next section before moving on to a discussion of these works in more detail.

### **2.3.1. Methodological potentials of corpus linguistics for CDA**

#### **(1) Corpora as data**

The most obvious advantage of using computer-held corpora is that they make it possible to carry out quantitative research. The corpus research greatly increases the amount of data that can be handled while reducing time spent on analysis. As pointed out in section, 2.2.1, CDA has been criticised for making large claims based on only a limited fragmentary data. The restriction is partly due to the fact that CDA analysis is usually done manually. It is true that analysis cannot be entirely automated even with the help of concordance software and there are limitations to the scope of analysis. For example, it is not possible to store and retrieve visual or inter-textual information in most existing corpora (Kress (1994) analyses how reading of one text can be structured by pictures and surrounding texts from a page of newspaper). Computer-held data can be stored and retrieved not only quantitatively but also as a full text, not fragmented. As mentioned in the previous section, critics have been sceptical about the use of text fragments because of the lack of contexts or decontextualisation. Certain contexts may be lost (e.g. the layout of newspaper) or difficult to retain in a corpus (such as what Widdowson calls 'ethnographic' or 'sociocultural settings' (2000: 20)), but it is still possible to include some of the latter kind of contextual information by the incorporation of heading and indexing into the corpus (e.g. information on who produced the text for whom or when, which Widdowson questions in his critique of Fairclough earlier in section 2.2.1). Overall, the quantitative full text data can provide more contexts needed for analysis and increase generalisability of the analysis results.

## **(2) Methodology of analysing corpus data**

A significant methodological implication of using corpus technology is that the ‘findings can be replicated on publicly accessible data’: whatever patterns you find in one corpus, others should be able to find the same (Stubbs, 2001: 153). What is discovered by a concordance program is objective in that the program shows all the examples regardless of whether they fit the analyst’s agenda or expectations, nevertheless it should be borne in mind that the interpretation of the outcome is not objective and can differ from different perspectives.

### **Frequency and recurrent patterns**

Methodologically, one of the strengths of the corpus-based analysis is that it becomes possible to access frequency information and observe repetitive patterns by simple concordancing, which are not usually accessible by manual analysis. A sorting function of the concordancing program, which rearranges concordance lines in alphabetical order, is simple but can be powerful in revealing grammatical or lexical patterns which often escape human intuition. As pointed out in the previous section, it is not sustainable to base analyses on linguistic evidence found in a small amount of text fragments. Recurrent patterns enable us to see typical ways people or events are represented and this may carry some ideological significances. Stubbs states (2001: 157):

**Examples of individual utterances cannot tackle claims about the ideological implications of textual patterns...However, if such descriptions are regularly used in a wide range of reports, then they might come to seem a natural way of talking about things, and it is plausible that they come to**

**influence how we think about such events...**

Returning to the problem of making a direct link between a linguistic form and an ideological significance, Stubbs' quantitative study on the use of ergative verbs (1996: 125-156) shows that there can be a correlation between a systematic use of a linguistic form and an ideological stance. The analysis is carried out on a complete set of two textbooks and the differences in the use of ergative verbs in the two textbooks are statistically tested against a general reference corpus. Stubbs makes it clear that these grammatical differences do not cause the ideological differences, but they correlate. Regarding frequency, what can be of particular interest to the analyst is asymmetry in frequency (Hunston, 1999, 2002). Hunston shows how the frequency of different meanings of '*right*' differ when it occurs with *man* and *woman* in the journalism sub-corpora (including BBC) of the Bank of English: when it occurs with *man*, the meaning of *right* is dominantly professional sense, as in *the right man for the job* while the majority of *right woman* is used in domestic sense, that is a right woman for a man to marry. The asymmetry certainly demonstrates differentiated ways of representing men and women in the corpora. This kind of observation is hard to be made without quantitative data and corpus-technology.

### **2.3.2. Corpus-based studies of representation and ideology**

This section reviews the application of corpora in the study of representation and ideology. The studies under review are divided into the two main groups: the first group includes a few studies which make a complementary use of corpora and the second group comprises ones in which corpora are the main source of analysis. The second group is further divided according to the format of the use of corpora: comparative and non-comparative.

### **(1) Corpora as complementary to main analysis**

Caldas-Coulthard (1993) analyses the quoting pattern of women in a sample of 200 narratives from three British broadsheet newspapers (*the Guardian*, *the Independent* and *the Times*). She uses the *Times* subcorpus of the Bank of English to supplement her analysis. She looks at how often women are quoted as a sayer compared to men. In *the Times* subcorpus, women are quoted 62 times while men 497 times (she only examines instances of verbs of saying which occur more than 100 times). This discrepancy is repeated in her own data: women are given voice in 76 instances while men are represented as speaking in 451 instances. More interestingly, women who get quoted are described very differently from men: male speakers are usually glossed by their professional designations or position in the government or in various kinds of public institutions as in *Keith Walter, medical director of Cilag*, whereas female speakers are typically described in terms of age, marital status or family relations as in *Hilary, Mr. Clinton's politically attuned wife*. This analysis has been an inspiration in my own analysis of the verbal patterns of foreign leaders quoted in the corpus, which will be discussed in chapter 4. The focus of my analysis will be more on differences in the contents of quotations.

In the critique of the language of New Labour, Fairclough (2000) makes use of keyword and collocate analysis as a way of introducing some key concepts in his corpus of New Labour. The keyword list of the New Labour corpus, which consists of 53 speeches by Tony Blair, one by Gordon Brown, five interviews with Tony Blair, four written documents including the 1997 Labour Manifesto, has been produced by comparing its word list with three different word lists

(of the written part of the BNC (the British National corpus), the *Guardian* newspaper, a smaller corpus of earlier Labour documents). The strongest New Labour keywords identified in the corpus are *we, Britain, welfare, partnership, new, schools, people, crime, reform, deliver, promote, business, deal, tough, young*. Fairclough comments on these keywords on the basis of their collocational information as a lead into the qualitative analysis.

As part of analysis on the representation of children in the British press, Sealey (2000) analyses collocational patterns of the words *child* and *children* in her own data collection and the BNC. Her main finding is that children in the two corpora are similarly represented as victims of crimes and beneficiaries of protection and care. The singular form *child* is frequently used as a modifier of other nouns, which are divided into two main semantic sets: one refers to crimes done to children (e.g. *abuse*) and perpetrators of crimes (e.g. *molester(s)*) and the other is to do with processes of nurturing (e.g. *care*). The plural form *children*, on the other hand, frequently occurs in prepositional phrases of *for, to, with* in which children are featured as ‘circumstantial’ to and ‘beneficiaries’ of processes (e.g. *provide warmth and security for~, giving a helping hand to~, how to work with~*). The children as a beneficiary theme is observed in another extremely frequent grammatical construction, *children’s + noun*, which occurs 4474 times in the BNC. Sealey finds that the nouns preceded by *children’s* are typically things that are directed *to* and provided *for* children by adults (e.g. *children’s books, hospital(s)*).

In the two studies, the analysis of collocational patterns of certain keywords is carried out as a starting point which sets the direction of further development of the topic. Specially, Sealey’s study is methodologically relevant to the current study. She analyses the collocational patterns of the grammatical words such as prepositions or possessive forms. They form a broad

semantic pattern which constructs children as beneficiaries. The focus on grammatical word can effectively unveil broad semantic patterns which are shared by a variety of individual lexical words and may not be obvious in isolation. This method will be explored later in the analysis of the representation of North Korea.

## **(2) Corpora as a main source of analysis**

### **1) Comparative studies of corpora**

This section considers several corpus-based comparative studies. As pointed out by Stubbs in section 2.2.2, there seems to be a relatively small number of comparative studies in CDA even though the comparative method is quite suitable for revealing different treatment of the same event or group from different ideological positions (e.g. Trew's comparative study of the two ideologically opposing newspapers' representation of the young people involved in a riot introduced in section 2.1.2).

#### **1.1) Comparing specialised corpora with reference corpora**

Two articles by Piper (2000a, 2000b) compare a specialised corpus of official documents on lifelong learning with a reference corpus and show how certain common words can develop new semantic or grammatical patterns, which have not been typically attributed to them in the course of the creation of a new discourse based on particular social theories.

Piper (2000a) analyses the 950,000 word corpus of British government and EU documents on

lifelong learning (LL corpus) in order to demonstrate how the official discourse of lifelong learning is formulated in the framework of a social theory of human capital. Her analysis focuses on differences in collocational behaviours of *learning* and *lifelong learning* in her own corpus and the reference corpus, the Bank of English. For example, the significant collocates of *learning* in the Bank of English corpus are *disabilities*, *difficulties* (indicating problems), *curve*, *methods*, *process*, *experiences* (related to experiential aspects of learning). *Learning* in the LL corpus occurs with words like *methods* and *difficulties*, but more frequently occurs with more institutionalised concepts such as *society*, *age*, or *culture* which she interprets as follows: ‘the human subject is subsumed within superordinate and all embracing social, cultural, and temporal entities’ (2000, 125: 12). She also reports that these collocates are typically preceded by verbs or nominalisations of verbs such as *build*, *develop*, *sustain*, *create*, or *establish* which conceptualises *learning* as the goal of developmental processes.

In another study (2000b), using the same corpus, Piper looks at the main participants of lifelong learning, *individuals* and *people*. She bases her analysis on Giddens and Beck’s theory of individualism and risk society in late modernity. Collocational and grammatical patterns of *individuals* and *people* are analysed and compared with those of the general corpus, BNC. In the case of *individuals*, the analysis reveals three characteristics which reflect the institutionalization of individuals and the emphasis on the individual responsibility proposed by Giddens and Beck :

- i) about one in three occurrences of *individuals* occurs with lexical items which refer to a wide range of social groups and institutions (e.g. *employers*, *organisations*, *society*...);
- ii) as a subject of a finite verb, more than a third of *individuals* occurs in modal

constructions (e.g. *individuals must, need to, should, will...*), which are usually followed by verbs of positively evaluated mental or material processes (e.g. *achieve, take responsibility, succeed...*);

iii) *individuals* are consistently positioned as a beneficiary or receiver of institutional actions and their products (e.g. *policies, plans...*)

On the other hand, the occurrences of *individuals* in the BNC are significantly less frequent: *individuals* occur in a ratio of one to fifteen against *people* while a ratio of one to two in the LL corpus, and they are construed as separate human beings participating in a richer variety of human activities, not just as a collective entity.

## **1.2) Comparing individual specialised corpora**

Stubbs (1996), whose work has been introduced in section 2.3.1, compares two specialised corpora: one is a 80,000 word geography textbook (Text G) which is supposed to provide ideologically neutral, factual information about the physical and human geography of Britain, and the other is a 30,000 word environmentalist textbook (Text E) on the damage being caused by industrial processes. Starting from an assumption that ‘the systemic usage of different syntactic patterns encodes different point of view’ (p. 131), Stubbs tries to see whether different ideological stances of two textbooks are expressed in their different use of English grammar. He analyses two particular grammatical features: ergative verbs and projecting clauses. The analysis of the ergative verbs shows that 52% of ergative verbs is used transitively (passive: 11%, intransitive: 38%) in text E while 51% as intransitive in text G (passive: 26%, transitive: 23%). Stubbs repeats the same analysis on the lemmas of five most frequent ergative verbs

(CHANGE, DEVELOP, FORM, IMPROVE, INCREASE) in his own corpora and the LOB corpus as a reference corpus in order to measure the interpretative significances of these distributions in relation to English in general. The results are as follows: transitive: 49%, passive: 20%, intransitive: 31% in the LOB corpus, 55%, 13%, 32% in text E and 31%, 17%, 52% in text G. The comparison shows that text G expresses less causation and agency while text E is closer to the norm. The second part of the analysis investigates projecting clauses which precede *that* in two corpora. In text E, 80% of the projecting clauses has explicit agents or sources of attributions (e.g. *the government has recognised that...*), and 70% of them is personal (e.g. *the people of Hull hoped that...*) whereas in text G, only 57% of the clauses is explicitly attributed, that is, 43% is unattributed as in *there are fears that...* and 59% of attributions is impersonal (e.g. *all three techniques show use that...*). The results confirm that the environmentalist textbook attributes responsibility to individuals and groups more frequently for knowledge presented in the textbook.

Piper and Stubb's studies successfully exploit the quantitative advantage of using corpora. The analyses are given credibility not only by the consistency of the lexical and semantic patterns recurring in the quantitative data but also by the use of the reference corpora. Another thing to note about Piper's works is that the theoretical position on which Piper bases her interpretation, is made explicit from the outset, and this safeguards against 'the challenge of other alternative interpretations' (Hunston, 2002: 122). Similar to that of Sealey (2000), Piper's analysis encompasses recurrent semantic patterns realised by a group of words or grammatical constructions.

## 2) Non-comparative studies of corpora

Most non-comparative studies focus on analysing lexical items either identified as significantly frequent in a corpus or selected as a key term by researchers in advance. The investigation of the collocational profile of individual lexical items can shed light on how the image of a group or an event is construed to reflect one's attitude towards the group or event in focus.

### Representation of countries reflected in lexical items

The following articles show differentiated collocational patterns of certain lexical items which reveal how different countries and groups of people are perceived especially in the British context.

Krishnamurthy (1996) uses the Bank of English corpus to investigate how three synonymous words, *ethnic*, *racial*, and *tribal* differ in their collocational patterns. The findings of his analysis can be summarized as:

- i) *Ethnic* most frequently collocates with *group(s)*, *minority(ies)* and associated activities are *violence* and *cleansing*;
- ii) *Racial* collocates words such as *equality*, *non-*, *multi-*, *commission* which has ethical and bureaucratic associations and *discrimination* is the main activity associated with it;
- iii) *Tribal* collocates with words indicating organizational modes such as *assembly*, *leaders*, *chiefs*, and the most frequently associated activity is *killings*, which is very specific.

In terms of nationalities and geographical associations:

- i) *Ethnic* mainly collocates with referents to Eastern European countries and nationalities (e.g. *Albanians, Serbs, Hungarians*);
- ii) *Racial* only collocates with *South Africa*;
- iii) *Tribal* collocates with referents to Africa (*Africa, Africans, Bedouin*), American Indians (*Mohawk, Navajo*), and East Asian countries (*Afghanistan, Kabul, Pakistan*).

Krishnamurthy notes that *tribal* has some pejorative connotations by pointing out that *tribal* is the only word which co-occurs with the word *primitive* in the corpus, and attracts more frequently words like *insurgents* and *rebel*. He suggests that we may unwittingly adopt the prejudices that an English-speaking culture has developed by continually using a word like *tribal* and applying it only to certain groups of people.

In a chapter on the discussion of cultural keywords, Stubbs (1996) briefly illustrates how national stereotypes are reflected in collocates of words such as *British, English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh*. Stubbs uses the British part of the Bank of English corpus and the first few collocates identified from the corpus are given below:

- i) *British: Airways, Aerospace, Empire, Government, Rail, Telecom, army, champion*;
- ii) *English: eccentrics, language, football, literature, heritage, Channel, clubs, cricket*;
- iii) *Irish: accent, brogue, Catholic, fairylore, folk, folktale(s), handcrafts, navvies*;
- iv) *Scottish: devolution, national, Labour, Office, Royal, Nationalists, baronial, highland*,
- v) *Welsh: border, coalminers, clubs, cup, Eisteddfod, language, mountain, national*.

