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**“China’s Peaceful Rise”,
Competing Discourses in Newspaper Articles from
China Daily and *The Times***

Guanjie Wang

Submitted to Swansea University
in fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Master of Philosophy

Swansea University

November 2013

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Abstract

In recent times, the “rise of China”, “peaceful rise of China” etc. have become recurrent phrases appearing in newspaper articles both in China and in the western press referring to the growing economic and political influence of China on the global stage seen by some as a threat and by others as an opportunity. This comparative study focused on “China’s peaceful rise” as reported in English language newspapers both from *China Daily* in China and *The Times* in Britain. 45 texts from the *China Daily* website and 20 texts from *The Times* online resources have been selected as the database and these texts cover the period from 2003 to 2008. Texts from these two newspapers were analysed with the aid of software packages *Wmatrix* (Rayson, 2008) and *WordSmith Tools* (Scott, 2001) from a corpus analysis perspective to adopt a quantitative angle and try to make findings more objective and provide hints for the second stage qualitative study by applying *Critical Stylistics* (Jeffries, 2010) framework. In this research, questions addressed are:

- In what ways is “China’s peaceful rise” linguistically constructed in the two newspaper sources?
- What positions are suggested for readers to take up from these newspaper articles?

It is argued that the *China Daily* database prefers to present this concept “China’s peaceful rise” via its reports from a favourable perspective to welcome the peaceful rise of China as a boon both to China and the world; however, *The Times* database is likely to report the principle of “China’s peaceful rise” from a less favourable stance and treat it as a threat to the West and to the international system from language practised in its articles.

DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

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STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated.

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	i
Nonverbal Data.....	ii
Chapter One Introduction.....	1
1.1 Introduction to this study	1
1.2 Approaches to the topic of this thesis	13
Chapter Two Literature Survey	15
2.1 About Critical Discourse Analysis and criticism towards it.....	15
2.2 About Corpus Analysis and its criticism	22
2.3 Combination of Corpus Analysis and CDA	26
2.4 Previous studies relevant to my research.....	26
2.5 Summary	37
Chapter Three Methodology	38
3.1 Data collection and corpus building	38
3.1.1 Choice of databases	38
3.1.2 Corpus building.....	41
3.1.3 Size of database	45
3.2 Methodology of Corpus Analysis	46
3.2.1 Corpus analysis software packages.....	46
3.2.2 Procedure adopted in corpus analysis.....	50
3.3 Methodology of CDA	52
3.4 Summary	56
Chapter Four Corpus Analysis	57
4.1 Corpus analysis tools applied in my study	57
4.2 Corpus analysis of the <i>China Daily</i> and <i>The Times</i> databases	58
4.2.1 Corpus analysis of 's rise and rise of.....	58
4.2.2 Corpus analysis of the <i>China Daily</i> database	66

4.2.3 Corpus analysis of <i>The Times</i> database	106
4.3 Summary	128
Chapter Five Critical Discourse Analysis	130
5.1 Critical Discourse Analysis of <i>China Daily</i> database.....	130
5.1.1 Naming and Describing	134
5.1.2 Representing Actions/Events/States	137
5.1.3 Equating and Contrasting.....	139
5.1.3.1 Equating	140
5.1.3.2 Contrasting.....	144
5.1.4 Prioritizing	148
5.1.5 Negating.....	152
5.1.6 Hypothesizing	155
5.1.7 Presenting Others' Speech and Thoughts	160
5.1.8 Representing Time, Space and Society.....	162
5.2 Critical Discourse Analysis of <i>The Times</i> database.....	164
5.2.1 Naming and Describing	164
5.2.2 Representing Actions/Events/States	167
5.2.3 Equating and Contrasting.....	172
5.2.3.1 Equating	172
5.2.3.2 Contrasting.....	174
5.2.4 Prioritizing	177
5.2.5 Negating.....	180
5.2.6 Hypothesizing	183
5.2.7 Presenting others' Speech and Thoughts	185
5.2.8 Representing Time, Space and Society.....	188
5.3 Summary	189
Chapter Six Conclusion	192
6.1 Findings from this study	192
6.2 Directions for further research.....	194
Appendices	196
Bibliography	202

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NONVERBAL DATA

Figures

Figure 3. 1 Interface of <i>Wmatrix</i>	46
Figure 3. 2 Main semantic categories in the USAS tagset.....	48
Figure 4. 1 Keyword Cloud 1 (<i>China Daily</i> database against <i>BNC Sampler Written</i>)	66
Figure 4. 2 Keyword Cloud 2 (<i>China Daily</i> database against <i>The Times</i> database)	89
Figure 4. 3 Keyword Cloud 3 (<i>The Times</i> database against <i>BNC Sampler Written</i>)	106
Figure 4. 4 Keyword Cloud 4 (<i>The Times</i> database against <i>China Daily</i> database)	118

Tables

Table 4. 1 Keywords analysed in the <i>China Daily</i> and <i>The Times</i> databases	58
Table 4. 2 Dominant types of usage of 's rise in BYU-BNC	59
Table 4. 3 Dominant types of usage of rise of in BYU-BNC	60
Table 4. 4 Semantic concepts covered by <i>China Daily</i> in comparison to <i>BNC Sampler Written</i>	102
Table 4. 5 Semantic concepts covered by <i>China Daily</i> in comparison to <i>The Times</i>	102
Table 4. 6 Semantic concepts covered by <i>The Times</i> in comparison to <i>BNC Sampler Written</i>	123
Table 4. 7 Semantic concepts covered by <i>The Times</i> in comparison to <i>China Daily</i>	126

Chapter One Introduction

This chapter is the introduction to the whole thesis. It sets out the aims, research questions, rationale of the thesis and methodologies used in the study of the topic “China’s peaceful rise”. In this chapter, I explore both the political and technical intentions behind the research, in other words, the background information to contextualise the importance of the topic “China’s peaceful rise”, and why it is worthwhile to conduct a study on newspaper representations of the topic.

1.1 Introduction to this study

This study focuses on the growing global economic, political and cultural importance of China as reported in two newspapers, the English-language *China Daily* published in China, and *The Times* in Britain, focused by an investigation of texts using the expression “the rise of China”. The aims of this study, in the first instance, are to see whether there are differences in the two newspapers’ stances towards the same issue—often reported under headlines or bylines of “China’s peaceful rise”. This topic was originally formulated as ‘China’s peaceful rise’, but it is usually taken up by the Western media as ‘China’s rise’ or ‘rise of China’ suggesting they are suspicious of the ‘peaceful’ element in this principle, or not prepared to reproduce this topic without query or irony. However, I still used ‘China’s peaceful rise’ in this case to be faithful to the original principle. If the differences exist, how are they represented through language in these two newspapers? The wider aim of this study is to investigate an example of competing media discourses across national boundaries.

Two related questions are addressed in this research, the first one is ‘In what ways is “China’s peaceful rise” linguistically constructed in the two different newspaper sources?’ and the second one, which follows on, is ‘What positions are suggested for readers to take up from these newspaper articles?’.

With China's rapid economic growth in recent years, it is hardly surprising that China is being more and more widely discussed as a future world leading power and has attracted considerable attention from politicians, media and social commentators regarding China's plans and intentions sometimes in controversial ways.