These collocates clearly demonstrate the stereotypical images associated with each nationality apart from *British* which are mostly used neutrally in fixed phrases for organizations. Stubbs does not take the analysis any further, but this simple observation confirms his point that:

**...a corpus-based study can document the recurrent phrases which are one mechanism which constructs such national stereotypes (Stubbs, 1996: 185).**

It will be interesting to see whether collocational patterns will reveal any stereotypical representation of foreign countries and how pervasive it is in the Korean newspaper corpus.

Orpin (1997) analyses 8 lexical items which are semantically related to the act of corruption in the Bank of English corpus: *bribery*, *corruption*, *cronyism*, *graft*, *impropriety(ies)*, *malpractice(s)*, *nepotism*, *sleaze*. She first builds up semantic profiles of each word based on an analysis of collocational information and concordance lines, and the semantic profiling reveals that *bribery*, *corruption*, *cronyism*, *graft* and *nepotism* refer to a specific activity, while *impropriety(ies)*, *malpractice(s)*, and *sleaze* usually do not specify what activity is referred to. In the analysis of countries associated with each word, about three quarters of citations of *impropriety(ies)*, *malpractice(s)*, and *sleaze* are found to refer to British contexts (and US to a lesser extent). On the other hand, *bribery* and *corruption* are most frequently used in the contexts of Italy, Belgium, Pakistan, China, South Korea, India, and Malaysia. In the case of *graft*, Italy, China, and South Korea are most frequently associated with and it is noticeable that *graft*, which specifies the acts of bribery is chosen for these countries even in contexts where less specific and negative *sleaze* can replace it. France, Germany, and Japan are also

associated with *bribery*, *corruption*, and *graft* even though they get much less mention in this data than usual in the British press. Orpin concludes that this differentiated application of *bribery*, *corruption*, and *graft* to foreign countries implies their status as an out-group constructed in the British press.

These studies illustrate how one's perspective of other countries can be embedded in certain words. All the articles discussed in the section deal with the British data and the outside world is categorized and evaluated from the British perspective. For example, in Krishumurthy's study, the word, *tribal* is found to be associated largely with African or East Asian countries while it is suggested that a pejorative connotation is attached to the word by its tendency to attract negative words. Orpin's analysis of the words of corruption shows that the words such as *bribery*, *corruption*, *graft*, *sleaze* have collocational patterns which differ in the degree of negativity, and the linguistic division of 'us and them' between Britain and other countries is realized through the selective use of these words to different countries. In chapter 5, a similar analysis is carried out on the word *policy* in discussion of the representation of the United States.

### **Representation of in-groups**

In this section, a few articles on the representation of in-groups are summarized. These studies do not address the same issue of the representation of foreign countries. However, they are introduced here because they are methodologically useful references to the current project, and illustrate the scope and potential of the corpus-based study of CDA.

Flowerdew (1997) analyses a large corpus of speeches, interviews, public meeting, writings, and other pronouncements made by the last Hong Kong governor, Chris Patten. His analysis purports to expose how the discourse of Chris Patten creates a political myth that the British colonial legacy to Hong Kong is the promotion of democratic western values for the benefit of the people of Hong Kong. He identifies four semantic fields in the corpus: the market economy, the freedom of the individual, the rule of law, and democratic participation, and argues that the consistent reiteration of the four key-concepts contributes to establishing and enhancing Patten's mythic discourse. The semantic field of economy includes high frequency words like *economy, market, business, trade, commerce, competition, industry, enterprise, initiative, investment, wealth, and talent*. Analysis of concordance lines in which these words occur shows that they collocate with words of very positive and dynamic attributes: for instance, *economy* (e.g. *our flourishing economy*), and *economic* (e.g. *fair economic choice*). Furthermore, verbs which frequently co-occur with these noun phrases of *economy* and *economic* are *create, generate, sustain* and *support*. Flowerdew points out that these verbs are what Halliday calls 'processes of doing type' and reinforce the positive and dynamic image of the economy.

In her analysis of newspaper discourse of the European Union in the British Press, Hardt-Mautner (1995) looks at the word *European* as both noun and adjective in her own 168,000 word corpus of headlines and editorials from four British newspapers. She finds that the collocates of *European* have two distinctive semantic patterns and one meta-linguistic pattern: firstly there is a group of collocates of premodifying *European(s)* which indicate that there are various kinds of Europeanness such as *good, pragmatic, instinctive, committed, starry-eyed*. Secondly, there is a group of collocates that grade the degree of Europeanness such as *most*,

*allegedly the most*. Thirdly, inverted commas as in “*European*” are frequently used as a meta-linguistic distancing device. Hardt-Mautner suggests that these patterns reflect not just diversity of meaning of *European*, but the contestation of meaning between anti- and pro-EU factions for possession of the term.

Morrison and Love (1996) analyse a corpus of letters to the editor featured in two Zimbabwean magazines. They examine how a non-elite discourse of disillusionment is expressed in letters to the editor as opposed to the celebratory discourse of the state-controlled daily press on the situation of the country 10 years after independence. In addition to a qualitative analysis of some individual texts, five most frequent content words referring to different groups (*people, Zimbabwe, party, government, president*) identified by the concordance program are analysed. For example, one of their findings is that *Zimbabwe* is mainly positioned as a subject when it occurs as a participant and two semantic groups emerge. In *Zimbabwe+BE-verb* pattern, phrases which describe the present, usually negative, state of the country are followed by *BE-verb* (e.g. *Zimbabwe is too poor to afford two vice presidents*), and prediction or concern about the future of the country is expressed in *Zimbabwe+VERB* pattern (e.g. *otherwise Zimbabwe will go into a second struggle*).

Nesi et al (2002) look at the representation of men and women in a spoken corpus of academic lectures (BASE: the British Academic Spoken English corpus). They investigate the issue from several different perspectives such as naming and identification practices, process types of verbs, use of speech reporting verbs, and *that*-projecting clauses. In an analysis of process types of verbs, they observe interesting differences in the use of four mental process verbs identified in the corpus: *think, see, find, and feel*. 50% of women’s mental activities is

represented as devoted to feeling as opposed to only 4% of men's. Another verb, *find*, which represents 17% of men's mental activities, never occurs with women. This pattern can also be seen in collocates of the possessive forms *his* and *her*: *emotion* comes up as a collocate of *her* and *his* collocates with *perception*, *ambition*, and *mind*. In an analysis of speech reporting verbs associated with men and women, especially metapositional assertive verbs such as *argue*, *claim*, *explain*, and *suggest*, Nesi et al find no occurrences of men represented as doing 'explaining', and of women doing 'claiming' in the corpus, and proportionally speaking, male speakers *argue* twice as much as female speakers while female speakers *suggest* twice as much as male speakers.

#### **2.4. Conclusion**

This chapter has summarized the following areas:

- i) previous studies of the representation of different groups in CDA;
- ii) critique of CDA in terms of data and methodology;
- iii) potentials of corpus linguistics for CDA;
- iv) previous corpus-based studies of CDA.

The main criticisms on CDA are that it deals with too little data and does not have a sound framework for analysis. As for data, it is often too small, sometimes consisting only of text fragments. As a result, analyses are decontextualised and difficult to generalise. Methodologically, the most frequently challenged problem is assuming a direct connection between linguistic forms and ideological significances, while interpretative stance is often not

made clear. This results in contrived and subjective analyses. What corpus linguistics can offer for CDA is quantitative validation in terms of data and methodology, which can produce results which are replicable to a higher degree of objectivity. In section 2.3.2, a group of previous corpus-based studies which are concerned with the issue of representation of different groups and events have been discussed. The following characterises these studies:

- i) they are lexis-based, focusing on behaviour of key lexical items;
- ii) they use frequency and collocate information as a lead into further analysis;
- iii) they focus on recurrent collocational patterns which provide an interpretative basis;
- iv) a comparative method is frequently used (e.g. comparison of individual corpora, use of reference corpora, or comparison of individual lexical items with a corpus).

The current study will be methodologically adapting from these studies. The next chapter explains the process of corpus-building and analysis.

## CHAPTER 3

### DATA and METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1. Data and corpus building

##### 3.1.1. Data source

My research interest is in investigating the representation of foreign countries in South Korean newspapers. As a data source, the online editions of three Korean newspapers were selected because of the obvious practicality of relatively easy transferring and storing of data in the computer. The three newspapers selected for inclusion in the corpus are all broadsheets: *the Korea Herald* and *the Korea Times*, and the English edition of *the Chosun Ilbo*. The first two newspapers are published only in English and are naturally middle or upper class oriented, since their audience has to be well-educated enough to read proficiently in English. *The Chosun Ilbo* is a daily with the largest circulation and the most conservative or right-wing political stance in Korea. The period covered in the corpus spans from July 1998 to April 2002 and this approximately coincides with the governing period of the current government led by the president Kim Daejung, who was the first democratically-elected civilian president in modern Korean history. As it turns out, this five year period is also significant in the representation of North Korea, one of foreign countries analysed in the corpus.

### 3.1.2. Data Selection and corpus building

The initial examination of the newspapers shows that each newspaper has slightly different section divisions and the archive search required search words for retrieval of articles. This involved decisions on:

- i) what sections of the newspapers to include;
- ii) what search words to use;
- iii) how many articles to select

As for what sections to include, originally I hoped to include international news sections and editorials. However none of the on-line editions of the newspapers had separate sections for international news, and one of the online archives of the newspapers did not include editorial articles, so the international news and editorial sections had to be excluded from the selection. In the end, it was decided that three sections - national news, business and finance, and IT (Information Technology), which featured in all three newspapers, would go into the corpus in order to maintain uniformity of data across the newspapers. For search words, with one exception, ten very common and general words - *man, woman, people, human, matter, work, hour, time, year, Korea* - were chosen to obtain a random spread of articles while avoiding bias to any specific topic-related articles, since these words are expected to occur in almost every text. *Korea* does not fit into the category of common words, but was included as a search word on the grounds that it would occur frequently regardless of topic because of the Korean origin of the newspapers. Regarding the number of articles to include, the target size of the corpus was

about half a million words, which is relatively small, whereas the archive search result would usually throw up hundreds and thousands of articles when a search word was typed in. As a way of choosing only the limited but random number of articles from the retrieved data, for each search word, it was decided that ten articles would be downloaded from the business and finance section and IT section respectively, and twenty articles from the national news sections. The reason for taking more articles from the national news section was that this section covered a wide range of news items such as politics, education, accident and crime reports and so on. Ten or twenty articles, depending on the section, were randomly downloaded by picking every, say fifth or hundredth article which was worked out by dividing whatever total number of articles retrieved from the archive for each search word by 10 or 20. The same process was repeated for each newspaper. Since the total number of articles chosen for each newspaper was the same, the word count of each newspaper was expected to be more or less similar. However, it turned out that *the Chosun Ilbo* had significantly fewer words than the other two newspapers, and it seemed to be due to the fact that the overall length of each article of *the Chosun Ilbo* was much shorter, which was not noticed at the outset. The word count of each sub-corpus is as follows: *the Korea Times* 215, 807, *the Korea Herald* 184, 747, *the Chosun Ilbo* 95, 093. As a whole, the corpus consists of 495,647 words (the results were calculated by Monoconc Pro). Given that the proposed study is not so much concerned with comparing individual sub-corpora, the discrepancy in word counts will not act as a detrimental factor for the analysis. Finally, downloaded articles from each newspaper were stored in three text files after being converted from HTML format into plain text format suitable to be processed with concordancing software<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank my co-supervisor, Dr. Pernilla Danielson for writing up the program and helping me with operating it. I have realised how valuable it can be to have a programming skill to anyone who

## 3.2. Methodology of corpus analysis

### 3.2.1. Looking at the frequency word list

Once the corpus is created, a good starting point for analysis is to produce word lists of the corpus by using a concordancing package. As noted by Barnbrook (1996), simple word lists according to frequency or alphabetical order can provide a useful pointer to any grammatical or lexical item potentially worth further research. In order to identify which foreign countries are mentioned and how frequently they are mentioned in the corpus, I have looked at names of countries appearing in the frequency list of the corpus. Wordsmith Tools has been used as the main concordancing program, however it has been discovered that the word count of the frequency wordlist of the Wordsmith Tools usually do not match the number of concordance lines generated for individual words, for example, the frequency of the word, *north* is 1483 times in the frequency word list, however, the search for its concordance lines gives the total number of 1571 (there are cases where two figures match, e.g. the frequency and the number of concordance lines of *time* are both 775). For this reason, Monoconc Pro has been used as a complementary tool for producing the word frequency list. Table 3.1 shows the 35 most frequent content words within the most frequent 100 words overall, as calculated by Monoconc Pro.

Rank	Word	Frequency	Rank	Word	Frequency
------	------	-----------	------	------	-----------

---

works with corpora through this experience.

11	said	3602	65	south	733
15	Korea	2898	66	first	723
24	Korean	1846	67	business	720
28	Year	1714	72	Lee	672
32	Kim	1599	72	time	672
33	north	1434	76	national	643
35	government	1393	77	u	637
44	new	969	78	s	631
45	last	960	79	ministry	629
46	president	958	83	service	603
50	Seoul	844	84	economic	598
55	internet	810	89	system	556
56	market	810	90	financial	536
57	foreign	801	93	officials	507
58	people	800	94	yesterday	505
60	companies	791	96	work	492
64	company	736	97	official	490
			98	years	487

(Table 3.1)

From the list above, the two most frequently mentioned foreign countries can be identified: North Korea and the United States of America. First, *north* is found to be part of noun and adjective phrases such as *the North*, *North Korea* and *North Korean(s)* with the exception of a

handful of cases used in phrases such as *North Yorkshire* and occurrences of *north* in lower case. Two letters, *u* (77) and *s* (78), which escaped my attention at first, actually form *U.S.* with a few exceptions such as U.N. or H.S. (acronym of name of a Korean bank). In both WordSmith and Monoconc, *U.S.* is not recognised as one word, but as separate letters while *US* comes up as one word.

### **3.2.2. North Korea as a foreign country**

Before moving on any further, it has to be first clarified that the decision to treat North Korea as a foreign country is rather arbitrary. Koreans regard North and South Korea as one nation and the division is supposed to be only temporary. Furthermore, technically, according to the constitution of the Republic of Korea (that is, South Korea), there is only one legitimate government on the Korean peninsula, which is 'our' South Korean government and the northern part of Korea has been illegally occupied by an illegitimate communist organisation, that is the North Korean government, and must be ultimately restored to the sovereignty of the Republic of Korea through a unification process. In this sense, North Korea is really not a foreign country, yet in practice, despite some diplomatic complications involved in the recognition of North Korea as a legitimate state, North Korea has been internationally and diplomatically given the status of an autonomous state and has acted as such. For this reason, I have chosen to place North Korea in the category of foreign countries. It has to be said that what the frequency list presents may be neutral, but how we read the results still involves some form of interpretation and subjectivity as in the case of North Korea.

### 3.2.3. Frequency of words referring to foreign countries

As already shown in the section 3.2.3, the two most frequently mentioned foreign countries in the corpus are North Korea and the US. In addition, *Japan* (121st, 389) and *China* (187th, 274) are also found further down the frequency list. Apart from these four countries, there is no other foreign country whose frequency of the noun form referring to the country exceeds 100 times in the corpus. In the case of Russia, which is ranked as fifth after China, its noun form *Russia* occurs 57 times, while the occurrence of the adjective form *Russian* occurs 56 times. Table 3.2 gives the total frequency of noun and adjective forms referring to each of the four countries. In the cases of *U.S.* and *US*, the occurrences of phrases such as *US (U.S.) \$* and *US (US) dollar* have been excluded from the count.

	Fq		Fq		Fq		Fq
<b>North Korea</b>	<b>1605</b>	<b>The US</b>	<b>1200</b>	<b>Japan</b>	<b>757</b>	<b>China</b>	<b>508</b>
<i>North</i>	410	<i>U.S.</i>	574	<i>Japan</i>	389	<i>China</i>	274
<i>North Korea</i>	587	<i>US</i>	130	<i>Japanese</i>	310	<i>Chinese</i>	170
<i>North</i>	398	<i>United States</i>	267	<i>Tokyo</i>	58	<i>Beijing</i>	64
<i>Korean(s)</i>	210	<i>America</i>	24				
<i>Pyongyang</i>		<i>American</i>	106				
		<i>Washington</i>	99				

(Table 3.2)

For convenience, each of these groups of lexical items, which refer to each of the foreign countries will be called a cluster such as ‘the North Korea cluster’ from now on. The

frequency outcome is not entirely unexpected. In fact, it is almost predictable when the politico-economic map of South Korea is considered from its cultural and geographic landscape. According to Galtung and Ruge's criteria of news selection (1965), all four countries have high news value in terms of their 'meaningfulness' factor (reformulated by Fowler, 1996:13). The factor is two-sided: cultural proximity and relevance. On the cultural proximity side, North Korea, Japan, and China are all geographically and culturally very close to South Korea with a long history of cultural and commercial exchange and political and military conflicts, which can be represented by two events in modern history: the 35-year Japanese colonial rule of Korea and the Korean War, which both resulted in the North and South divide. On the relevance side, despite its geographic distance, America is no doubt highly relevant to all aspects of Korean society since its intervention in the liberation process of Korea from the Japanese occupation: America is the biggest commercial partner and the foremost political and military ally of South Korea. As a news item, America and Japan share another apparent news value by being 'an elite nation', which is the 9th factor in Galtung and Ruge's criteria (Fowler, 1996:14). As for North Korea, another news-worthiness can be attributed to it: its negative image to outside world, which is related to the 12th factor that the more negatively perceived an event or entity is, the more likely it is to get reported in the newspaper. The high frequency of the lexical items referring to these four countries corresponds to each country's news value based on the relationship they have with South Korea. Originally, it was intended to carry out analysis on four most frequently mentioned foreign countries identified from the frequency list. However due to the time and space limit, two countries - North Korea and the US are chosen since they are the two most frequently mentioned foreign countries in the corpus and considered the most important countries in terms of their relationship with South Korea.

### 3.2.4. Looking at collocates

The next step to take, after having decided what foreign countries to investigate by consulting the frequency list, is to examine the collocate lists of individual lexical items identified above. Looking at the collocates of a word is helpful for drawing a general picture of semantic or grammatical behaviour of the word, which can be then checked and elaborated through detailed analysis of concordance lines. Going through the collocate lists of words, *North*, *U.S.*, *US*, *United States*, *Japan*, and *China*, the first thing I have noticed is that each word has the other words as its collocate, for example, *U.S.*, *United States*, *China*, *Japan* appear in the collocate list of *North*. More interestingly, there is a group of collocates which is shared by these words and they seem to be semantically all to do with the forming and maintaining of ‘relationships’. Examples include *relations*, *partnership*, *ties*. They can be subcategorised into three semantic sets: 1) physical mobilisation for relationship forming and maintaining: *visit*, *visiting*, *trip*, 2) verbal activities involved in relationship forming and maintaining: *talks*, *dialogue*, *negotiations*, 3) material activities involved in relationship forming and maintaining: *cooperation*, *aid*, *assistance*, *assisting*, *help*, *support*. The frequency of each word as a collocate of each country cluster is given in Table 3.3, which has been produced by Wordsmith Tools.

	North Korea	America	Japan	China
relations	46	18	13	5
partnership	*	*	6	*
ties	11	3	4	4
visit	27	14	8	8
visiting	*	*	4	*

trip	6	9	4	*
talks	42	16	6	*
dialogue	12	6	*	*
negotiations	12	9	4	*
cooperation	17	*	3	5
assistance	11	*	*	*
assisting	*	3	*	*
aid	14	*	3	*
help	21	4	*	4
support	7	13	*	*

(Table 3.3)

Even though there is some difference in frequency of each word as a collocate of different countries, this collocational pattern seems to suggest a consistent pattern of representation of these countries in terms of their relationship either with South Korea or with each other. A full picture of how this relationship-focused representation of each country is realised in the corpus will only begin to emerge when actual concordance lines of these collocates are analysed. The next chapter will present the results of the analysis of the concordance lines of the significant collocates of each country cluster introduced in this section

## CHAPTER 4

### ANALYSIS and DISCUSSION 1

#### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter will consider the results of analysis of how North Korea is represented in the corpus of South Korean newspapers. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the two countries, North Korea and the United States have been chosen according to their frequency order produced by the concordancing program, and the analysis will focus on the pattern of representation of these countries that is reflected in the collocational behaviour of the words associated with to each country. In this chapter, some key collocates of the North Korea cluster will be examined in detail in order to see how the representation of North Korea fits into the semantic pattern postulated based on these collocates.

#### 4.2. How is North Korea referred to?

The observation of the collocate list of *north* shows a group of words which signal negativity in describing its political system such as *communist, regime, Stalinist*. The collocate *communist* does not belong to the group of the collocates introduced in the previous section, but it seems to provide a good lead for rather stereotypical treatment of North Korea by the South Korean newspapers, which will be further explored in later sections. There are ten occurrences of

*communist* as a collocate of *North*:

offer a keyhole look into **isolated** communist North Korea, which remains largely  
cept for a few, including **stubborn** communist North Korea and its ally, Cuba,  
ided into the capitalist South and Communist North at the end of World War II  
an President's approach toward the Communist North. "This further consolidat  
ateral forum. Observers said the Communist North has focused only on negotia  
ean Peninsula was divided into the Communist North and the pro-Western South  
policy of reconciliation with the Communist North, which received support fr  
nced that it would recognize the communist North after Swedish Prime Minis  
o get tough in dealing with the Communist North. Apparently angered by t  
U.N. flag against the invading Communist North Korean troops. Five other

The word classifies North Korea in terms of its political system, but it is by no means a neutral classification. It becomes clearer in cases where *communist* pre-modifies *regime*. I have looked at *communist* as a node word. Out of a total of 64 occurrences, 40 occurrences are used to refer to North Korea in combination with words like *state*, *regime*, *nation*, *neighbor*, *homeland*, *country*, and there are 6 occurrences of *communist regime*, which are shown below:

ngton over their stances on the Communist regime. The EU leaders' high-profi  
e large-scale assistance to the communist regime. In the recent New York talks  
persecution or hardship in the Communist regime," the ex-North Korean Navy s  
negative toward such aid to the Communist regime, which had launched a series  
it is apparent that the North's communist regime is trying to improve its ties  
ean civic activists praised the communist regime during their visit to the Nor

Note that there is no incidence of *communist government*, which could have been used as an alternative to *communist regime*. I have also searched *regime* as a node word. There are a total of 33 occurrences of *regime* and 23 of them are found to refer to North Korea. Some of

the concordance lines are given below:

mation and encouragement of an **anti-state** regime (largely referring to North Korea) and the provision of business opportunities in the **Stalinist** regime following Chung's agreement with Pyongyang to persuade the **reclusive** regime to suspend its nuclear and missile development in exchange for maintaining bargaining chips for the **reclusive** regime in its dialogue with the United States. Bush's hard-line stance on the Pyongyang regime. Seoul officials said they are seeking a diplomatic recognition of the Pyongyang regime and large-scale assistance to help it reduce missile exports. Furthermore, the Pyongyang regime stressed that it cannot stop its nuclear development. Bush's hard-line stance toward the Pyongyang regime is seen as a prime cause. Washington officials said Bush's negative stance on the Pyongyang regime runs counter to President Kim Jong Il's goal of a joint news conference as a "**despotic** regime" oppressing its people. "I w

It is known that when used to refer to a political governing system, *regime* has negative connotation. For reference, the news media subcorpora of the Bank of English have been consulted. The collocates of *regime* in the subcorpora include names of countries such as *East Germany, Iraqi, Kabul, Nigeria, Soviet* or names of dictators such as *Ceausescu, Duvalier, Saddam Hussein, Suharto*, or nouns and adjectives which are negatively evaluative, such as *Apartheid, brutal, communist, dictatorial, Nazi, totalitarian, repressive*. The word *regime* is clearly acquiring negative semantic prosody by being neighbored by negative words (Louw, 1993). Incidentally *(North) Korea* features as a collocate of *regime* in the Bank of English. These are the concordance lines of *regime* referring to North Korea taken from the Bank of English:

5 billion to the **isolated** communist regime. <p> North Korea will be required Korea maintains its **strict** communist regime and command economy. The propping up the **rigid** communist regime in Pyongyang. Seoul wants to w so than in the **hardline** communist regime of North Korea. In South Kor critical of the **autocratic** regime in North Korea, indicating if n isolated the trenchantly **Stalinist** regime in North Korea. And President

Coming back to the case of *communist*, it can be said that *communist* takes on extra negativity by collocating with words like *regime* that has a clearly negative semantic prosody. We can also see there is semantic similarity in adjectives used to describe North Korea in the South Korean newspaper corpus and the Bank of English: *isolated, reclusive, stubborn, strict, rigid, hardline, despotic, autocratic, Stalinist*. In the Korean newspaper corpus, there are 7 occurrences in which North Korea is described by the word *Stalinist* and it is only used to refer to North Korea in the corpus:

induce openness in the last remaining Stalinist state, North Korea's doors will sitting there. North Korea is the last Stalinist state, and so it is easy to h try once there are improvements in the Stalinist state's human rights issues a ine in 1999, the food situation in the Stalinist state is feared to worsen th e projects in North Korea, because the Stalinist state appears willing to ent ditional business opportunities in the Stalinist regime following Chung's agr e South Korean delegation left for the Stalinist North on Sunday and is compr of human rights violations within the Stalinist country conveyed through withn

A further point is that the naming of North Korea as a *regime* in the newspapers is significant in light of the fact that this term is not used in official documents released from the Ministry of Unification. I have sampled documents on the Sunshine policy posted on the web of the Ministry of Unification and found no incidence where North Korea is referred to as a *regime*. The Sunshine policy is a new policy on North Korea which has been launched and promoted by

the present government and the initiation of this policy is one of the reasons for which the current president, Kim Daejung, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. It acknowledges North Korea as a legitimate partner in pursuit of coexistence and cooperation between two countries, which will eventually lead to unification, and emphasises the mutual respect and trust instead of treating North Korea as an enemy or threat to South Korea. What can be inferred from the way North Korea is categorised in the newspapers is that the stereotypical image of North Korea as an old enemy persists in the newspapers, despite the change in official discourse on North Korea. Fowler 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 (Fowler, 1991: 17).**

In the rest of the analysis, it will be further considered how much of the representation of North Korea is realised through its stereotypical image. A group of collocates of the North Korea cluster: *relations, talks, dialogue* will be analysed in the next section 4.3. In section 3.2.4, the collocate lists of the four most frequently mentioned foreign country clusters have been observed and it has been found that there is a group of collocates which occur with most of the four clusters and share the semantic theme, namely ‘forming and maintaining of relationships’. These three collocates are chosen primarily because they are shared both by the North Korea and the US cluster. It becomes clear in the course of analysis that North Korea is a main goal

of this relationship forming and maintaining pursued by different countries. In section 4.4 and 4.5, the representation of North Korea as an actor and as a goal will be discussed, and part of the analysis relates to the relationship-building issue. In the following sections, it will be shown that the overall pattern in the representation of North Korea is on a continuum of its old image even though there is a sign of a new image emerging from the corpus.

### 4.3. Forming and maintaining relationship with North Korea

#### (1) *Relations*

The word *relations* occurs a total of 213 times in the corpus, and 154 instances are used in diplomatic sense (the rest are used in the context of labour disputes). Observation shows that 98 out of the 154 occurrences are concerned with relations between North Korea and various countries, that is, *relations* is used dominantly to talk about the relationship with North Korea. Verbs which co-occur with *relations* signal what aspect of the relationship is frequently reported in the newspapers. They can be grouped into four semantic patterns. Table 4.1 below shows different meaning types and word groups (words in upper case mean lemma).

Meaning Type	Word Group
<b>Forming of relationship (18)</b>	<b>ESTABLISH (4), FORM (2), DEVELOP (8),</b> Creating, pursuing, seeking, signed
<b>Bettering of relationship (19)</b>	<b>IMPROVE (17),</b> reshape, maintaining
<b>Repairing of relationship (13)</b>	<b>NORMALISE (8),</b> break the deadlock in, getting(relations) back on track, give a boost, patch up, restored

<b>Collapse of relationship (9)</b>	are deadlocked, has come to a standstill, cooled off, have been derailed, would freeze, could face another standstill, go sour, have soured, stalled
-------------------------------------	---

(Table 4.1)

These word groups all semantically revolve around the process of building and maintaining a relationship and the focus on this aspect of relationship in the corpus seems to suggest difficulty and volatility involved in keeping good relationships with North Korea. Another semantic pattern observed from the concordance lines given below is that of the evaluation and prediction of how an event will affect the development of the relationship with North Korea such as *have* + adjective + *consequences, effect, impact* + *on~*, *Be-verb* + adjective (*good, ripe*) + *for* and the use of modal verbs (*can, could, would*). The pattern seems to indicate uncertainty surrounding building a relationship with North Korea:

this is hoped to **have a major impact on** improving relations between South and  
lks can be restarted early and Japan-North Korea relations **can** improve," it s  
ted to **have a negative impact on** North Korea-U.S. relations and it will have m  
locked. It is true that strained North Korea-U.S. relations **could** give a boost  
onsent to hold them in Mt. Kumgang, inter-Korea relations **could** face yet anot  
icy, which will also **be good for** the inter-Korean relations in the long run,"  
ments would **have positive effects on** inter-Korean relations," said presidenti  
tion would **have a negative effect on** inter-Korean relations. MDP spokesman Je  
ill **have more direct consequences on** inter-Korean relations. The improvement  
ments **can** make significant headway in normalizing relations this year. "North  
with another missile launch, it **would** freeze its relations with Seoul, Washi  
that the time **is now ripe for** developing business relations with the North as

Furthermore, the process of building a relationship with North Korea is often presented as an act to be realised, rather than an established fact. The process of relationship-building is positioned as part of grammatical units which semantically denote future, such as ‘*verb + particle (consider, decide, want + to, aim + at)*’, ‘*noun + to (goal to, move to, need to,)*’, ‘*noun + of (prospects of, vision of)*’, or ‘*adjective + to (critical to, necessary to)*’. The concordance lines of this meaning group are given below:

hy, Lee supported Canada's **move to** improve relations with North Korea.  
 nent cannot easily **decide to** normalize relations with North Korea.  
**urgent need to** expend time and... on improving relations with North K  
 Korea and only **consider** normalizing diplomatic relations with the country o  
 e discussions **aimed at** normalizing diplomatic relations due to issues such  
 and Asian countries **want to** normalize diplomatic relations with North Korea,"  
 ditional foreign policy **goal is to** normalize its relations with North Korea w  
 work for the new **vision of** the Korea-Japan relations, the ambassador  
 ates, considered **critical to** getting inter-Korean relations back on track  
 of articles on the **prospects of** inter-Korea relations, which many Kore  
 kingdom, Belgium **decided to** form diplomatic relations with the North  
 that it has **decided to** establish diplomatic relations with North Korea  
**necessary to** normalize Pyongyang-Washington relations. On the occasion o