China's continued rise in the future seems to many at the time of writing irresistible, and the rise is predicted to be not only in the economy, but also in its international influence, its military power, its demand for energy supplies and many other aspects. Much debate in the media focuses on how China will rise and what the result will be after China rises. Opinion formers throughout the world have raised many questions like these. The Chinese government will be thinking carefully about this rise and the consequent effects, as well as how changes are represented through media discourse which is controlled more directly in China by the state. At the same time, other countries, especially from the West, have expressed unease, anxiety, suspicion or even hostility towards China's rise. The idea of the "China threat" is one competing story to a more optimistic "China's peaceful rise". For instance, the US Defense Department openly warned in its annual report to Congress in 2005 that, 'China's modernizing military could threaten US and other armed forces in the Asia-Pacific region' (Sun, 2005). To counter international unease concerning China's economic and political might, the Chinese government has put forward through the media a doctrine of "peaceful rise", notably since 2003.

The expression "China's peaceful rise" was 'first used on 3 November, 2003 by Zheng Bijian, who was the Chairman of China Reform Forum and the former Vice Principal of the Central Party School of the Chinese Communist Party, in a speech given in the Boao Forum for Asia. The principle of "China's peaceful rise" was then reiterated by many top Chinese government officials, including President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao on various public occasions' (Wei, 2005). The coinage of "China's peaceful rise" (中国和平崛起 Zhōngguó héping juéqǐ) was first given in Chinese language, and translated into English later. The official doctrine of peaceful rise 'states that China will develop economically by taking advantage of the peaceful international environment, and at the same time maintain and contribute to world peace by its development' (Pan, 2006). This doctrine is:

articulated...to counter international fears about Beijing's growing economic and political might. In 2004, Premier Wen Jiabao said China's rise "will not come at the cost of any other country, will not stand in the way of any other country, nor pose a threat to any other country,"...The policy is intended to create "an environment that maximizes the chances of China's economic development,"...[and] "It's an attempt to grow economically and increase China's diplomatic presence while keeping relations with other nations peaceful".

(Pan, 2006)

From this background information on “China’s peaceful rise”, we can see that this principle was proposed to reassure the other nations in the world and counter the interpretation of China’s development as a threat to other nations.

More recently, the topic of “China’s peaceful rise” has been widely discussed all over the world. For example, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has a special China Program and has held conferences and debates on “China’s peaceful rise” with many invited experts involved, including *Reframing China Policy: The Carnegie Debates* organised on 26 March, 2008. Another example is that a prestigious expert on Chinese politics and international relations, Professor Yongnian Zheng from Nottingham University, who wrote in Chinese language in the largest Singapore-based Chinese newspaper *Lianhe Zaobao (United Morning Paper)* that 中国的崛起并不表示西方的衰落；相反，中国在开放状态的崛起是西方持续增长的一个很重要的资源。然而，很多西方人还是感觉到了西方的相对衰落，他们对中国的崛起感到不确定性。这些对中国的认识取决于他们的心理调适。This passage is translated into English by the researcher as following: “China’s rise does not mean the fall of the West; on the contrary, China’s rise, accompanied with its doors opening to the world, is a very important resource for western countries’ persisting growth. However, lots of western countries still feel relative decline and their people feel uncertainty towards China’s rise. These perceptions towards China all depend on their psychological adjustment” (First published on 22 April, 2008 in *Lianhe Zaobao*, quoted on 24 April, 2008 by *Financial Times Chinese* online edition). In 2010, research conducted by Global Language Monitor (GLM) indicated that “Rise of China” was the Top News Story of the decade (more information at <http://www.languagemonitor.com/>). The GLM aims to keep track of the up-to-date tendency of language development and their effects on culture by linguists from the

globe. According to the research finished on 1 December, 2009 by GLM, by tracking words' 'frequency, contextual usage and appearance in global media outlets, factoring in long-term trends, short-term changes, momentum and velocity' in 'social media, as well as the top 50,000 print and electronic media sites', the 'Rise of China [was] The biggest story of the decade, outdistancing the No. 2 Internet story by 400%'. The finding regarding the top position of "Rise of China" from this research has been cited by *People's Daily* (the official newspaper of the Communist Party of China), *Financial Times* (a London-based internationally renowned business newspaper) and *China Daily* (this is the source of my data on Chinese media reports. An introduction to *China Daily* is given at a later stage, in Chapter Three 'Methodology').

In addition, an increasing number of popular writings on China's rapid evolution have appeared and sold well in the West in recent years (e.g. Gittings, 2005; Kyngge, 2007; Gifford, 2007). As one part of report about China, books written by well-known western journalists about China are widely read among people in the western society. Such books arguably contribute to understandings of professionals and other influential people concerned with China in various ways. Most of these authors are journalists, or have been in the media field for a while and have already established their reputations. Readers are expecting to find insight from these journalists' writings about what and how China really is. For instance, the once China bureau chief for the *Financial Times* from 1998 to 2005 James Kyngge says that "the most valuable currency" of a journalist is credibility (2007: 208), and these journalists tend to claim credibility based on long professional experience in China, travel, and extensive first-hand experience of the language and culture.

There are many books written by journalists about the rise of China, among which, *China Shakes the World* (Kyngge, 2007) is a good example. This book is written by James Kyngge, as mentioned before, who used to be the Beijing bureau chief for *Financial Times* and lived in China for sixteen years. He claims that he has visited every province and region in China and can speak very fluent Mandarin. These are bonus points added to him when comparing to other Western authors since that means he should have a better understanding about China than those who are not so deeply rooted in the country. As a China expert, Kyngge tells readers what China's

rise means in his eyes to the world. Kynge's book *China Shakes the World* was the winner of the 2006 Financial Times and Goldman Sachs Business Book of the Year Award. The award 'aims to identify the book that provides the most compelling and enjoyable insight into modern business issues, including management, finance and economics' (*Financial Times*, 2005). 'One of the then seven judges, Lloyd Blankfein, chairman and chief executive of Goldman Sachs, said "China is changing the world and James Kynge's book captures the essence of that change"' (Hill, 2006). Another judge on the 2006 board Jeffrey Garten from Yale School of Management praised the book *China Shakes the World* which 'revealed the complexity and scale of what's happening [in China] in a way that is gripping' (Hill, 2006).

Besides the main title of the book *China Shakes the World*, it also has a small catchy subtitle named "The Rise of a Hungry Nation". This subtitle, together with the cover of this book, a flying red dragon over the background of the world map, with the symbol of the Chinese national flag on its body, vividly convey the aggressive implication from China to readers about expanding. Kynge's book covers a wide selection of topics, from economy to politics, from celebrities to common people, from north to south, from inland China to outside world. In a word, readers are likely to think deeply about the impact of China's rise on the whole world after reading Kynge's book. The author positively reports many achievements China has achieved and is making, but at the same time he does not ignore the dark corners existing in current Chinese society. In particular, Kynge is concerned by the issue of competition between China and the US and the point held by a large number of Western countries that China is a threat in terms of nearly every aspect, which is the initiating point for this thesis: to compare differing perspectives on the rise of China.