Whether to establish a relationship with North Korea in itself is represented as an issue to be solved, and it seems to reinforce the image of an internationally ‘isolated’ North Korea. Another structure which has been looked at is *relations+ with*. There are a total of 54 occurrences of *relations + with* in the corpus, and 20 occurrences have referents to North Korea preceded by *with*. North Korea is grammatically positioned as a goal of other countries’ relationship-building process. Ten concordance lines are given below:

With the North." Finland first signed diplomatic relations with the North in  
 nd Pyongyang. China, which restored friendly relations with the North aft  
 ted Kingdom, Belgium decided to form diplomatic relations with the North on J  
 Korea and only consider normalizing diplomatic relations with the country on  
 evaluate the three countries' current relations with the communist  
 and helped the United States and Japan improve relations with the Communist h  
 government cannot easily decide to normalize relations with North Korea.  
 extreme and try to dramatically improve its relations with North Korea,"  
 everyone else, it's business. "It's more open relations with North Korea, f  
 s Rivasseau stated the EU countries' diplomatic relations with North Korea we

On the other hand, there are only 8 occurrences in which referents to other countries are preceded by *with* and in which North Korea could be potentially presented as an initiator of building a relationship with other countries. These are the concordance lines of *with* + referents to other countries:

Touching on **Pyongyang's stalled relations** with Washington and Seoul,  
 il that **the North should improve relations** with the United States and  
 Sejong Institute. **North Korea's relations** with South Korea...the U.S. **cooled off**  
 le launch, **it would freeze its relations** with Seoul, Washington and  
**s delayed** negotiations on **normalizing relations** with Japan since late 2000.  
 involved in negotiations on bilateral **relations** with the Philippines,

as **Pyongyang's relations** with both Seoul and Washington **are deadlocked**  
**its relations** with...the foreign countries **are still shaky**

Ironically, as an owner or initiator of the relationship with other countries, its relationship with other countries is negatively evaluated (*stalled, cooled off, deadlocked, shaky*) and the activities North Korea are presented as being involved in seem negative too (*delay, freeze*).

## **(2) Talks and dialogue**

As with the case of *relations*, these words turn out to be used mostly in a North Korean context. There are a total of 213 occurrences of *talks* used in reference to foreign countries, and 173 of them refer to *talks* between North Korea and other countries (mainly South Korea, America, Japan). In the case of *dialogue*, out of 56 occurrences used in the context of foreign countries, 53 examples represent *dialogue* between North Korea and other countries.

### **Talks**

Two collocational patterns of *talks* will be considered here. The first pattern is represented by a variety of nominal and adjectival groups which act as premodifiers of *talks*. They classify the format, hierarchy, and purpose of *talks*.

<b>Format</b>	<b>bilateral (3), three way (1), four way (1), four-party (4), inter-Korean (6), U.S.-North Korea (3), North Korea-EU (1), direct (1)</b>
<b>Hierarchy</b>	<b>Red-Cross (4), general officer's (1), official (2), preliminary (6), preparatory (4), working-level (2), high-level (8), governmental (3), government-level (1), cabinet-level (2), ministerial (21), ministerial level (3), minister level (1), minister's (5), parliamentary (1), summit (15),</b>
<b>Purpose</b>	<b>(diplomatic) normalisation (5), peace (5), missile (3), military (1), security (1), political (1), economic (1), (Mt. Keumgang) tourism (1)</b>

(Table 4.2)

As can be seen from the table 4.2, the classification of *talks* is elaborate and extensive (117 out of 177 occurrences of *talks* are classified). Specification of the hierarchy of *talks* seems

particularly emphasised in the corpus. For reference, I have looked at 500 randomly selected examples of *talks* taken from three sub-corpora of the Bank of English (Times, BBC, US National Public Radio broadcasts). Only one instance expressing hierarchy of *talks* (*ministerial level*) has been found, while phrases concerning format (e.g. *direct*, *all-party*, *multi-party*) and purpose (e.g. *peace*, *arms*, *trade*) occur much more frequently (*direct*, *party*, *peace*, and *trade*, in fact, appear on the collocate list of *talks* in these sub-corpora). The second pattern, which seems to be unique to the North Korean context, is that *talks* are often projected as a target of a verbal act such as proposing (*proposed* is one of the collocates of *talks*). What is proposed is 'the resumption' of *talks* in half of the occurrences as shown in the concordance lines below:

it **proposed** holding the three upcoming talks in the remote mountain r  
 North's **offer** to hold the Mt. Kungang tourism talks...and the South-N  
 is likely that Seoul will **propose** holding the talks in Pyongyang, following  
 Seoul rebuffed Pyongyang's **offer** to hold the talks in Mt. Kungang. Also, th  
 then President Kim Young-sam **announced** summit talks with North Korean leader  
 Washington has **proposed** to resume security talks with Pyongyang, but the  
 Kim has already **vowed** to restart the four-party talks that have been stalled f  
 the North **proposed** the resumption of official talks with the South. Inter-  
 oul's **request** to resume the stalled ministerial talks between the two Koreas.  
 We will also **propose** holding working-level talks between the two militar  
 n, they said. "We **proposed** holding Red Cross talks to discuss setting up r

Interestingly, in the 30 occurrences of *talks* between South Korea and America, there is no instance of proposing of *talks* even though there is one occurrence of *proposal to~* in the Japanese context and another instance of *propose that~* in the Chinese context. I have also consulted the same sub-corpora of the Bank of English mentioned above. No form of lemma, *propose* appears as a collocate of *talks*. In 500 sampled concordance lines, apart from three

examples of adjectival use as in *the proposed (peace) talks*, no example of *propose* occurring as a verb was found. As observed from the collocational patterns of *relations* in the previous section, it is perceived as formative and rather precarious business to build up a stable working relationship with North Korea, and this seems to be linked to the collocational patterns of *talks*. Proposing *talks* is a starting point of relationship-building and focus on the procedural aspect, such as the hierarchy of *talks* may be also regarded as part of the initial establishment of a relationship.

### ***Dialogue***

As already stated at the beginning of the section, *dialogue* in relation to foreign countries almost exclusively involves North Korea as one of the participants. In the North Korean context, the most distinctive collocates of *dialogue* are *resume / resumption* and semantically similar words such as *reopen* and *revive*. They occur in the 12 instances out of a total of 53 occurrences. Here are the concordance lines showing the pattern:

S missile issues, the **resumption** of future dialogue between them is a natural c  
and feel that a **resumption** in inter Korea dialogue may be in the offing.  
edged the necessity to **resume** inter-Korean dialogue at the earliest date possi  
orth to discuss the proposed **resumption** of dialogue between North Korean and th  
ll also open the way for the **resumption** of dialogue between the United States a  
ers are cautiously betting a **resumption** of dialogue around the end of this mon  
d the United States are unlikely to **reopen** dialogue for the time being as Wash  
eanwhile, Japan is also expected to **resume** dialogue with North Korea to discuss  
er Goran Persson urged the North to **resume** dialogue with South Korea and fulfil  
he talks would focus on how to help **revive** dialogue between North Korea and the  
olicymakers vowed yesterday to help **revive** dialogue between Pyongyang and Washi  
North Korea are scheduled to **resume** their dialogue on improving bilateral ties

The collocational pattern of *dialogue* in the Korean newspaper corpus is rather different from that of *dialogue* in three sub-corpora of the Bank of English. According to that collocate list, it collocates with the lemma *suspend* (71 including 11 occurrences of *break*) four times as frequently as it does with the lemma, *resume* (18). Only 3.5% of the occurrences of *dialogue* co-occurs with the lemma *resume*. The figure will be actually higher if other semantically similar words like *reopen* are counted. Nevertheless, it clearly shows what angle of the collocational behaviour of *dialogue* is given prominence in the Korean newspaper corpus. Another thing to notice from the concordance lines given above is that none of the instances report the resumption of dialogue as something that has happened. They are all presented as something possible to happen or to be made to happen and the hypothetical construction of the event may be indicative of the unstable nature of the relationship with North Korea.

### **Collapse of *talks* and *dialogue***

Apparently, the collapse of *talks* and *dialogue* is less frequently represented in the corpus.

Here are 10 occurrences for *talks* and 7 for *dialogue*:

#### ***Talks***

Make the armed clash an excuse to **abort** the Beijing **talks**. The inter-Korean m  
last year. North Korea also **cut off** governmental **talks** with South Korea in  
s already *cancelled* a series of planned inter-Korean **talks** and begun to crit  
Pyongyang could be forced to **stall** the preparatory **talks**. "But we will pus  
o the sixth South-North high-level talks. The **talks broke up** without ta  
stance was partly to blame. After **the breakup** of the **talks**, Pyongyang said  
round of **diplomatic normalization talks** between the two countries **ruptured** in

Bilateral **talks** between the two countries **have been suspended**

## *Dialogue*

meant to **put the brakes on** civilian **dialogue** and exchanges," a group  
Pyongyang **withdrew from** inter-Korean **dialogue** for the  
DNO: sun282 TITLE: US-NK **Dialogue Stalls** The United States has ind  
ials said. **Dialogue** between Washington and Pyongyang **has been suspended**  
United States, any **dialogue** between the two countries **would have to wait**  
help revive **dialogue** between North Korea...States, which **has stalled**  
Japan has **suspended dialogue discussions** aimed at normalizing di...

In 7 occurrences, verbs such as *break up*, *stall*, *rupture* are used intransitively and one occurrence is passivised without any explicit agent, as in *has been suspended*. Not surprisingly, when verbs are used transitively, it is only North Korea who is positioned as an explicit agent of causing the collapse of *talks* and *dialogue*, except one instance of Japan suspending *dialogue discussions*. To sum up, the fact that the majority of the occurrences of *relations*, *talks*, and *dialogue* is associated with North Korea cluster shows the progressive nature of the relationship with North Korea. Meanwhile the old image of North Korea as a ‘*reclusive*’ and ‘*stubborn*’ communist country can be traced from the collocational behaviour of *relations*, *talks*, and *dialogue* considered in this section.

### **4.4. What does North Korea do?**

This section considers how North Korea is represented as an actor or agent. 1367 occurrences of *North*, *North Korea*, and *Pyongyang* have been manually inspected and all the occurrences positioned as a grammatical subject have been sorted including:

i) instances of the possessive form of the words

ii) instances of the prepositional phrase, *by* + North Korea cluster and *from* + North Korea cluster

The reason for inclusion is that the possessive form and the prepositional phrase can realise an action (Van Leeuwen, 1996). As shown in table 4.3, North Korea is represented as an actor in 367 instances.

North (425)	North Korea (695)	Pyongyang (247)	Total (1367)
115 (27%)	197 (28%)	55 (22%)	367 (28%)

(Table 4.3)

After sorting all the occurrences in which the North Korea cluster is positioned as an actor, each line has been examined in order to see what actions North Korea is represented to be involved. The examination suggests that the activities roughly fall into three main meaning groups and accordingly, North Korea as an actor is represented in three different ways. In the first group, North Korea is depicted as an agent of undesirable military activities: 11 instances for *the North*, 8 for *Pyongyang*, and 30 for *North Korea*. The concordances lines of *North Korea* are given in the next page (Table 4.4). One noticeable grammatical feature here is the use of continuous aspect, *BE+ V+ ing*. Half of the 18 occurrences of *North Korea + V* pattern are constructed in continuous aspect as shown in the examples in bold. This seems to be the case only when North Korea is represented as an agent of military activities. As will be seen, the continuous aspect is hardly used in the other two representational groups of the North Korea cluster. The use of continuous aspect seems to give a sense of urgency to the situation. Another feature observed from the examples is that the factuality of North Korea's carrying out undesirable

military activities is often hedged or compromised by employing a variety of lexical items such as *alleged*, *claim(s) that ~*, *it appears that ~*, *appears to ~*, *assertion that ~*, *indications that ~*, *possibility that ~*, *reports that ~*, *believes (that) ~*, *is arguing that ~*, *reported that ~*. As can be seen from the underlined examples above, it is *North Korea + V* pattern that is usually hedged. While half of the *North Korea + V* pattern is constructed in continuous aspect, the pattern is frequently hedged in terms of its factuality. This grammatical combination seems to create a mixed sense of urgency and uncertainty, and reflect the representational pattern of North Korea as an unpredictable entity which can pose a threat to the Korean peninsula at any time. In the second group, North Korea is constructed as a seeker (and a receiver) of foreign aid. The first few of the concordance lines for each of the North Korea cluster are provided in the next page (Table 4.5). The underlined examples show the economic aid North Korea gets is not entirely a genuine form of humanitarian help, but a part of negotiations. In this context, what North Korea does is represented as ‘demanding money’ from other countries like the United States and Japan. The third group presents North Korea as a reluctant and uncooperative participant in relation-building process. 30 occurrences of *North*, 20 of *North Korea*, and 16 of *Pyongyang* belong to this group. For each of the North Korea cluster, the first five concordance lines are given below:

Such exercise, but the North **did not accept** it. The CFC also notified North with Pyongyang, but the North **has balked at** the U.S. proposal to the U.S. pro-  
 vers said the Communist North **has focused only on negotiations** with the United  
 se abductees, which the North **has refused**, saying they all defected to the Co  
 "The North is also **reacting very sensitively** to our proposal

North Korea **abruptly called off** the fourth inter-Korea family reunions  
 At North Korea also indicated that it might **refuse to allow** a few South Korea  
 s. North Korea **changed its mind** in secrete talks early this month  
 ith North Korea **clinging on to** its place of choice for the the meeting,  
 and North Korea is likely to **continue to pursue "neither (a) breakthrough nor**

Pyongyang **cut off** all government-level contact with Seoul  
 North Korea. The Pyongyang government **has imposed similar entry bans** on jour  
 r family reunions. Pyongyang **had previously insisted** on measles inoculation f  
 capital. However, Pyongyang **has dragged its feet** in giving the go-ahead, mer  
 en the two Koreas. Pyongyang **has insisted on** establishing such a permanent pe

As can be observed from the examples, the verbs which co-occur with the North Korea cluster in this group connote reluctantness or uncooperativeness. The representation of North Korea as a unwilling and stubborn actor in diplomatic activities seems to correspond to the finding that North Korea is the only country which is given explicit agency when the collapse of talks and dialogue is reported, as pointed out in the previous section. What has been considered so far clearly is on the continuum of stereotypically negative image of North Korea. However, regarding the diplomatic context in particular, it is not infrequent that the North Korea cluster is associated with positive activities. In terms of verbs (including nominalised verbal forms) that occur with the North Korea cluster, 26 occurrences of *North*, 36 of *North Korea*, and 16 of *Pyongyang* are presented as carrying out positive verbal processes. North Korea is given the status of an initiator of the relationship building process in these instances as shown below:

Es reported on March 6 that North Korea agreed not to produce, test or deploy  
 orth Korea. In addition, North Korea discussed with Japan the resumption of  
 the end of last year. Also, North Korea dropped its demand that it be paid cas  
 he first since March 1997. North Korea has so far surprised the other partic  
 ty," he said. Meanwhile, North Korea has been making slow but significant c

Minister Park said he believes that the North agreed on an inter-Korean summit with North Korea for a goodwill game. The North also plans to invite a U.S. team to talks also come at a time when the North appears to be moving towards an opening in the exchanges of family visits show the North is taking the path of openness. In July. It was the first time that the North joined an intergovernmental organization. Last January, Pyongyang established full diplomatic ties with Italy. North Korea's nuclear and missile programs. Pyongyang formally joined the ARF at a Bangkok meeting. He said that while the Pyongyang government acknowledges the need to hold the talks, it is not clear if it is a sign that Pyongyang might start working on reconnecting an inter-Korean dialogue more than a year after Pyongyang pulled out demanding the withdrawal of U.S.