This serves as a good example of the contribution these popular books have made to the 'rise of China' discourse. Competition between China and the US is a frequently mentioned topic for newspaper articles from *The Times* and it seems that the UK media tends to act as an intermediary to report what is going on between the two major powers, while the UK itself tends to prefer to be more of an onlooker. Kynge delivers a similar message. The author uses a large number of anecdotes and stories to support his narratives of competition and this first-hand information has a very strong impact on his readers because people or stories mentioned in Kynge's book

are just like fellows readers might be familiar with or experiences occurring to them. Inside these stories, Kynge lists a large number of figures and statistics to clarify the fact of China's rising impact and influence. These numbers in this book as in newspaper articles can play a persuasive role to convince readers.

Generally, the book emphasises China's growing competence and great potential. The rise of China is presented as an indubitable fact. Meanwhile, the unbalanced development of China from economic, political aspects and severe problems existing in Chinese society are not omitted from this book either. Although the subtitle of this book 'The Rise of a Hungry Nation' sounds frightening, the author seems not to fear a rising China. But at the same time, the author is not entirely optimistic about China's rise either due to immense problems existing in current Chinese society. At this stage, I can say that comparing to newspaper article reports on China's rise, this book *China Shakes the World* seems to provide a relatively objective picture of China. This book neither badmouths China to favour some group in the West, nor sings the praise of China to cater to Chinese authority. But as the concept of continuity between newspaper articles and books written by Western journalists mentioned earlier, both of them try to report the same topic China's rise from what it means to the West, but looking from different angles. The message is that the Western reader needs to be very aware of the fact of China's rise.

Another example is from a chapter in John Gittings' book *The Changing Face of China: From Mao to Market*. Gittings is a China expert and has been *The Guardian* newspaper's East Asia editor for twenty years. He personally experienced many important events that happened in China during the 1980-1990s, which was the time when China accumulated strength and prepared to rise. Gittings is not only a journalist, he has also taught at the then Polytechnic of Central London. His identity as part academic and part journalist tends to lend his account more authority because academics are or should be normally people who care about truth and are serious with study.

The book is about changes taking place between the time of Chairman Mao and when China opened its door to the world, the so-called market period. Detailed descriptions are provided in each chapter in this book to trace changes, and Chapter

Fourteen in this book with the title 'China and the World: From Mao to market' gives a thorough view of relations between China and the world from a Westerner's perspective for Western readers. The chapter presents sections about Sino-US relations, the Taiwan issue, One Country Two Systems policy, Tibet and Xinjiang issues, China's human rights records and China's enthusiasm for joining the world. These sensitive, of course important, topics covered by this chapter provide readers rich information to learn about the changing and rising China as perceived by a western observer. Relating to the research topic of my study, "China's peaceful rise", being discussed worldwide at present, shares similarities with topics discussed in Chapter Fourteen of *The Changing Face of China: From Mao to Market*, because these are all challenges to China's rise, and are likely to be influenced by China's rise. So readings like this can help promote understanding about how the West thinks about China's rise from one aspect. From Gittings' writings about China and its relation with the world, as with Kynge (2007), Western readers are likely to be left with the impression that China is an influential power in the world, but China has problems to be solved as well. China is changing and rising, but there is still a way to go. As Gittings concludes in the very end of his book, 'It is an epic story and there is much more to come' (2005: 329).

Such books are helpful to present how popular the topic of China's rise is among the Western readers, which serves part of the general background regarding the thesis' topic.

The above-stated examples emphasise that "China's peaceful rise" is a topic discussed both inside China and outside around the world, which could be explained as the political or non-technical intention behind this thesis. It is natural that people from different countries or background have different understandings towards this doctrine—"China's peaceful rise". Goatly tells us that 'the features we select as criteria for classification reflect our value system' (2000: 52). Chinese people may think that "China's peaceful rise" is a valuable opportunity to itself and to the whole world, and the Chinese press claims to reflect its people's thoughts in newspaper reports. At the same time, some foreign presses claim to express the worries and concerns from their people considering China's rise to be threatening. As Jeffries states, 'in particular those ideas that are shared by a community or society...are a

very important aspect of the world that we live in, and they are...communicated, reproduced, constructed and negotiated using language' (2010: 5), and of course the newspaper is an important channel for this kind of language use. Both of these views on "China's peaceful rise" from Chinese and British newspapers are understandable from their own perspectives, and this study attempts to understand the situation better by analysing these competing news discourses from different newspapers in different cultures, addressing the same topic from different perspectives, through analysis of specific newspaper texts. In the following passages, I carry on with the technical intention behind this thesis, which is why it is valuable to explore this topic via the newspaper representations, or in other words from the newspaper discourse perspective.

The texts to be analysed in this thesis are collected from newspapers. Newspaper discourse is seen as closely connected with readers' daily life and the language they are familiar with in real use. Readers are often influenced by newspapers unconsciously. Conboy points out that 'The language of the news plays a major part in the construction of...the "social construction of reality"' (2007: 5). Despite increasing competition from television and the Internet, the newspaper still plays an important role in many people's daily life and is a vital tool for people to learn news and gain up-to-date understanding of political issues since readers have formed the habit of 'consuming newspapers as a fixed part of their daily routine. For the majority of people, reading the daily newspaper makes up their most substantial and significant consumption of printed discourse' (Fowler, 1991:121). Even though Fowler's statement was made two decades ago, some up-to-date information from readership surveys in China and the UK still supports his ideas. Information found on China from the *2007-2008 Report of Chinese Publication*, which is also known as *Chinese Press Blue Paper*, published in 2009 shows that there is a small growth of newspaper readership in China after five years' decrease, which may serve as a sign of recovering of the newspaper industry in Chinese press and media in China. Evidence on the UK newspapers is from the *National Readership Survey*. *The National Readership Survey* claims that it 'provides the most authoritative and valuable audience research in use for print advertising trading in the UK' and 'The survey covers over 250 of Britain's major newspapers and magazines, showing the size and nature of the audiences they achieve'. The latest data available from the

National Readership Survey show ‘how print publications remain central to the media repertoire of the most avid technophiles’ and ‘how the most active users of technology and mobile devices remain keen readers of newspapers and magazines’. In the survey, the ‘2.3 million technophiles aged 15-24 are “average issue readers” of eight different newspapers and magazines in print, compared to the all-adult average of seven titles’ (National Readership Survey, 2011).

The above-mentioned data from China and the UK are helpful to support the idea that the newspaper is still the preferred hard copy print medium, and plays an important role in many people’s daily life as a source of information or opinion on national and international events and developments.

Allan Bell claims that ‘news is a major register of language. Understanding how it works is important to understanding the functioning of language in society’ (1998: 65). Reports appearing in the newspaper are likely to influence people’s understanding of certain issues to some extent. Fowler has extended the discussion on newspaper reports further by claiming that ‘because the institutions of news reporting and presentation are socially, economically and politically situated, all news is always reported from some particular angle. Anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium’ (1991: 10). So it is important for readers to keep a critical mind when reading articles from newspapers, and carefully evaluate what they read, rather than completely agreeing with what they are told by newspapers. Fowler’s ‘critical linguistic’ position informs readings in this study of *China Daily* and *The Times*.

It is known that the media in China are different from their counterparts in the UK. Zhao (1998) has given a thorough and detailed description of the structures and status of the Chinese media in her *Media, market, and democracy in China*. Zhao was a former journalist in China and became an academic later on, so comments from her about the Chinese media are expected to be worth considering because of her familiarity with the Chinese media industry and as well as her standing as an academic. Influenced by Zhao’s work, Chen (2004, 2007) has provided further illustrations about the Chinese media industry. Although the Chinese media have

experienced great changes over the years and are enjoying more freedom than they used to in the past, when comparing the status quo of media in China with their western counterparts, the Chinese media still comparatively lack freedom to some extent.