Yet, the initiative of North Korea's actions is represented as prompted or imposed from outside in about 40 percent of all the occurrences of the North Korea cluster: 12 instances of *North*, 15 of *North Korea*, and 4 of *Pyongyang*. In these cases, North Korea is construed as a goal of others' action. This is realised through two main linguistic devices. One is modalisation of the action through the use of modal verbs such as *has to*, *must*, *should*, and the pattern *N + demand + that~*, and the other is conditionalisation of the process through the use of conjunctions such as *before*, *if*, *should*, *unless*, *until*, *when* or phrases like *in return for*, *on the condition that~*, *compensation for~* as can be seen from the concordance lines below:

negotiations earlier this month. "The North **must** honor that promise," Kim said. of North Korean refugees. "**Until** the North responds to the request, we will k... massive economic aid **in return for** the North's agreement to hold the inter-Korean dialogue. But we cannot just accept the North's offer to hold them in Mt. Kumgang. The deal created the deal **in return for** the North's suspension of nuclear programs.

icial said. As a result, **unless** North Korea agrees to hold the ministerial  
 rth. From a reciprocal viewpoint, North Korea **has to** normalize its diplomatic  
 the two can only be realized **when** North Korea shows some progress regarding te  
 position of active engagement **if** North Korea shows a positive attitude.'" He  
 parliament. France has **demanded** North Korea take steps on four major issues -  
 100,000 tons **on the condition that** Pyongyang accepts the family reunion propo  
 into diplomatic recognition **before** Pyongyang makes substantial changes to its  
 and Oct. 15, Seoul rebuffed Pyongyang's offers to hold the talks in Mt.  
 ongoing trip, Kim made clear that Pyongyang **should** seek a peace treaty with S

The examples also show cases (which are underlined) of the initiative taken by North Korea being negatively received. To conclude the section, the way North Korea is represented as an actor does not greatly deviate from the negative schema of North Korea which has been in place for a long time. On the whole, it does get viewed from a positive angle at the same time. However it is relatively low in frequency.

#### 4.5. What do other countries do with North Korea?

This section looks at the collocational behaviour of the North Korea cluster when it is found in grammatical object position (either of verbs or of prepositions). The first part is concerned with the North Korea cluster which occurs with a group of collocates referring to material activities of relationship forming and maintaining such as *aid, assistance, help, support* (discussed in section 3.2.4). In the second part, a pattern *VERB + North Korea cluster + to infinitive* or *preposition* is analysed, and it will be shown that there is a semantic property common to the verbs occurring in the pattern.

### **(1) North Korea as a beneficiary of foreign aid**

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there is a group of collocates of the North Korea cluster which is a sub-category of the meaning group of the forming and maintaining of relationship. The group includes lexical items such as *aid*, *assistance*, *HELP*, and *SUPPORT*. The question is who is represented as a giver of aid and who is represented as a receiver. All the occurrences of each word which occurs in the North Korean context have been examined. In the cases of *HELP and SUPPORT*, ‘the context word’ function of the Wordsmith tools has been used to avoid examining every occurrence of two lemmas because of the relatively large amount of data, much of them being irrelevant to the North Korean context. The context word tool allows you to retrieve instances of a search word only when it occurs in the presence or absence of a certain word within a maximum 25 word span on both sides. Using this function, 40 occurrences of the lemma *SUPPORT* in the presence of *North* within a 25 word span have been called up and the observation is based on these examples. As it turns out, most of occurrences of *SUPPORT* in the North Korean context are used to express internal or external support for the South Korean government’s effort to build a relationship with North Korea. As for *HELP*, 44 occurrences have been identified with the same 25-word span of *North*. In 15 instances, North Korea is presented as a goal of outside groups’ activities aimed at mainly economically helping the country. As can be seen from the first five concordance lines given below, the action of helping is targeted at entities such as *trade or society, Malaria, or farming regions*, which represents difficulties faced by North Korea:

uth's allies. This could **help boost North's trade** as well as the much-ne  
the nuclear project will **help modernize North Korean society**. The NEA is  
oon as possible **with the help of South Korea and the international community**  
the North through WHO to **help prevent malaria in the North**. "I also to  
nization would work to **help revitalize North Korea's hurting farming regions**.

Meanwhile, North Korea is represented as a beneficiary in most of the occurrences of *aid* and *assistance* used in a foreign country context. Out of the total 25 occurrences, 21 occur in the pattern, *provide* or *offer* + *assistance* + *to* or *for* and in 18 of them, the North Korea cluster takes up the position of a beneficiary. Out of the total 56 occurrences of *aid*, 30 occur in the pattern *VERB* (or *NOUN* + *of*) + *aid* + *to* or *for*, and 26 of them feature the North Korea cluster as a beneficiary of aid provided by America, France, Japan, South Korea, and international organisations such as WTO. Here are the five concordance lines for each word:

TITLE: Mad cow fear in Swiss beef aid to N. Korea Contrary to widespread  
`The **resumption** of Japan's bilateral aid to North Korea would be decided th  
economic troubles. "France provides aid to North Korea both directly and thr  
that Japan would **resume** humanitarian aid to North Korea via international or  
also **refused** to offer humanitarian aid to North Korea, because public  
senti  
continue to provide food and humanitarian assistance and urge the "allies  
y, in which he offered government-level assistance to the North  
**was willing to** provide government-level assistance to help the North rebuild  
a's policy toward North Korea and provide assistance to starving children  
only country that can provide large-scale assistance to the communist regime

As can be noted from the examples, in 15 occurrences out of 44 of *aid* and *assistance to* or *for* North Korea, two words co-occur with phrases which can be divided into four meaning groups:  
a) *refused to offer, suspended*, b) *resume, resumption of (2), reopening of*, c) *proposal for*,

*promised to provide, willing to provide (2), willingness to provide, is ready to offer, agreed to the provision of, d) in return for~, provided (that)~.* These phrases indicate that aid to North Korea is dependent on the good will of the donor (e.g. *willing to, willingness to*) and is conditional on North Korea's behaviour (e.g. *in return for, provided that*). The contingent nature of aid provision is confirmed by looking at wider contexts.

## (2) North Korea as a goal of persuasion

There are a total of 101 occurrences of the North Korea cluster used as a grammatical object of verbs: 30 of *North*, 61 of *North Korea*, and 10 of *Pyongyang*. About 24 percent of the total instances in this group is identified as occurring in *VERB + North Korea cluster + to infinitive or preposition*. The verbs are all semantically to do with persuasion with different degree of force: *ask, call on, deter, engage, expect, force, induce, lead, nudge, persuade, pressure, prevent, prompt, urge* as can be seen from the examples of *North Korea*:

initiative is the only way to **lead** North Korea **toward** reform and openness.  
 ery of outside aid and of **nudging** North Korea **to** open up and implement ref  
 apanese government has been **asking** North Korea **to** turn over terrorists who h  
 ance wants to actively **engage** North Korea **to** improve their bilateral ties  
 Its presence not only **deters** North Korea **from** starting something it won'  
 U.S. leaders ways to **encourage** North Korea **to** join in programs for reconci  
 s need to work together to **induce** North Korea and China **to** join the internat  
 such as South Korea **persuading** North Korea **to** launch other economic speci

The positioning of North Korea as a goal of persuasion seems to juxtapose well with its representation as a beneficiary of foreign aid. As a way of persuading North Korea, the 'offering a carrot' tactic is employed in a form of economic aid and assistance. To conclude the section, when North Korea is grammatically presented as a doer, what it is mainly talked

about doing is to engage in dangerous and undesirable military activities. On the other hand, as a goal of other countries' actions, it is portrayed as an object of persuasion and aid. The example below seems to epitomise the status of North Korea construed in the corpus:

North Korea is still **stubbornly** maintaining its closed door policy, while the outer world **is striving to lure it into the open**, which can only change the isolated country.

The use of the word *lure* is oddly patronising. It may imply how difficult and tricky to persuade North Korea into opening up, but at the same time, could be seen as a signal of the attitude of the press that North Korea is inferior to so-called '*the outer world*' and can be manipulated using the economic and political superiority of '*the outer world*'.

#### 4.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, the representation of North Korea has been investigated by looking at the behaviour of the significant collocates of the North Korea cluster, which have been identified and categorised in chapter 3. In section 4.2, the collocates which name and modify North Korea have been analysed. The recurrent occurrences of lexical items such as *regime* and *communist* indicate that the old image of North Korea as an enemy is still intact in the press despite the recent policy changes. In section 4.3, the collocational patterns of the three collocates *relations*, *talks*, and *dialogue* have been examined. The collocational patterns of these lexical items reflect difficulty and volatility involved in building a relationship with North Korea. In section 4.4, the negative perception of North Korea can be further detected from its representation as an actor: it is construed mainly as a reluctant partner for talks, who is usually presented as being responsible for the collapse of talks and dialogues, and an aggressor engaged in what is perceived as dangerous military activities by neighbouring countries. In section 4.5,

the instances of the North Korea cluster positioned in a grammatical object have been analysed and it is found that North Korea is presented as a beneficiary of aid and a goal of persuasion. To summarise, the representation of North Korea is two layered: it is viewed as a threatening element on the Korean peninsular which is part of its old image and the image of the patted-down or cajoled beneficiary superimposes on the former.

## CHAPTER 5

### ANALYSIS and DISCUSSION 2

#### 5.1. Introduction

This chapter considers how the US is represented, particularly, in terms of its relationship with South Korea and the rest of the world. The US is the second most frequently talked about foreign country in the corpus, which is hardly a surprise given that it is politically and militarily South Korea's *de facto* most important ally as expressed by the presidents of the two countries.

The nation is very happy to have the President of **the United States which is the most enduring ally and important partner of Korea** here with us. This is our third meeting having got together in March and October last year in Washington

**Clinton** said he fully supports Kim's engagement policy and **proclaimed that the United States stands by its unshakable alliance with Korea a partnership based on a history of shared sacrifice and a future of united purpose:** to defend freedom and sec

The chapter consists of three sections. The lexical items which will be looked at in the following sections (with the exception of the section 5.3) are initially chosen because of their significance as collocates of the US cluster. In section 5.2, what the US presidents say and how it differs from that of other foreign leaders are analysed. According to the collocate list

of *U.S.*, which is the biggest group of the US cluster occurring 550 times, the noun, *president* is its fourth significant collocate following *Korea, said, north* as a content word, that is, excluding grammatical words such *the, a, of*. The initial observation of the concordance lines of *president* has indicated that there are some differences in the verbal acts of the US presidents and other foreign leaders, and the analysis has developed on the basis of this observation. The verbal acts of the US presidents will illustrate the extent of the influence the US exerts on Korean politics. In section 5.3, the pattern, '*policy + preposition + noun phrase*' is analysed. The word, *policy* does not feature as one of the top ten collocates of the US cluster, but is the seventh significant collocate of *North* as a content word. The analysis has been initiated by a chance observation that North Korea seems to be the only country which is positioned as an object of the preposition such as *on, toward(s)* in the pattern. It will be shown later how the pattern, '*policy + preposition + noun phrase*' reflects the superior status of the US and the hierarchical representation of the world. The Bank of English will be used as a reference corpus to test what has been observed from the corpus. In section 5.4, a group of military-related words such as *military, force(s), soldiers, troop(s)* are examined. They feature as a collocate of the US cluster. As a collocate of *U.S.*, *military* ranks fifth, *forces* sixth, and *troops* tenth respectively. These words are divided into two semantic levels: an individual level, which is represented by *soldiers* and an institutional level, which is represented by *troops*. The analysis of the collocational patterns of the words will show there is asymmetry in the representation of the US military presence in South Korea: a negative side of the US military presence is attributed to individual soldiers while the US military as an institution is viewed from a positive angle.

## 5.2. US presidents vs other foreign leaders

This section examines the pattern of the verbal acts of the US presidents and other foreign leaders, which will help shed light on the representation of the relationship between the US and South Korea in the corpus. All the occurrences of *president* and *prime minister*, which are used to refer to foreign country leaders are examined, and for the US presidents, the instances of *Bush* and *Clinton* when only the last name is used to refer to the president, have been also taken into account since they are relatively high in frequency. North Korean leaders are usually referred to as *the North Korean leader* and *the chairman*. The table 5.1 lists all the countries represented by the leaders reported in the newspapers and their frequency.