It is noticed that the Chinese and British media play different roles in their societies respectively. In China, according to Zhao (1998), there are mainly two categories of newspapers: one is the local evening newspapers and local radio and television weeklies which can be bought commonly from kiosks on the street and they always report soft news, for instance the entertainment material, programme schedules and general interests reports; the other one is newspapers published by government organs, for instance *People's Daily (Renmin Ribao)* and *Guangming Daily (Guangming Ribao)*, which normally serve as the government mouthpieces. The latter category of newspapers cannot be bought on the street and are subscribed to 'with public money and for consumption in offices, classrooms, and factory workshops' (1998: 129). Thus these official newspapers are expected to report events happening in China in a relatively favourable tone instead of expecting many criticisms from them. According to Chen's 2004 work, *China Daily* is owned by China's principal Chinese-language daily newspaper, *People's Daily* (2004: 679). If both newspapers have such a close connection, *China Daily* is supposed to be run under the same or similar constraints from culture and politics, as the other official newspapers from China and as a result, *China Daily* adopts the same consistent line on important news issues, as "China's peaceful rise", to serve as mouthpiece for the government as the other newspapers.

When moving to the British media, it became another picture. Chen (2004, 2007) has summarised that the British newspapers aim to generate their advertising revenue by attracting readers through conflict and negative news stories. The British media are more commercially oriented. Advertisements and revenue are key to newspapers' survival in the field with drastic competition. So it is not expected to see these Western media to always trumpet for the government.

It has been mentioned previously that "China's peaceful rise" is put forward to help reassure other nations of the peaceful intention of China and contest the "China

threat” remarks from the West. If looking at “China’s peaceful rise” from a cross-disciplinary perspective, we find that a branch of social theory named Risk Society may be relevant to this topic.

According to sociologist Anthony Giddens, a risk society is ‘a society increasingly preoccupied with the future (and also with safety), which generates the notion of risk’ (1999: 3). We are now living in a world full of risk, or at least we are better informed of risk than ever before, from earthquake to floods, from industrial pollution to food crisis. Giddens said two decades ago that ‘the world in which we live today is a fraught and dangerous one’ (1990:10), and it seems to many that the world is getting worse today. We could argue that the fear about China’s development is just one example of modern people’s risk perception in a world of rapid change. Non-Chinese may feel uneasy and worried, and are unclear about what kind of consequences China’s development may lead to in the future.

It is claimed that ‘Where our minds are filled with thoughts of risk, then we are understood to acquire an amplified sense of doubt with regard to our personal ability to live in safety’ (Wilkinson, 2001:103). Arguably China’s development has been amplified by those worries and anxieties with futures spread among the West, and the media, including press, have acted as amplifiers to some extent. ‘Both [Anthony Giddens and Ulrich Beck] conceive an important role for the mass media in the cultivation of a type of “risk consciousness” which they understand to increase levels of existential doubt among the populations of Western societies as they become more cognisant of a future of possible hazard and hidden danger (Giddens 1991:1-34; Beck 1992: 22-4)’ (quoted in Wilkinson, 2001:102). At this point, we can realise the relation between media and risk feelings spread in society from the risk study perspective. This study of newspaper stories about “China’s peaceful rise” is usefully seen as a style of ‘risk’ discourse.

As one important part of the mass media, newspapers cannot deny influence in shaping what Giddens and Beck called the ‘risk consciousness’ and should also take the responsibility to accurately report what is really happening rather than irresponsibly feeding anxieties. At the same time, the discourse analyst can act in the role of mediator and assist China and the West to better communicate by looking at

these competing discourses, which are arousing anxieties on both sides of the argument. It is important as far as possible to communicate and take necessary steps to address misunderstandings and fill gaps between different societies and cultures. It is the aim of this study to draw readers' attention to the fact of the lack of communication and mutual understanding between two competing discourses, and hope to promote more thoughtful conversations.

The importance of newspaper articles in shaping risk consciousness has been covered, and it is helpful to analyse articles to study how they are constructed to help spread the perception of risk in the society. It is obvious that 'The text is central to news. News content is not independent of its expression, and we can only hope to have a clear understanding of the nature of news content by close analysis of the news text' (Bell, 1998: 65).

As shown in the title to this thesis, this study is an analysis of competing discourses to examine differences between reports from China and the UK of the same phenomenon. Two differing and conflicting stories have been constructed for two different readerships. It is essential to define what *competing* means in this dissertation. Both newspaper articles from China and the UK about the same topic "China's peaceful rise" can only be a part of the whole picture because I have to find out whose interest these articles represent, thus different voices regarding the topic about "China's peaceful rise" are expected to be heard from these articles. This is the place where the competition comes from. Whether China's rise is peaceful or not, whether the rise is beneficial to the world or it will bring any worries to the West, it is hard to tell by reading articles from one source only. What competing discourses exist in these texts and do they directly or indirectly address each other intertextually? How successful or convincing are such dialogues? It is important for researchers to bring articles from these two different sources together to compare and analyse, to find the contextual cues of competing discourses. In the next section, methods used for text analysis in this study are introduced in a condensed form, and the full account of methodologies is provided in Chapter Three 'Methodology'.

1.2 Approaches to the topic of this thesis

As mentioned previously, all data are collected from two newspapers: *China Daily* from China and *The Times* from Britain. Forty-five texts from *China Daily* website have been selected and twenty texts from *The Times* online resources have been chosen from the year 2003 to 2008. The word count for texts from *China Daily* is 43,050, and word amount for *The Times* is 23,807. The titles of the articles in the two database sources can be retrieved from the Appendix lists, and detailed selection criteria for these articles were discussed in Chapter Three 'Methodology'.

News is a manufactured and processed product (Goatly 2000: 39). This study draws on resources of both corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis to achieve a fuller and more balanced understanding of the texts under investigation.

In this study, two corpus analysis software packages are used to study these written texts. *WordSmith Tools* developed by Mike Scott (2001) and *Wmatrix* developed by Paul Rayson (2008) are used to assist the research, to look for recurrent patterns and linguistic features of the language used inside the two newspapers. Additionally, BYU-BNC, an online BNC resource website is applied in the process of corpus analysis to help check the recurrent patterns of real language use to compare findings with my databases. Subsequently, 'Critical Stylistics' (Jeffries, 2010), as an analytical framework, is used for more detailed qualitative textual analysis and for uncovering the ideologies from these newspaper articles.

By applying the combined research procedures, on the one hand, the texts can be analysed systematically and carefully, and some interesting points that might have been ignored via human observation can be discovered when applying corpus analysis tools; on the other hand, the descriptive framework can be used to study language features spotted via the corpus analysis, to study the language use beyond sentence level, connotative intentions as well ideologies embedded in texts. With the help of these analyses, I hope to find out answers to the two related research questions which I have asked in the beginning of this thesis:

- In what ways is “China’s peaceful rise” linguistically constructed in the two newspaper sources?
- What positions are suggested for readers to take up from these newspaper articles?

Till now, in this chapter, I have contextualised the study in a wider social and political background, and also briefly introduced approaches to carrying out the analysis. After outlining these general ideas about this study, I now move to the next chapter to study writings relevant to the domains this research focused on.

Chapter Two Literature Survey

This chapter focuses on writings relevant to the domains this research involves, which are critical discourse analysis and corpus analysis, the combination of critical discourse analysis and corpus analysis, and some critical thinking towards them with particular reference to media discourse. CDA and corpus linguistics are the two key approaches used in this study to analyse data collected. This chapter is divided into four parts. The first part is about literatures concerning the topic of critical discourse analysis; the second part focuses on literatures on corpus analysis and critical comments is mentioned on this topic as well; the third part discusses the combination of critical discourse analysis and corpus analysis; and the final section deals with relevant previous studies of media discourse, which either support my own research from theoretical and methodological basis, or provoke amendment and improvement for my own study after learning from the shortcomings these previous studies have, as well as insights they provide.

2.1 About Critical Discourse Analysis and criticism towards it

Discourse analysis is ‘concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used’ and ‘finds its unity in the description of language above the sentence and an interest in the contexts and cultural influences which affect language in use’ (McCarthy, 1991: 5-7). As one theoretical perspective and analytical approach of discourse analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) looks at language use from a critical and more political point of view, trying to study discourse with the concept that language and power are closely linked with each other, and social and political domination can be reproduced by discourse. CDA, as Fairclough claims, can be understood as an endeavour to unveil the connections between texts, discourse practices, and sociocultural practices (Fairclough, 1995: 16). Van Dijk has also defined CDA as ‘a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context’ (2003:

352). From both Fairclough and van Dijk's definition, we can find that relations between language, power and ideology are primary concerns for CDA, and CDA is closely connected with the social context in which the text occurs. CDA characteristically takes an oppositional political stance. Van Leeuwen (2006) argues that there are two main purposes for CDA, the first is to analyse how language is used to build and spread ideologies about the world, and the second purpose is to look at methods of how to realise the aim of social domination with the aid of language. Both of these two purposes can only be achieved by careful analysis of the language use from an oppositional or 'critical' standpoint. Thus I can say that language in use, both in written and spoken forms, regarded critically, is the focus of critical discourse analysis.

It is believed that language is not only a combination of words, but also it informs the culture in which the language is used. For instance, Wood and Kroger write that 'language is taken to be not simply a tool for description and a medium of communication...but as social practice, as a way of doing things' (2000: 4). The study of language use, in this case, CDA, can be considered to play an important role in conveying and forming ideas. As van Dijk puts it, because of the fact that discourse analysis studies language in real use, we should expect more information from discourse analysis than from the study of sentence structure or of abstract language meanings (1985: 2). In the research carried out in this study, all my data were collected from reports appearing in newspapers, accessible to readers in their real life.

There are different approaches to doing CDA. For example Fairclough has been an influential figure in the field of CDA study and he proposed the three-dimensional model (2001). This model consists of three steps of analysis, namely the description of linguistic features of the text, the interpretation of the relationship between the discourse processes and the text, and the explanation of the relationship between the discourse process and the social process. Fairclough listed ten questions (2001: 92-3) which the analysts can ask in the process of making their analyses and they can indeed provide the analysts' understanding of the linguistic features the discourses possess. However they do not reveal much connection about the ideological answers these analyses may provide in the latter two steps, namely the 'interpretation' and

'explanation' processes. The ideological descriptions produced by the analysts by following Fairclough's three-dimensional model have been criticised as arbitrary and selective (e.g. Widdowson, 1995, 1996; Stubbs, 1996, 1997). Because of these potential limitations as mentioned above, it is necessary to find a better way of exploring the texts under investigation. The model proposed by Jeffries in her book *Critical Stylistics* combines both CDA and stylistics approaches to 'assemble the main general functions that a text has in representing reality' (2010: 14). Jeffries listed ten 'tools' for analysis, namely: naming and describing, representing actions/events/states, equating and contrasting, exemplifying and enumerating, prioritizing, implying and assuming, negating, hypothesizing, presenting others' speech and thoughts and representing time, space and society. By applying these tools, analysts are led to 'answer the question of what any text is "doing"' (2010: 15) via linguistic analysis of language use, which can further reveal ideological effects the text may have created on readers.

As a discourse embedded in readers' daily life, media discourse, more specifically in my case, newspaper discourse is seen as the language they are familiar with in real use. Conboy claims that 'Social difference is embedded within our language and therefore inevitably with the language of our news media' (2007: 10). Most of us have the feeling that in the society we are living in, only certain people's voices can be heard by the media, while the others are unheard, which is the power relations that work out these differences. Van Dijk explains that it is hard to tell whether a piece of news appearing in a newspaper is unbiased or unfair, but news does provide readers a window from which to find the stereotypical way the world is always constructed (1988: 7). Any piece of news report is written to serve its purpose. From news articles, readers are expected by authors to explore the social world they are living in and find out stories behind different news. My study of competing discourses on "China's peaceful rise" looks at struggles to establish rival dominant meanings of China's rise.

Articles are drafted by authors. However, nowadays most newspaper articles are not solely finished by one person. So an article is arguably a social voice, a product of combined voices representing some kind of shared, consensual position rather than an individual perspective. They are normally combined work of many parties, for

example, the reporter and the editor are possibly involved in the production process. I need to bear this in mind when discussing articles in my data by a certain author. That author's voice will have been mediated by others, as well as commissioned to write on this topic. Allan Bell states in his book *The Language of News Media* that news media offers 'the classic case of language produced by multiple parties' (1991: 33). In order to produce a piece of news, journalists, editors, printers, newsreaders and many others might be those people contributing to publication of the news. This is a process being involved with many individuals and following 'a complex and often cyclical route' (1991: 34). Bell has formerly been a journalist himself, so he knows this field well and can provide comments from the technical and professional point of view, which shows that the idea of single authorship in news article production seems to be impossible in the modern work place. In this fast developing world, newspaper articles act as one form of media representation about the society, one newspaper shares a lot of things with the other papers in this field, for example the reproduction of reports from international news agencies published in several newspapers. As newspaper articles, they have to follow requirements that they are supposed to obey. So a newspaper article does not represent a single author's voice but actually a consensual or policy-led orchestration of a range of individual inputs.

News can normally be divided into two main categories: 'First, the hard news where overt opinion is in general repressed and...second, those genres such as specialist news, soft news, news features, opinion pieces and editorials where opinion is more or less foregrounded' (Conboy, 2007: 8). From normally fixed patterns, 'a headline, plus a lead paragraph that summarises the story, plus a variable number of "satellite" paragraphs that fill out details' (Fairclough, 2006: 32), clues are expected to be looked at to find out how texts are developed. In addition to the norm of newspapers, in practice, as noted by Simpson and Mayr, sometimes the institutional practices play important role in news production as well. The threshold to be determined as news or not is not only the event itself, but more depends on institutional practices in media industry (2010: 115). As a consequence, Fairclough informs his readers that it would be naïve for readers to assume that newspaper articles report events in their original forms. Writers' views and opinions which depend on their social positions and the purposes for producing the articles are likely to be contained inside their reports (Fairclough, 1995: 103). Thus the opinion that the article tends to convey might not

be of any single person, but the newspaper's or power relations behind the paper. If this is true, how about the data collected from *China Daily* and *The Times*? What kind of intentions and power relations are represented and conveyed by these multi-party produced articles?