US (148)	North Korea (91)	Other countries (96)
<i>president</i> 54	<i>North Korean leader</i> 56	<i>president</i>
<i>Bush</i> 52	<i>Chairman</i> 30	Angola (1), Brazil (2), Chile (1), China (6),
<i>Clinton</i> 42	<i>president</i> 5	Honduras (1), Indonesia (2), Ireland (1),
		Germany (1), Mexico (2), Mongolia (8),
		Philippine (2), Russia (25), Vietnam (11)
		<i>prime minister</i>
		Australia (1), Bangladeshi (1), Britain (5),
		Canada (1), China (3), Japan (15),
		New Zealand (3), Sweden (3), Thai (1)

(Table 5.1)

In addition to the prominent representation of the US presidents in terms of frequency, the observation of the concordance lines shows there are considerable differences in the way the US presidents, the North Korean leaders and other foreign country leaders are represented in the corpus, especially with regard to the representation of what the leaders say. First of all, the verbal acts of the US presidents are much more frequently represented in the corpus. About 52% of all the occurrences of the US president cluster is about what they say, while only 23 % of those of the other foreign leader cluster concerns what they say, and the percentage for the North Korean leader cluster is even lower at 8 %. Furthermore, the functions realised by the verbal acts of the US presidents are quite different from the rest. The verbal acts of the non-US leader clusters in the corpus can be grouped into three functions. The first group, which covers half of the instances, is expressions of diplomatic courtesy such as expressing gratitude for an invitation or offering an apology – the latter was incidentally all performed by the Japanese prime ministers. Here are the concordance lines illustrating the first group:

President Bagabandi **commended** the people of the Republic  
 alks. President Bagabandi **expressed his full understanding and support**  
 time. President Bagabandi **expressed gratitude** and **accepted the invitation**  
 During the meeting, Zeng **conveyed** his President **Jiang Zemin's regards** to t  
 ient time. President Yeltsin **accepted the invitation** with gratitude.  
 me Minister Yoshiro Mori also **congratulated** President Kim  
 nister Keizo Obuchi Thursday **expressed "remorseful repentance and heartfelt a**  
 inister Tomiichi Murayama, who **expressed "deep remorse and heartfelt apology**  
 Along with a letter of **apology by** the Japanese prime minister, the co

The second group of verbal acts is exchange of opinions or propositions during the summit talks:

mmmit, Kim and Prime Minister Helen Clark **discussed the proposal** to conclude  
ngerines. The New Zealand prime minister **asked for** Korea's purchase of more de  
ident Kim Dae-jung and President Chirac **will discuss** not only ASEM but also  
He noted that President Vladimir Putin **expressed this plan to** President Kim

The last group of verbal acts identified from the non-US leader cluster is announcing of or  
commenting on certain policy moves:

d that German President Johannes Rau **said that** Germany decided to assist Sou  
British Prime Minister Tony Blair **announced** in London on Sunday night  
ime Minister Tony Blair recently **stated that** schools should emphasize  
Australian Prime Minister John Howard's **remark on** the ``generous welfare pay

Even though the number of the examples may be too small to make any generalisation, one  
thing noticeable from the last group is that it is all developed countries such as Britain whose  
leader is represented with policy-related verbal acts. On the other hand, the verbal acts of the  
US presidents reported in the corpus have been observed to almost exclusively belong to the  
policy-related third group while the first and second group of verbal acts do not occur except for  
one instance of the second group as shown below:

in Washington, Kim and Clinton **will discuss** the recent developments on the  
Korean Peninsular

Within the third group, the verbal acts of the US presidents can be further divided into three  
sub-groups. The first of the sub-groups is announcement of what action or stance the US will  
take or has taken on certain issues, which usually involve North Korea. 24 out of the total 64  
verbal acts of the US president cluster, which is about 35 %, fall into this group. Two  
examples are given below:

on Thursday **US President William Clinton stated if North Korea is found to have over 1,000 hectares of farms growing poppies or is found to be functioning as a point for transporting drugs into the US to hurt the country's interests North Korea will be included in the list of main countries producing and distributing narcotics.**

But he made it clear that he would not back away, describing Kim Jong il's government at the joint news conference as a "despotic regime" oppressing its people. **"I will not change my opinion of Kim Jong il until he frees his people and accepts genuine proposals (for peace) from countries like South Korea," Bush said.**

The second sub-group, which covers another 35 % of the verbal acts of the US president cluster is evaluative. What is realised by this group of the verbal acts is evaluation of North Korea or US and South Korean policy on North Korea as can seen from the examples below:

ve to do what we can do to avoid severe malnutrition or worse." **But ultimately, North Korea needs structural changes to feed themselves and to purchase foodstuffs they need, the U.S. President stressed.** He also said he was very interested in Kim's view that, if China and

In a joint press conference following his 100-minute summit with President Kim Dae-jung at the White House, **Clinton also indicated that President Kim's peace gesture toward North Korea will reduce tensions on the Korean Peninsula.**

The analysts noted **Bush did not back away from his assertion that North Korea forms part of an "axis of evil" and poses a threat to the security of the United States.** In Dorasan Railway Station near

This type of evaluative comments on North or South Korea occurs once in the non-US leader cluster, in a remark made by the German president. As a background to the decision to

financially aid South Korea, he positively evaluates South Korean president's political achievements as in the example given below:

Lee noted that **German President Johannes Rau said that Germany decided to assist South Korea during the 1997 foreign exchange crisis because Kim had struggled to bring democracy to Korea**

The last sub-group, which includes 10 occurrences, is distinctive to the US president cluster to be precise, the verbal acts of President Clinton. The function performed by this group of the verbal acts is giving policy advice or support on what is supposed to be 'domestic affairs' of South Korea:

**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

Describing Korea's economic difficulty as a "bump in the road if you stay with the necessary reforms to reach the next level of development," **Clinton said the best social policy for Korea is an economic policy that will restore real growth as soon as possible.**

Recognizing the underlying negative sentiment in Korean society regarding Kim's liberal approach, **Clinton said, "Washington will support Kim's economic policy and send a message to all segments of Korean society."**

If the US president as a close ally and friend can give advice to the South Korean government on matters such as how to run its budget, then the South Korean president should be able to do the same for the US government. Out of the 714 occurrences of *President*, the 550 instances which refer to the South Korean presidents have been examined in the corpus, and no verbal act

of the South Korean presidents is represented as such giving out advice to the US presidents or making comments on the US policy on North Korea. Instead the South Korean president, Kim Dae-jung, is quoted as saying:

During the joint press meeting, **President Kim**, in the meantime, **said that he does not intend to say anything that would interfere with American policy making** but "I do wish to say that our new government will approach the North Koreans based upon a strong security alliance with the United States, but

Meanwhile, what the North Korean leaders say about the US has more visible presence in the newspapers even though the verbal acts of the North Korean leader are relatively under-represented in terms of frequency of occurrences. The remarks quoted below are all taken from the extract of the interview with Kim Jung-il, the current North Korean leader:

ts to Surinam and Iran. It is a ridiculous to claim that North Korea will be able to beat the U.S. by developing intercontinental ballistic missiles and blasting them off to the U.S. but **Washington has been picking on North Korea's research for satellite technology**. Certainly it will be a headache for the U.S. because the country will hate to give money freely to us on

Even if I stay here in Pyongyang, the leaders of the Great Powers come to visit me. President Putin does not agree with Washington's policy. Russia is the creator of rockets. **The US, which borrowed related technology in developing missiles from Russia, has no right to pose a restriction on Russia in developing missiles.'** (On Military Power)' Kim: There a

The interview was conducted by the South Korean media during the very first 'historic' summit talks of the two Korean leaders in Pyongyang in June 2001. It is unprecedented and exceptional in that it is the first time that this kind of interview with the North Korean leaders

had been carried out, let alone published in the South Korean media. The outspokenness of the North Korean leader's comments on the US is in clear contrast with the absence of any critical articulation on the US from the South Korean counterpart in the corpus. Given the officially professed close relationship between South Korea and the US, it is not unexpected that the South Korean newspapers give relatively high coverage to what the US president says about North and South Korea in particular. However, an asymmetry in the alliance and partnership of the two country seems to be suggested by the fact that what the US presidents say about North and South Korea is given a substantial voice, while the Korean presidents' voice on what the US does or says about the two Koreas is hardly present in the newspapers.

### **5.3. Does the world have a policy on the US?**

This section looks at a grammatical pattern of the word *policy*; '*policy + on, toward(s) + noun phrase*' and discusses how the hierarchy of the world and the political dominance of the US are construed in the phrase. As stated in the introduction, the Bank of English corpus is used to test and expand what has been observed from the Korean newspaper corpus. Within the four word span, *policy* occurs 62 times in phrases such as *North Korea + policy* (16), *North Korean + policy* (4), *policy + on, toward + the North, North Korea* (27). As it turns out, the North Korea cluster is the only group of referents for foreign countries which is positioned after the prepositions, *on* and *toward* in the phrase, '*noun or adjective + policy + on, toward(s)*' in the corpus as illustrated below:

When the U.S. administration is reviewing policy on the North," said Prof. Kim. Kim sides with South Korea's reconciliatory policy on North Korea, rather than that they may not follow the engagement policy on the North pushed by the Clinton administration. Kim's criticism of the South Korean government's engagement policy on the North, which is suffering from frustration with regard to his engagement policy toward Pyongyang. It is clear that the U.S. government here Wednesday to support South Korea's policy toward North Korea and provide support to President Kim's engagement policy toward North Korea and the Clinton administration should retreat from its "sunshine" policy toward North Korea in protest.

The question is why it is only the North Korea cluster that occurs as an object of the prepositions in the phrase. Considering the largely negative representation of North Korea already observed in the corpus, the hypothesis is that noun or noun phrases which follow the preposition *on* or *toward(s)* are entities negative or problematic. The rest of the occurrences of '*policy + toward, on + noun*' in the corpus have been examined. With the instances featuring the North Korea cluster excluded, there are only three more instances for '*policy + toward + noun*' and three more for '*policy + on + noun*' found in the corpus:

Counting criticism from the public for its policy on the Dalai Lama's visit, a fare Open New Horizons. The nation's policy on social security and welfare in North Korea makes substantial changes to its policy on human rights and security in North Korea. (a) breakthrough nor break-off" policy toward South Korea. Kim's criticism of the South Korean government's engagement policy on the North, which is suffering from frustration with regard to his engagement policy toward Pyongyang. It is clear that the U.S. government here Wednesday to support South Korea's policy toward North Korea and provide support to President Kim's engagement policy toward North Korea and the Clinton administration should retreat from its "sunshine" policy toward North Korea in protest.

None of the noun phrases in the examples seems to be overtly negative in itself. However, the observation of the wider context of each occurrence reveals that they are perceived or considered controversial or problematic in the context of situation. For example, in the case of '*its policy on the Dalai Lama's visit*', the Dalai Lama himself or his visit does not have any

intrinsic negativity attached to it, but the visit became problematic because of the situation in which the South Korean government had to consider its relationship with China, which sees the Dalai Lama as problematic. The press sub-corpora of the Bank of English have been consulted in order to test the validity of the observation against a bigger data set. In the case of ‘*policy + on + noun phrase*’, originally 276 instances were retrieved by using *policy + on* as a search word and 237 of them have been identified to qualify after cases such as ‘*insurance policy on his brother*’ and ‘*tried out his strong-arm policy on a surprised secretary*’ were deleted. The following is a random sample of 10 concordance lines:

backward when it comes to its policy on visitors infected with HIV, the  
of helping the Government devise policy on Press intrusion, was arguing  
lend, 61, a critic of government policy on Europe and the economy, is an  
last month after changing Canada's policy on seals: under the new rules, any  
have become aware that government policy on the export licensing of non-leth  
art of a tough new state Opposition policy on containing youth gangs. <p> The  
medical back-up. <p> What is the policy on intervention? To provide  
is set today to explain British policy on the deadlock over the peace  
ading opponent of President Bush's policy on Cambodia. Mark Tran reports from  
community, not just for its policy on aid, but also for turning a

Even without considering the wider context, it can be agreed that the noun phrases in the first, second, fifth, eighth lines are perceived as negative or problematic (the full phrase in the fifth example is *the export licensing of non-lethal defence equipment to Iraq*). *Seals* in the fourth line, in fact, refers to seal hunting which may not be considered problematic to some; Nevertheless it cannot be disputed that it is an environmentally controversial issue. *Intervention* in the sixth line means medical intervention such as caesarean section. It can be seen as negative from the context that it is not a default procedure and its use is controversial.

The sixth example *containing youth gangs* and the tenth *aid* are rather problematic cases since these two activities are not usually considered something negative. These cases will be touched on later. Lastly, *Europe* in the third line and *Cambodia* in the ninth line are of particular interest in relation to the North Korea cluster and will be further discussed. The examination has been expanded to the rest of the data and nouns or noun phrases which follow the preposition, *on* seem to be roughly divided into four group as shown in the table below (pronouns or general nouns such as *matter* have been excluded from the analysis since it is not always possible to decide what they refer to due to the limited text available in the corpus):

<b>Noun (phrase)s with explicit negativity (40)</b>
<i>abortion, AIDS, arms sales, arms related trade, arms supplies, defence sales (mainly to Iraq), bullying, child sexual abuse, deadlock, drugs (drug barons), global warming, Gulf crisis, hostage issue, Israeli-Arab conflict, Kuril Islands territorial dispute, lance missile, marketing monopolies, Press intrusion, prisons, testing nuclear weapon, visitors infected with HIV...</i>
<b>Noun (phrase)s perceived as controversial or problematic in the context of situation (35)</b>
<i>cutting free university fees, gun controls, death (meaning euthanasia), deployment of forces, devolution, euro, ethnic identification, free movement of workers, gays and lesbians, gender, hunting, immigrants and refugees, immigration, industrial relations, maintenance of a nuclear deterrent, minority scholarship, nationality issue, race, seals (meaning seal hunting), takeovers, tariffs, trade(to Iraq), trade union...</i>
<b>Noun (phrase)s of non-negative actions with local problems (48)</b>
<i>Arrest of war criminals, child protection, crime prevention, computerisation, early years education, employment laws, health care reform, national health care, prisoner releases, road improvement, school standards, social welfare, student admissions, surrender of drugs, transfer of prisoners, vehicle rebate, urbanisation, UXO contamination defence...</i>
<b>Noun (phrase)s referring to geographical locations (31)</b>
<i>Cambodia, Europe, EU countries, Gibraltar, Iraq, Kashmir, Kuwait, Northern Ireland, Tibet, the Gulf, the Middle East, the occupied Israeli territories, the Soviets, the Third World</i>

The first group of nouns or noun phrases have explicit negativity associated with them, and they are something to be avoided or tackled and solved as a goal of policy. In the second group, the negativity is not fixed in the words themselves; rather these words represent issues which attract politically loaded, conflicting interests and points of view, and the way they are handled could have either beneficial or damaging effect on parties involved in the situation. They are therefore considered controversial or problematic, which may help the words acquire relative negativity when viewed from a certain perspective. Based on the observation of these two groups of noun phrases which occur in the pattern *policy + on + noun*, a reverse assumption could be made that any noun phrase occurring after the preposition *on*, refers to something negative or problematic that needs to be dealt with and resolved. It could be assumed that there is something problematic. The third group of noun phrases is the case. When one hears *policy on child protection*, it is not child protection in general that is being problematised, but some part of the child protection system, as shown by the wider context:

structure", `trained staff and `intra-department co-ordination". <p> Well, I'm glad that everyone is co-ordinating with everyone else because I would hate to think what would happen to **the new policy on child protection** if they didn't. <p> But what exactly is the new policy? <p> By reading further I did learn that drafting the new child protection legislation was `a complex

What is questioned here is the possibility of lack of coordination in operating of a new child protection policy. *Aid* and *containing youth gangs* mentioned earlier have been included in the third group, in that they are not generally negatively regarded activities:

the over-all condition and make of a system. <p> <b> OBERHARDT M </b> Boot camp' for gangs MILITARY style `boot camps" for repeated juvenile offenders will be part of **a tough new state Opposition policy on containing youth gangs.** <p> The Opposition plans to make youth gangs a major election issue with tougher juvenile penalties part of its platform. <p>

Again, what is challenged by the opposition is not the idea of containing youth gangs, but the way it has been implemented by the government. It seem to be characteristic of the third group is that noun phrases are used metonymically to represent local or specific problems involved in the issues referred to by them. The last group consists of geographical references, mostly names of countries. Similar to the third group of noun phrases, these geographical references function metonymically in the sense that policy is about not the geographical locations, but specific problems involving or happening in the places or countries referred to by them:

ledged his opposition to terrorism and asked to be given evidence of Jibril's involvement in the Lockerbie affair. It seems Britain and the United States have been co-ordinating **their policy towards Syria.** For the following day Saturday a senior British official, Mr David Gore-Booth, had talks in

In the example given above, the policy is not concerned with Syria in general, but its citizens' alleged involvement in an act of terrorism. Following the preposition *toward(s)*, noun phrases of geographical references are a dominant group occurring in 67 out of total 106 instances. The list of references to countries or places positioned after the preposition *toward(s)* is as follows:

*African nations, Angola, Burma, Balkans, Bosnia, Cambodia, China, Cuba, Eastern Europe, East Timor, Europe, Europe and Bosnia, E.C., Former Yugoslavia, Iran and Iraq, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Latin America, mainland (China), Mozambique, Moscow, Northern Ireland, Poland, Russia, Somalia, South Africa, Soviet Unions, Syria*

With a few seeming exceptions such as *Europe, EU countries, Italy, Japan*, countries and places represented by the geographical references in the phrase *policy + on, toward(s) + noun phrase*, are either:

- i) third world countries or;
- ii) (former) communist countries or;
- iii) countries suffering some form of political or military conflicts or;
- iv) US designated terrorism supporting countries.