Goatly tells us that texts normally provide clues, textual implicatures, for readers to guess and he suggests that the process of reading is like a game which requires readers not only to understand the meaning of the texts, but also to find out the intentions of writers who write the articles (2000: 52). This is the task of the reader, and should also be the task of the discourse analyst. Of course, I shall also acknowledge the fact that sometimes the authors' intention may be unwitting and is not always ideologically clear, and that is something the readers construct. Intentions conveyed via newspaper articles are important factors to be considered in my study because one question intended to be answered by this study is what kind of different attitudes towards "China's peaceful rise" newspapers from China and the UK display.

Most CDA studies have looked at discourses produced within one particular country and study these discourses happening inside that country only. Although there are intercultural communication studies done by following the discourse approach with the hope of trying to understand how people from different nations and cultures communicate and perceive the world around them, cross-national critical discourse study is still not common and widespread. My own research shares the common goal of CDA and tends to study the discourse about the principle of "China's peaceful rise" from a critical point of view to reveal the influences this discourse has produced on shaping readers' understandings towards "China's peaceful rise" reflected through the coverage of different newspapers from different cultures by careful analysis of those media discourses. At the same time, my study collects data from two different nations, which is something this research wants to contribute to a current relative deficiency of cross-national discourse studies. By doing this critical discourse analysis, I am interested in producing a fuller understanding of "China's peaceful rise" as a contested notion instead of developing from only one aspect at the expense of another to present a distorted or partial picture. To achieve a better mutual communication and provide opportunities for both parties to understand each other

better are the hopes to be achieved to some extent by this study.

People use language to try to impose their views on others about realities. Both newspaper articles from China and the UK covering the same topic of “China’s peaceful rise” can only be a part of the whole picture because I have to find out whose interest these articles represent, thus different voices regarding the topic about “China’s peaceful rise” are expected to be heard from these two groups of articles. This is the place where the competition comes from. Whether China’s rise is peaceful or not, whether it is beneficial to the world or will bring any worries to the West, it is hard to tell by reading articles from one source only. Why do competitions exist between these texts’ accounts? In a world where power and resources are unequally distributed, tensions and contradictions are inevitable – the West is relatively powerful and wealthy and China is seen to threaten that status quo. It is important for researchers to bring data from the two sources together to compare and analyse in order to find the whole picture of the story and to find out why there is competition here and how this competition plays out.

When discussing CDA, some researchers would like to give it a label, for example, Blommaert views CDA as ‘explicitly left-wing, political commitment’ (2005: 6). It is true that some CDA projects are politically-oriented and have set up some political agenda in advance before carrying out analysis. I want to point out that CDA does not need to have a single over-riding political agenda, it can either be more neutral, for example those aimed at enlightening, or to be more specific, as in my case, to promote better understanding between different cultures. I hope to draw the issue regarding “China’s peaceful rise” to readers’ attentions and raise their awareness and possibly lead to some more thoughtful conversation. If people can think beyond their immediate interests when they can look farther to the future, it is hoped to be able to work for areas of commonality and find a better solution towards the conflict in looking at “China’s peaceful rise” in light of the findings obtained from my study.

The texts on their own are only a collection of words, they cannot explain themselves. But these texts do provide the chances for readers to inform their thinking and then explore the contexts. When readers’ minds are activated, the context of the texts can be hugely extended. Thus by following the ‘Critical

Stylistics' framework offered by Jeffries (2010), I aim to explore the ideology of texts via linguistic analysis, or more specifically to recognise propositions held by the newspapers these articles serve, and on the basis of their propositions to try to find out what kind of inferences writers want us—the readers—to arrive at. In order to better understand how language works, it is important to properly contextualise the newspaper language, to find out under what kind of environment and for what kind of purposes the language is used. When conducting analysis, we should be critical toward any explanations and 'check them against the specifics of the case we are investigating' (Blommaert, 2005: 14). People normally interpret texts depending on which social norms they subscribe to, or in other words, the knowledge of the world is held differently by people belonging to different groups (Fairclough, 2001: 16; Widdowson, 2007: 24-5). As a result, different analysts might find different meanings of the same texts. Different social conventions of analysts may lead to different explanations of language use. This is the one aspect that attracts criticisms toward the CDA approach. For example, the problem of circularity proposed by Michael Stubbs (1996, 1997). Stubbs alerts people that analysts might describe the texts with 'their own unexplicated knowledge' (1996: 103) and he considers that the way the text is interpreted by CDA analysts is inexplicit, or is 'politically rather than linguistically motivated' (1996: 102). When doing CDA, it seems to be impossible to avoid the intervention of analysts' personal allegiances. But definitely personal beliefs in CDA should be limited to the minimum degree the analyst can. That is why in my study, I adopted mixed research methods—corpus analysis and CDA, to help achieve the most unbiased result I am possibly able to. That can be the answer I provide to previously mentioned Stubbs' concerns with the analysis.

Another well-known criticism on CDA came from Henry Widdowson. Widdowson (1995, 1996) says that CDA only analyses the text from one aspect, that is the way the analyst observes the world, while in fact there should be many ways to look at the text. At the same time, Widdowson observes that CDA ignores the social background in which the text is produced and read. He suggests that critical discourse analysts confuse discourse analysis with textual interpretation. Similar to Widdowson in this respect, Stubbs (1996) views CDA as textual commentaries, which shows the lack of interest in actual readership from CDA analysts. In addition to these comments, CDA has also been criticised that the sample data collected for analysis are arbitrary or

random, whether the data are representative or not is to be questioned; the links between ways of thinking and talking are unclear; there are not enough data having been studied to make the analysis and so on. Problems are there, and I should face them and actively deal with them. Fundamentally sympathetic to the aims of CDA, in Stubbs' book *Text and corpus analysis*, he provides some suggestions on improvements for CDA, and he writes that 'the analyses could be strengthened by comparative and quantitative methods, and [that] the logic of the position could be better argued' (1996: 101). Relating to my study, I chose mixed research methods: combinations of corpus analysis and CDA, to balance and strengthen the explanations made from those raw data and try to reduce the possibility of inexplicitness raised by critics such as Stubbs and Widdowson. The work I did is a kind of comparative analysis with the hope of filling the gap raised by Stubbs that 'studies of language use and cognition must be comparative. Only very few CDA studies compare individual texts' (1996: 107).

2.2 About Corpus Analysis and its criticism

What does corpus mean in the context of corpus analysis? According to the pioneer figure in this field John Sinclair, a corpus is defined as 'a collection of pieces of language that are selected and ordered according to explicit linguistic criteria in order to be used as a sample of the language' (quoted in Hoffmann et al., 2008: 13). And corpus linguistics is 'the study of language based on examples of real life language use' (McEnery and Wilson quoted in Baker, 2006: 1). Hoffmann et al. go further to argue that corpus linguistics is not only the systematic study of linguistic features of authentic language use, it also equips itself with computer technology to read data (2008: 18). In modern times, corpora are always analysed with the aid of computers and specifically designed software packages. By applying this essentially quantitative method in my study, data collected from two newspaper sources were analysed and compared by using corpus analysis software to study the linguistic features of real language use and the general patterns they tend to follow, for example from the point of word frequency, concordance and collocation to look for features and patterns of interest.

Why do I need to take this corpus-based approach to study language and what are the advantages in choosing to use corpus analysis? The benefits can be shown from the following aspects: first, the efficiency of studying a large amount of data. Needless to say, the computer has unimaginable power to calculate and analyse data as compared to human capacity. With the aid of corpus linguistic software, it becomes realistic for researchers to look at details of word frequency and co-occurrence which were almost inaccessible in the past. Second, detailed analysis can help analysts notice what is central and typical in the language, therefore provide us the way of understanding and angle of analysing language (Sinclair quoted in Stubbs, 1996: 32; Baker, 2006: 114). Hunston writes in her book *Corpora in Applied Linguistics* that a corpus is normally studied from three aspects via the software packages, which are frequency, phraseology and collocation (2002: 3). Words in a corpus can be arranged in either descending or ascending order by following their frequency appearing in a particular corpus. By comparing frequency lists produced from different corpora, it is possible to provide useful information in order to spot differences between these corpora and lead researchers to study those differences in more detail. In order to study the way in which words and phrases are used or co-occur, that is phraseology, we have to examine concordances. From the concordance observation, typical ways of word or phrase use can be traced and found out, which can reveal patterns of the language and guide analysts to look for their meaning and function. Collocation is about the 'statistical tendency of words to co-occur' (2002: 12). Bearing similarities to concordance lines, collocation analysis can provide similar information about word or phrase regularities in use, but one step further, collocation can yield more accurate information than concordance lines do via statistical analysis operated by the computer or the software packages, which makes the findings more reliable than more impressionistic human observations. The three main functions play very important roles in making corpus analysis accessible and revealing in conducting the research. Similar to Hunston, Baker (2006) has provided detailed descriptions on these topics in his book *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis* as well. In a word, the software package is able to provide researchers a new perspective on actual uses of words, which is the advantage corpus analysis brings to the study.

The relatively objective results produced by software-assisted corpus analysis enable

discourse analysts to approach the data more neutrally. Baker et al. have concluded that 'CL [Corpus Linguistics] methods offer the researcher a reasonably high degree of objectivity...they enable the researcher to approach the texts (or text surface) (relatively) free from any preconceived or existing notions regarding their linguistic or semantic/pragmatic content' (2008: 277). This kind of objectivity is definitely needed from a discourse analysis point of view. As discussed, discourse analysis has always been criticised that items selected to be analysed are arbitrary. Now, corpus analysis has helped to provide some more objective grounding for carrying out analysis, as Stubbs, for one, has advocated.

When reviewing results obtained from machine or computer to be more specific, the subjectivity tends to be reduced to the minimum degree. Assisted with computer and software packages, corpus-based discourse analysis can bring more depth and greater objectivity to our analysis and research work. This kind of combined approach has become a trend in discourse analysis. Fairclough is historically the leading figure in the CDA field. He has more recently adopted corpus analysis, changing from a purely qualitative approach to both quantitative and qualitative methods to develop his research. In Fairclough's 2000 work *New Labour, New Languages*, he makes comparison between two corpora, one is the New Labour party documents data collection and the other is the Old Labour corpus. From the comparison, Fairclough notices the changes of ideology within the Labour party from its use of language in the documents. For instance, the words: *partnership*, *business* and *new* used in the New Labour documents, show cooperation among different integrations of the society, caring about the interests of business and emphasising on newness. In a word New Labour is representing itself as different from what this party used to be in the past. Corpus analysis plays a key role in helping produce Fairclough's (2000) study.

Although corpus analysis can bring so many benefits to our analysis, I cannot overlook the fact that a corpus by itself is only a store of used language and does not speak for itself. Researchers have to interpret by themselves what they find from the corpora about the features of language, and thus it tends to be arguable whether the conclusion obtained is subjective or objective. Just as in doing discourse analysis, it is inevitable for researchers to mix their own perspectives into the corpus analysis.

Baker warns that ‘Researchers may choose to interpret a corpus-based analysis of language in different ways, depending on their own positions’ (2006: 18). I want to argue that as long as analyses being made are based on results or hints deriving from relatively objective software-dominated corpus analysis, the results could be considered less biased.

Corpus analysis is a useful way of carrying out analysis and exploring interesting points of further analysis, while it is not an omnipotent tool and we cannot expect everything from it. For example, in *Corpus-based language studies*, McEnery, Xiao and Tono (2006) remind researchers what they cannot expect from corpora. Corpora themselves cannot present negative examples in front of researchers and are not able to explain to researchers what can be observed from findings. In addition, researchers should bear in mind that corpus analysis findings can only inform them of the truth in that particular corpus. Although a reference corpus can be used in analysis to produce reasonable generalisations about the data from the particular corpus, it still might be misleading to make wider generalisations based on the sample corpus only (2006: 121).

Widdowson worries about how accurate corpus analysts’ explanations of corpus data are to the authors’ original ideas and what kind of methods analysts choose to make analysis because there is a tendency that analysts prefer to choose the method which seems easier for computers to carry out analysis instead of more complex forms of analysis (Widdowson 2000:7 quoted in Baker, 2006: 7). In my study, in order to overcome those criticisms proposed by scholars, I combined more qualitative textual analysis with corpus analysis to achieve a better understanding of the databases. In my corpus analysis, I used two corpus analysis programmes which are *Wmatrix* developed by Paul Rayson (2008) and *WordSmith Tools* by Mike Scott (2001). Detailed analysis of these two software packages were introduced in the next chapter on methodology.

Despite criticisms received from various sources, corpus analysis is undergoing rapid progress and development nowadays, and its popularity among researchers is growing quickly so that it has been accepted by more and more of applied linguistics. With the popularity of computers and the rapid speed of the development of science

and technology, better ways of exploring language in use will no doubt be achieved in the future. For now, as Baker comments:

Corpus-based discourse analysis should...play an important role in terms of removing bias, testing hypotheses, identifying norms and outliers and raising new research questions. It should not replace other forms of close human analysis, but act in tandem with them.

(2006: 183)

2.3 Combination of Corpus Analysis and CDA

To combine both CDA and corpus analysis to carry out analysis has become a trend in the field (Fairclough, 2000; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Baker et al., 2008). As mentioned earlier, in this study, it was decided that both quantitative and qualitative research methods be applied to strengthen and balance the overall study. The corpus analysis can form the basis of CDA since analysts are able to follow the findings obtained via the relatively objective machine calculation, and at the same time, the CDA can also inform and enhance findings claimed via corpus analysis. In other words, it is a machine that collects materials from a relatively objective specification at the first stage, and researchers are provided the opportunities of developing their studies on the basis of findings produced from software tools. In this process, the role of subjectivity has been reduced. So during my own research, as a powerful tool, corpus analysis has been employed to work together with CDA to ensure analysis is more thorough and defensible.

2.4 Previous studies relevant to my research

In the first and second sections of this chapter, literatures which are used to inform the approach and procedure for making analysis in my study have been covered. Till now, I have generalised how CDA and corpus analysis work and the possibility and benefits the combination of these two approaches brings to the research. Now focus

shifts from the general descriptions to specific individual studies which have informed the design and progress of this thesis.