It has been already noted that these names of countries and places act as a metonym for specific problems associated with them, however, it is possible that metonymic representation could have an effect of reinforcing the negative image of the country as a whole by routinely equating it with a particular problem. Notably, there has been not one occurrence of any reference to the US positioned after the preposition in the Bank of English corpus. The only instance in which any US-involved issue is introduced as a goal of policy is 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**. Some Iranian radicals will argue that having won the concessions it wanted from Iraq, Iran should now confront the growing U.S. presence in

In this example, it is not the US which stands for the particular problem. Instead, the problem is more specific. If certain countries are consistently represented as a goal of policy by being positioned after the preposition *on* and *toward(s)*, it also has to be considered who is represented as a maker or owner of the policy on these countries. 'Noun or adjective phrases' preceding *policy* usually indicate the ownership of the policy as shown below:

been the **new Israeli government's** policy on the occupied territories. It has promised continuity in **US** policy on the Middle East. However, he impose a common foreign and defence policy on the EU countries and to merge t where this leaves **American** policy on the Middle East. It was a move not support **British government** policy on the Gulf. Here's our political

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

The following table shows which countries feature as an owner of the policy. The corpus has been divided into two parts, American and British (The Australian news subcorpus has not been included in this count).

	British			US		
	Britain	US	Others	Britain	US	Others
<i>on</i>	17	7	3	*	3	2
<i>toward</i>	2	1	*	*	27	*
<i>towards</i>	13	8	12	*	2	*
	1 (Britain and the US)					
	30	16	15	0	32	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>					

(Table 5.2)

\* **Others:** *Arab countries, China, EC (European Community), EU countries, Germany, India, Israel, Poland, Russia, Soviet Unions, Taiwan, Vatican, the West*

Out of the total 95 occurrences of *policy + on, toward(s) + noun phrase of geographic reference*, 50% (48) instances) has the US represented as an owner of the policy on other countries or, more precisely, problems involving or happening in them. In the British section of the Bank of English, Britain is most frequently represented as an owner of the policy, but the

US is also quite high in frequency. On the other hand, in the US part, the US is represented as practically the only policy owner. Hierarchy among countries seems to be embedded in the pattern. As already pointed out, most of the countries positioned after the preposition as a policy target are either economically poor or politically unstable, or considered a danger to the rest of the world (putting aside the fundamental issue of whose perspective it is to categorise one country as a threat to the world for now). The four apparent exceptions to this have been identified as Italy, Japan, Europe, and the EU countries. In the case of Japan, the country represented as its policy owner is the US, which is admittedly more powerful than Japan, while the policy owner on Italy is the Vatican, which is symbolically speaking, above all the earthly government (no one could possibly compete with the representative of God!):

and rightness of **Vatican** policy towards **Italy**. The tide was clearly set  
andidates might change **US** policy toward **Japan**. Many leaders in Japan were

Inferring from the context available, the owner of a common foreign and defence policy on the EU countries appears to be the EU countries themselves:

countries that can be relied upon to act in concert to thwart an impending  
Disaster in time. To impose **a common foreign and defence policy on the EU  
countries** and to merge their armies would be calamitous. Germany, afraid and  
ashamed of its past, would be loath to agree to decisive action until too  
late, and France would

As for Europe, the government refers to the British government in the example:

Explain **the government's** policy towards **Europe**: <h> HURD RIDLEY ROW </h>

*Europe* here does not refer to any particular country, and the hierarchy seems to be a factor when the country is specified as in the example below:

his disagreements with policy towards **Europe** and **Bosnia** had played a part

Overall, countries recognised as economically and politically powerful are represented as a policy owner over less powerful countries. Possible counterexamples are the following two:

**Poland** has begun pursuing what Mr. what Mr. Skubiszewski calls a two-track policy towards **the Soviet Union**.

**Taiwan** began relaxing its policy toward **the mainland**. In October last

Although the Soviet Union and China are (or were) generally considered more powerful than Poland and Taiwan especially in the military sense, these two are communist countries which may be the reason for this anomaly. There is also no instance of Britain represented as an owner of the policy on countries such as France or Germany, let alone the US in the British sub-corpora of the Bank of English, and of the US as having policy on countries like Britain, France, or Germany in the US sub-corpora. This linguistic absence may be indicative of the superior in-group status of these countries as the developed West, which is epitomised by the exclusive ‘G7 Summit’ club. It seems that the order of the world which is construed in the Western press, can be glimpsed from the pattern *policy + on, toward(s) + noun phrase*. The collocational behaviour of the phrase *policy + on, towards + noun phrase* observed from the Bank of English confirms what has been suspected from the Korean newspaper corpus. The pattern shows a strong tendency of attracting noun phrases which are negatively evaluated or considered problematic, and when the noun phrases are geographical references, they are all concerned with so-called problem countries. In the Korean corpus, the North Korea cluster is

the only group of geographical references occurring after the prepositions *on* and *toward(s)*, and it is in line with the negative representation North Korea received in the corpus. Turning to the US, in the Bank of English, the US is construed as a major policy owner over these problem countries while no reference to the US is found positioned after the prepositions as a policy goal. It is no surprise to find that the US is also represented as an owner of the policy on North Korea in the Korean newspaper corpus. In summary, the phrase *policy + on, toward(s) + noun phrase* seems to be a linguistic example of how the perception of the world from a particular perspective makes its way into the language and potentially feeds back into shaping people's attitude to the world. As for the US, it is construed as an owner of policy on other countries, and this may be an echo of its political dominance in the world.

#### **5.4. *Soldiers and troops*: asymmetry of representation between individual and institution**

Lastly, this section considers the representation of the relationship of South Korea and the US from another angle, through the observation of collocational behaviour of two particular words, *soldiers* and *troop(s)*. The word *soldiers* is low in frequency as a collocate of the US cluster. Nevertheless, it is selected for analysis since it is one of two words which are used to represent the US military from two levels: that is, *troop(s)* represents the US military as an institution, while *soldiers* represents the individual perspective on the US military. 12 occurrences of *soldiers* are found to co-occur with *U.S.* and *American*; three occurrences of *servicemen* and one occurrence of *service member* are also included for analysis, since they can be treated as synonymous to *soldier*. For reference, except *service member*, there is no occurrence of singular form *soldier* or *serviceman* found to collocate with the US cluster. It has to be mentioned that the number of the examples is small, and it may not be justifiable to make a

generalization. Nonetheless, what is observed from the examples can offer some insight into how the representation of individual soldiers is construed and the results can be contrasted with the institutional representation. The concordance lines of all instances of *soldiers*, *service member*, and *servicemen* in the context of *US*, *U.S.* or *American* are displayed below:

Siege." IDNO: sun245 TITLE: US Service Member **Confesses** to Itaewon **Murder**

f indictment. In the past, U.S. servicemen **accused of committing crimes** ha  
the legal rights of **accused** U.S. servicemen include ones to seek legal c  
ps and burying remains of U.S. servicemen, particularly around the Chosin,

by North Korea) to slaughter two U.S. soldiers (in the 1970s) are in the peac  
uth Korea to the level of that of U.S. soldiers in Europe and Japan. Taking n  
timing of the handover of **accused** U.S. soldiers. The talks were resumed in n  
nclude a U.S. demand that **accused** U.S. soldiers have a legal right to question  
ties will take custody of **accused** U.S. soldiers at the time of indictment. In  
's agreement to hand over **accused** U.S. soldiers, the Korean side agreed to the  
If the Korean police **arrest** U.S. soldiers **for an "egregious" crime**, such

**shoved by** ...group of passing American soldiers. "I couldn't see who did it

: racism: "The American soldiers **look down on us** more than any

certificates of testimonies by American soldiers again. Lt. Kim

ean, supporting testimonies by American soldiers who were at the scene

street cafes, young American soldiers with crew cuts... **laughed**

In six out of the total 16 instances, *accused* co-occurs with *U.S. (American) soldiers* (*servicemen*) as a modifier. The context from which the examples are taken concerns controversy surrounding the issue of jurisdiction over these 'accused' soldiers between South Korea and the US (in a nutshell, the Korean authorities have virtually no jurisdiction over crimes committed by US soldiers under the present SOFA (*Status of Forces Agreement*: the agreement governs the running of the US military bases and the legal status of the US military

stationed in South Korea). The recurrent use of ‘*accused*’ as a modifier of the *U.S. (American) soldiers (servicemen)* confirms a commonly-held view in Korea that US soldiers stationed in South Korea are associated with crimes. The soldiers’ actions are either criminal (*confesses to Itaewon murder*) or disrespectful of Koreans (*shoved (a woman), look down on us, laughed*). It can be said that the image of the US military projected from the perspective of individual soldiers is rather negative. American soldiers are classified in terms of their criminal status as ‘*accused*’ or negatively evaluated for their disrespectful behaviour towards the Korean. On the other hand, the US military as an institution is viewed in a rather different light in the corpus. Three lexical items, which collocate with the US cluster, represent the US military as an institution: *troop(s)* (30 occurrences), which has been introduced earlier, *forces* (40) and *military* (33). The majority of lines indicate a very different use, which will be discussed below. However, but there are three instances where ‘*troop(s)* and *military*’ is used in a similar way to ‘*soldiers*’:

...ries of **incidents involving** U.S. troops. These incidents included a murder...

...U.S. military's **environmental crimes**, pointing out that the a...

...U.S. military was **involved in a series of environmental pollution incidents**...

In the first and third line, *U.S. troops* and the *U.S. military* are not presented grammatically as an initiator of the crimes, but in a way which rather distances the US military from the source of responsibility by using the verb *involve*, which is not an action process. The second line is interesting enough to warrant discussion, even though there is only one instance. In this line, the ownership of ‘*environmental crimes*’ is explicitly attributed to *the U.S. military* through use of the possessive form. Furthermore, two lexical items, *the U.S. military* and *environmental crimes* are juxtaposed and form a fixed phrase that did not exist before in the public discourse

on the US military, including the Korean press. One Korean academic has pointed out that the Korean phrase ‘*migoon bumche*’, which can be translated as *the US military(s) crimes*, had not been used in the public domain until 1990’s even though crimes have been consistently committed by the US military since the 1950’s (Chung, 2000). The entry of the phrase, ‘*migoon bumche*’ in Korean or ‘*the US military(s) crimes*’ into the public discourse can be seen as a linguistic recognition that the issue of US military crimes should be dealt with as an institutional problem, not as mere deviance of some individual soldiers. In this sense, despite its one-off occurrence, the fact that the phrase ‘*the U.S. military’s environmental crimes*’ is present in the corpus seems meaningful.

Turning now to looking at the dominant collocational pattern of *troop(s)*, *forces*, and *military*, the representation of the US military as an institution takes on a very different perspective. 40 % of the occurrences of *troop(s)*, which is 12 out of 30 and *forces*, which is 16 out of 40, co-occur with lexical items concerned with the presence and role of the US military on the Korean peninsula. There is a small group of verbs which refer to the movement of the US military in and out of Korea:

little strategic interests'' in **keeping** troops in Korea. On Jan. 12, 1950, Korea obviously is not happy and U.S. troops **are** still **there**. So in the future North - then why **have** any U.S. troops there at all? Go one step further. In 1949, the U.S. **evacuated** its entire forces from Korea ignoring the ardent demands of the Korean government and the people. U.S. forces **returned** to Korea in June 1950

One noticeable thing from the examples is that the presence of the US military in Korea is presented either as initiation of the US government (*evacuated* ~, *have* ~, or *keeping* ~) or as an

intransitive action by the military (~ returned), or as a state of being (~ are there)<sup>3</sup>. Regardless of how much say or control the South Korean government has over the presence of the US troops in reality, only the US government and military are construed as an actor in the language used in talking about the presence of the US military. The process of coming and going is also present in nouns: *presence of ~*, *stationing of ~*, and *withdrawal of ~*. There are also one-off noun phrases such as *deployment of ~*, *troop emplacement*, *troops' withdrawal*:

Dong-jin was worried about U.S. troops' **withdrawal** from the Korea  
 , Kim said the **stationing of** U.S. troops...is "absolutely" necessary  
 , such as, the **presence of** U.S. troops in South Korea and North  
security justification for forward U.S. **troop emplacement** no longer per  
 demanding the **withdrawal of** U.S. troops from South Korea. Kim

continued **presence of** 37,000 U.S. military forces? Not likely - certainly  
 T. Remember, the **withdrawal of** U.S. forces in Korea has been the mos  
 decides the basis for **deployment of** U.S. forces in Korea? The MDT has bee  
 ``the **presence of** United States Forces...is subject to negotiation  
 against possible **withdrawal of** United States forces from Korea unless Boein  
 and for the stable **stationing of** U.S. Forces Korea (USFK). Responding  
 ea remains the **presence of** the U.S. forces is essential. I Judged,  
 position for a continued **stationing of** the U.S. forces even after the reunifi  
 [New Horizon] Is the **Presence of** US Forces Negotiable? By Kim B

It is noticed from the concordance lines that there is a certain semantic consistency in the lexical items accompanied by these noun phrases. One meaning group is concerned with validation of the US military presence in Korea, and it is realised mainly in two grammatical patterns. One

---

<sup>3</sup> It reminds me of one of the phrases used in many anti-American protests in Korea, which can be translated as 'US troops, pull out (of Korea)' in English. You occasionally hear '(US) Pull US troops out (of Korea)'. Incidentally, what you never hear protesters shouting is a Korean equivalent of 'The (Korean) government gets US troops pulled out'.

is ‘noun + *BE*-link verb + adjective’, in which the noun phrases of the US military presence takes up the position of the subject and the adjectives used in this pattern are as follows: *absolutely necessary, essential, negotiable, subject to negotiation*. These phrases are semantically incompatible in that the first two items defines the presence of the US military in Korea as *necessary* and *essential*, which implies that their presence is ‘not’ *subject to negotiation*. When wider context is observed, it is revealed that negotiability of the presence of the US military is negated. In the ninth concordance line, the statement that ‘*the presence of United States Forces Korea is subject to negotiation ...*’ which was reported to have been made by the then defence minister, is immediately counter-argued by reporting of the strong criticisms from the opposition party and one of the political leaders, which the newspaper comments as reflective of the feelings of ‘the majority of people’:

<p>position Grand National Party (GNP) immediately demanded Cho's dismissal on the ground that : ‘‘<u>It is shocking that the defense minister has made remarks which run counter to the defense agreement between the government and the U.S.</u>’...The demand of the GNP and of Lee Chul-seng in this regard is expected to receive overwhelming support from the majority of people.</p>
--

As for ‘*Is the presence of US forces negotiable?*’ in the last concordance line, it is a headline of an article, and presented in the form of a question, which can be seen as a rhetorical. What follows the headline is confirmation of how ‘non-negotiable’ it is not to have the US military present in Korea. Their presence is again validated as *a decisive contribution* to peacekeeping on the peninsular, hence *essential* as can be seen from a passage taken from the main text of the article:

...remarked at the commencement ceremony of Korean Military Academy at Taeneung that : `` **U.S. forces stationed on the Korean peninsula and in Japan are making a decisive contribution to the balance of power and maintenance of peace** not only on the peninsula but in North Asia President Kim made a parallel case between the U.S. forces stationed in the region and that in Europe which **is essential to the peace and stability of the entire continent...**

One thing to be touched on here is that North Korea is presented as a major threat to the region's peace, which makes the US military presence 'absolutely necessary':

... for 37,000 **American troops, who are stationed here to deter any possible aggression from North Korea.** In 1990, the U.S. agreed to relocate the Yongsan base if suitable facilities...

This directly contradicts the discourse of reconciliation and cooperation with North Korea promoted by the Sunshine policy, and suggests that the image of North Korea as a security risk is still firmly in place despite the policy change and shift in political climate on the Korean peninsula. Another pattern is '*noun + preposition + noun*', in which the noun phrases of the US military presence are positioned as a grammatical object of the preposition: (*security justification for~, basis for~, international cooperation for~, position for~*). The nouns denote the grounds and support for the object following the preposition, and the validation of the object, that is, the noun phrases of the US military presence, is being signaled by the company of these nouns. There are also a few other lexical items occurring with (*U.S.*) *troop(s)* or *force(s)*, which indicate the validation of their presence in Korea. In one example, the presence of the US military is described as a '*need*':

...avoids war and (2) reduces **the need for U.S. troops to be there** and (3) makes Korea happy and...

The choice of the preceding verb ‘*reduce*’, instead of opting for verbs like ‘*remove*’, is interesting since it presupposes that the need for the US military presence in the region is something permanently unavoidable. The word ‘*role*’ occurs in two instances of *U.S. forces* and *force*:

and a U.S. force can serve in <b>a surrogate security role</b> from the established to define clearly <b>the expanded role of</b> the U.S. forces bey
--

This use of the word ‘*role*’ seems to be on a continuum with the use of ‘*contribution*’ which has been introduced earlier in connection with the presence of the US military. The validity of the presence of the US military is construed by attributing a *role* to its presence and naming it *contribution*. The lexical company of *troop(s)* and *force(s)* considered so far shows how the representation of the US military as an institution is constructed centring around its presence in Korea. The most frequent collocates of *troop(s)* and *force(s)* are phrases such as *presence of~*, *stationing of~*, *withdrawal of~*. These noun phrases are found to collocate with two groups of lexical items which are related to the validation of the presence of the US military: one group is the adjectival phrases such as *essential*, *necessary*, *negotiable*, *subject to negotiation*, which evaluate the presence of the US military as indispensable and a group of nouns whose meaning conveys political support for the military presence of the US such as *(security) justification for~*, *basis for~*, *international cooperation for~*, *position for~*. A semantic chain can be built from the collocational pattern of *troop(s)* and *force(s)*: their *presence* in Korea is linked to their *role*, which leads to the *justification* of their *contribution* to the region’s security, which attracts an positive evaluation of their presence as *essential*. To summarise, as opposed to the negative portrayal of the US soldiers as an individual, the US military as an institution is construed as positive in relation to its essential role in the maintenance of peace on the Korean peninsular and

the neighbouring region.

## 5.5. Conclusion

The chapter has considered the representation of the US from three perspectives. Firstly, the verbal acts of the US presidents have been looked at in comparison with those of other foreign leaders. While the verbal acts of other foreign leaders are mainly the expressions of diplomatic courtesy, the characteristics of what the US presidents are quoted to say are that it is directed at South Korean government policy making. A further point is that there is no verbal act of the South Korean presidents commenting on the US policy making concerning North and South Korea featured in the corpus. This asymmetry seems to suggest the superior position of the US in its relationship with South Korea. Secondly, the analysis of the pattern '*policy + preposition + noun phrase*' hints at the similar superior status of the US to the rest of the world. The Bank of English corpus has been referenced in order to test what has been observed from the Korean newspaper corpus. North Korea is the only country which is positioned as an object of the preposition in the corpus. The analysis of the examples from the Bank of English shows that the noun phrases following the preposition usually refer to something negative or negatively evaluated, in particular, geographic references are all concerned with areas with some political problems. These geographic references are a metonymic use to refer to a specific problem of the areas or countries. In this regard, there is no occurrence of the US positioned as an object of the preposition. The US is only presented as an owner of the policy, which is realised by the adjective forms such as *American, US, U.S.* modifying the noun, *policy* (e.g. *US policy on the middle East*). Lastly, a group of military related collocates of the US cluster has been considered from two perspectives: the individual level represented by *soldiers* and the

institutional level represented by *troop(s)* and *force(s)*. The asymmetry observed from the collocational patterns of the two groups can be seen as a reflection of the divided views on the US military presence in South Korea. On the individual level, US soldiers are associated with crimes as seen from the use of *accused* as a modifier of *soldiers*, whereas the US military as an institution has been construed as contribution to and necessity for sustaining peace on the Korean peninsular and this is reflected in the collocational pattern of *troop(s)* and *force(s)*.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **CONCLUSION**

This dissertation has investigated the representation of two foreign countries in the South Korean press: North Korea and the United States. The analysis has been limited to the two foreign countries due to the time and space restriction. The study has taken a corpus-based approach in terms of data and methodology. As discussed in the literature review, there have been a number of corpus-based studies which approach the topic of the representation from a corpus linguistics perspective. However, it seems that the use of corpus technology in CDA is still not as prolific as one would expect given the benefits of corpora use. The current research has been an effort to explore the potentials of computerised corpora in the study of CDA.

#### **6.1. Summary of the dissertation**

##### **(1) Collecting data**

The process of the data collection and corpus building has been explained in chapter 3. One of the most powerful arguments for using computer-held corpora is its quantitative nature which puts analyses on a more sound interpretative footing. The current research has used a half million word corpus comprising news articles downloaded from the online archives of the three Korean newspapers, which cover a five year period between 1997 and 2001. Compared to that of other existing corpora such as the Bank of English corpus, the size of the corpus is very

modest, but has been sufficient enough for the purpose and the scale of the present study.

## **(2) Identifying targets of analysis**

At the initial stage, frequency information played a vital role in determining what to analyse. The target countries for analysis were chosen according to their frequency indicated by the concordancing software: lexical items which refer to countries are all checked and counted, and North Korea and the United States were identified as the two most frequently mentioned foreign countries in the corpus. The next step was to produce collocate lists of the lexical items which refer to the two countries. The collocates of the lexical items referring to each country give a rough picture of what aspect of the countries have been topicalised in the corpus and some of the key collocates have been selected for further investigation.

## **(3) Analysing how the countries are talked about in the corpus**

Methodologically, the study has adapted techniques from the previous corpus-based researches, which have been discussed in Chapter 2, and the key collocates of the North Korea and US cluster have been examined from different angles. In the analysis of North Korea, the following features have been investigated:

- i) lexical items which refer to or modify the North Korea cluster;
- ii) lexical items which refer to the forming and maintaining of relationships;
- iii) the North Korea cluster as a grammatical subject and object;

The investigation of the US cluster has focused on the following:

- i) verbal actions of the US presidents;
- ii) collocational patterns of the word *policy*;
- iii) collocates of military related words.

## **6.2. Findings and interpretation**

The results of the analysis can be summarised as below:

- i) lexical items referring to North Korea indicate that its stereotypical image is largely maintained despite the policy change on the part of South Korea;
- ii) North Korea is represented as an uncooperative partner for talks and an initiator of military activities as an actor;
- iii) North Korea is represented as a beneficiary of foreign aid;
- iv) the US president performs a wider variety of verbal actions than other state leaders;
- v) the US military presence in South Korea is represented as both a necessity and a threat;
- vi) there are subtle lexical clues that the US is represented as more powerful than other states.

What can be noted from the results is that the representation of the two countries is largely constructed in terms of their relationship with South Korea. North Korea is perceived as an old enemy and an element of threat to South Korea which can be seen from the lexical items referring to North Korea and main actions it is associated with as an actor. At the same time, it is depicted as a brother in need, by being constantly positioned as a beneficiary of economic aid

from South Korea and other neighbouring countries. The representation of the United States reflected in the results suggests its superior status in relation with South Korea and the rest of the world. For example, the verbal actions of the US president are distinguished in that they even convey advice on the domestic policy of the South Korean government, which is not found in other foreign leaders' verbal actions quoted in the corpus. Meanwhile, the representation of the US military presence in South Korea exhibits asymmetry between the individual and institution. The negative side of the US military presence is attributed to an individual soldier's problem while its necessity as an institution is presented. On the whole, a sense of tension seems to sum up the representation of the two countries in the corpus. There is a tension between the old image of a trouble maker and the new emerging image of a partner in the representation of North Korea, while the tension in the representation of the United States arises from its political superiority in clash with the negative military image, which is construed mainly on an individual level.

### **6.3. Future research interests**

The current study covers only South Koreans' perspective on foreign countries channelled through the press. As emphasised by Stubbs earlier, a comparative method can be of particular interest to CDA, especially when dealing with relativity of representation. For future research, it will be interesting to look at how Korea (both North and South) is represented in the foreign press such as that of the US or Japan, and compare the results with the findings of the current study. A diachronic research will be also a fruitful area to explore: changes in the representation of North Korea in the South Korean press over the last six decades since the Korean war and the subsequent division in 1950's. Another area of research is to investigate

whether there is any difference in the way foreign countries are represented in Korean newspapers published in Korean since the current corpus only contains the newspapers published in English.

## References

- Baker M., Francis G. and Tognini-Bonelli E. 1993. (eds) *Text and Technology: in honour of John Sinclair*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Barnbrook G. 1996. *Language and Computers: A practical introduction to the computer analysis of language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Brooks J. H. 1995. 'Suit, tie and a touch of juju – the ideological construction of Africa: a critical discourse analysis of news on Africa in the British press' *Discourse and Society* 6: 461 – 494.
- Caldas-Coulthard C.R. and Coulthard M. 1996. (eds) *Texts and Practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Caldas-Coulthard C.R. 1993. 'From discourse analysis to critical discourse analysis: the differential re-presentation of women and men speaking in written news in Baker et al (eds): 196 – 208.
- Chung Y. J. 2000. 'US military crime and Korean women' Paper posted on the website, <http://my.dreamwiz.com/wepia/sofa/so5-10.htm>.
- Clark K. 1992. 'The linguistics of blame: the representation of women in the Sun's reporting of crimes of sexual violence in Toolan M. 1992. (ed.) *Language, Text and Context*: 208 – 224. London: Routledge.
- Durkin K. 1983. 'Review of Kress and Hodge, 1979' *Journal of Pragmatics* 7: 101 – 105.
- Fairclough N. 1989. *Language and Power*. London : Longman.
- Fairclough N. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge : Polity Press.
- Fairclough N. 1995. *Media Discourse*. London: Arnold.
- Fairclough N. 2000. *New Labour, New Language?* London: Routledge.

- Flowerdew J. 1997. 'The discourse of colonial withdrawal: a case study in the creation of mystic discourse' *Discourse and Society* 8: 453 – 477.
- Fowler R. et al. 1979. *Language and control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Fowler R. 1985. 'Power' in Van Dijk T.A. (ed.) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis, IV: Discourse analysis in society*: 61 - 82. Orlando: Academic Press.
- Fowler R. 1991. *Language in the News: Discourse and ideology in the press*. London: Routledge.
- Fowler R. 1996. 'On critical linguistics' in Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard (eds.): 3 –14.
- Frawley W. 1987. 'Review of Van Dijk T. A. (ed), 1985' *Langugae* 63: 361 – 395.
- Galasinski D. and Marley C. 1998. 'Agency in foreign news: A linguistic complement of a content analytical study' *Journal of Pragmatics* 30: 565 – 587.
- Galtung J. and Ruge M. H. 1965. 'The structure of foreign news: the presentation of the Congo, Cuba, and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian Newspapers' *Journal of Peace Research* 2: 64 - 91.
- Grimshaw A. D. 1981. 'Review of Kress and Hodge, 1979 and of Silverman and Torode, 1980. *Language* 57: 759 – 765.
- Henley N. et al. 2002. 'Frequency and specificity of referents to violence in news reports of anti-gay attacks' *Discourse and Society* 13: 75 – 104.
- Hardt – Mautner G. 1995. 'Only connect: critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics'. UCREL technical paper, University of Lancaster.
- Hunston S. 1999. 'Corpus evidence for disadvantage: issues in critical interpretation'. Paper read at the BAAL/CUP seminar 'Investigating discourse practices through corpus research: methods, findings and applications', University of Reading, May 1999.

- Hunston S. 2002. *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kress G. and Hodge R. 1979. *Language and Control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Kress. 1994. 'Text and grammar as explanation' in Meinhof and Richardson (eds.): 24 – 46.
- Krishnamurthy R. 1996. 'Ethnic, racial and tribal: The language of racism?' in Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard (eds.) 129 – 146.
- Lee D. 1992. *Competing Discourse: Perspective and ideology in language*. London: Longman.
- Louw B. 1993. 'Irony in the text or insincerity in the writer?' – the diagnostic potential of semantic prosodies' in Baker et al (eds.): 157 – 176.
- Meinhof U.H. and Richardson K. 1994. (eds.) *Text, Discourse and Context: Representations of poverty in Britain*. London: Longman.
- Morrison A. and Love A. 1996. 'A discourse of disillusionment: Letters to the Editor in two Zimbabwean magazines 10 years after independence' *Discourse and Society* 7: 39 – 76.
- Nesi et al. 2002. 'She feels, he finds: process type choice and the representation of men and women in a corpus of academic lectures. Paper read at the ISFC 2002 'Systemic Linguistics and the Corpus', University of Liverpool, July 2002.
- Orpin D. 1997. 'The lexis of corruption in the news: a corpus-based study in ideology'. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Birmingham
- Piper A. 2000a. 'Lifelong learning, human capital, and the soundbite' *Text* 20: 109 – 146.
- Piper A. 2000b. 'Some have credit cards and others have giro cheques: 'Individuals' and 'people' as lifelong learners in late modernity' *Discourse and Society* 11: 515 – 542.
- Richardson K. 1987. 'Critical linguistics and textual diagnosis' *Text* 7: 145 – 163.
- Sealey A. 2000. *Childly Language: Children, language and the social world*. Harlow: Longman.

Sharrock W. W. and Anderson D. C. 1981. 'Language, thought and reality, again' *Sociology* 15: 287 - 293

Stubbs M. 1996. *Text and Corpus Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Stubbs M. 1997. 'Whorf's children: critical comments on critical discourse analysis' in A. Ryan and A. Wray (eds.) *Evolving Models of Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters/BAAL. 100 – 116.

Stubbs M. 2001. 'Text, corpora and problems of interpretation: a response to Widdowson' *Applied Linguistics* 22: 149 – 172.

Trew T. 1993. 'What the papers say: linguistic variation and ideological difference' in Fowler et al: 117 – 156.

Van Leeuwen T. 1996. 'The representation of social actors' in Caldas Coulthard and Coulthard (eds.) 32 – 70.

Widdowson H.G. 1996. 'Reply to Fairclough: discourse and interpretation: conjectures and refutations' *Language and Literature* 5: 57 – 67.

Widdowson H.G. 2000. 'On the limitations of linguistics applied' *Applied Linguistics* 21: 3 – 25.

## **Other reference sources**

The Bank of English, 2002.

The official website of Ministry of Unification, [http:// www.unikorea.go.kr/](http://www.unikorea.go.kr/).