The first and second parts of this chapter provide an idea of what discourse analysis and corpus analysis are in general terms, while in this part I try to look at these topics from a more detailed perspective by studying these relevant similar researches. They are three studies using discourse analysis and one using corpus analysis, which are either relevant to my research topic or procedures adopted, and it is important to notice what I can take from these previous studies in order to inform the aspects which I can focus and investigate. In the following passages, the studies were discussed in a chronological order.

Lee and Craig's 1992 study 'News as an Ideological Framework: Comparing US Newspapers' Coverage of Labor Strikes in South Korea and Poland' published in *Discourse & Society*, the leading journal of CDA research. In this study, Lee and Craig compared the differences of US newspapers' coverage of South Korean and Polish labour strikes before Communism collapsed in Poland with the hope of describing US media's ideological framework when they report international political issues. Lee and Craig adopted Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model (1988) to develop their research, which showed that coverage of labour strikes in newspapers showed differences by following the 'us vs. them' dichotomy of cold war ideology to treat whether the country to be reported was friend or enemy. This paper listed several hypotheses and predicted that the US mainstream media would produce divided reports of the strikes in the two countries to guide the tendency of public discussion about these events. As a result, strikers from South Korea and Poland would be portrayed differently and allocated to 'us vs. them' categories respectively from selected sources, for instance South Korean government's and Polish strikers' voices were heard more because they were in 'our' bloc. In a word, Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model forecast that very different news frameworks would be found out for the two news representations; furthermore, in addition to the propaganda model, Lee and Craig followed Hartley (1982) and van Dijk's (1988) discourse analysis approach at the same time to conduct their analysis. The study carried out discourse analysis to check the 'systematic presentation of social conflicts' reflected within the texts. Hartley (1982) made some important findings

about news discourse by relating texts to the social-economic foundations of news. Hartley pointed out that the interests of people with power were portrayed as interests to the general public in the news, which is the power relations represented through language use in news. And assumptions about consensus supported the news discourse all the way through. For instance, the use of *we* could be considered as the consensus among us. The media used domestic and familiar terms in the reports, the conversational mode of address, to label themselves with common sense and as part of 'us'. Van Dijk's (1988) discourse analysis approach focused on the grammar of discourse. By analysing syntax, style and grammar, van Dijk's discourse analysis method wanted to show readers to what extent and how these devices were used to support the ideological meaning of texts. For example, headlines and leads are things to be looked at by van Dijk's method because they normally lead readers to grasp the topic of the news. We normally have this kind of experience that when reading newspapers, we do not take every word from the news, but remember the general meaning of this news, which is what van Dijk termed as 'macroproposition' (text level synthesis) and 'microproposition' (sentence or phrase level), the difference between whole picture and segments of the news. People develop ideas from reading. Even though the media want to spread an idea among their audience, they try to appear to be reasonable and only report reality. Lee and Craig combined three types of analyses to develop the research, which were mechanical content analysis, short critical reading and closed discourse analysis. In mechanical content analysis, this study compared the numbers of reports found from the mainstream US press media; in short critical reading process, the authors developed a general picture about the collected coverage of strikes in the two countries reported by the US mainstream press according to the previously mentioned hypotheses; in the final closed discourse analysis stage, Lee and Craig provided five articles as examples to show how the articles were structured to be correct in political stance from the discourse analysis point of view. Through these analyses, Lee and Craig found that 'the "us-them" dichotomy and anti-communist filter in operation' among the American mainstream media and these mainstream media have a pro-management and anti-labor framework in operation revealed by their reports (Lee and Craig, 1992: 341).

In the study done by Lee and Craig, in the process of discourse analysis, they use Hartley and van Dijk's models as they claim 'to analyze news at a textual level'

(1992: 342). Textual level analysis however is only a part of the story because what CDA cares more about is not the language itself, but power relationships behind language use. Additionally, only quantitative analysis is carried out in this research. Results obtained could have been more revealing if more qualitative analysis had been used.

These shortcomings are there. Nevertheless Craig and Lee's work provides an interesting example of the same discourse being applied to different situations to look for contradictions from ideological analysis, for example, more supportive to management team than workers through newspaper reports. The propaganda model used in this study was developed from the Cold War background. Things have changed dramatically over years since the Cold War period and most countries have become more engaged with each other nowadays. But conflicting ideologies between different cultures, e.g. the East and the West; Iran, North Korea and the US still exist or are central to media discourse. The forms they take and the ways they work have experienced dramatic changes, while the fundamental differences between conflicting ideologies are still there. As a result, Craig and Lee's work is still applicable to my study from the point of revealing ideological differences, although in my case it is the study of different stories being applied to the same situation. What Lee and Craig used as sources for data collection were from US media, but not UK or Chinese media. It is expected that there are differences between American and the other two nations' media reports, but because of the fact that both the UK and the US belong to what might be termed the West, the British and American media industries can be expected to share some similarities. The most important thing is that Lee and Craig's research is a comparative study of a similar topic covered by different media sources, which bears similarities to my own research because I also care about the different attitudes newspapers hold towards the same issue and the 'us vs. them' dichotomy is part of the work I am going to look at, so Lee and Craig's study casts some light on my study. But I shall point out that the 'us vs. them' model in my analysis is more van Dijk's approach, which performs more sophisticated linguistic analysis, rather than Herman and Chomsky's surface analysis which looks at obvious oppositions displayed in the texts and contents. Compared to the Cold War period, it is noticeable that people are becoming more cautious about their words when making comments or giving speeches. Differences are arguably expressed

more subtly and indirectly. For example politicians seldom make any threatening remarks to the public bluntly. Nowadays readers or analysts have to study further to make more interpretation to reveal their meanings. That might be able to serve part of the reasons for selecting van Dijk's more sophisticated approach rather than the surface or content analysis only.

Another two studies to be discussed are both by Lily Chen. The first is Chen's 2004 work 'Evaluation in media texts: A cross-cultural linguistic investigation' published in *Language in Society*, the leading American journal for sociolinguistics. In this study, the author aims to find a way of looking for the degrees of neutrality or bias produced by the reporters' use of words in their writing process, and then applies this method to a competing analysis of media texts from China's English language newspaper *China Daily* and its British counterpart—the UK *Times*. Chen studies 50 articles each from *China Daily* and the UK *Times* to trace evidences of reporting differences in what Labov calls 'evaluation'. According to Labov, as one aspect of the narrative structure of a text, evaluation refers to 'the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its *raison d'être*: why it was told and what the narrator was getting at' (Labov 1972: 207 quoted in Chen, 2004: 676). It can be noticed that evaluative devices are useful for writers to enrich their narrations and to influence readers' judgements. There are four main categories for these linguistic devices which have been consciously or unconsciously used by narrators, and they are labelled by Labov as intensifiers, comparators, correlatives and explicatives. For instance, words like *all*, *some*, *a lot* and *few* are all intensifiers because they help strengthen the emphasis; comparators help enhance the effect of informing about things which have really happened, and this is the area Chen's work focuses on; correlatives can connect two things which have really happened together and place them in one clause; explicatives are used to provide explanations. Chen chooses to concentrate on studying only one category of evaluation, which is comparator. In the initial analysis stage, the comparator category reveals to Chen the most interesting differences between the two sets of texts collected from *China Daily* and *The Times*, which is an important reason for Chen to choose comparator as the angle to develop her study. Chen selects three main types of comparators to analyse, namely negative evaluators, future evaluators and modal evaluators. Negative evaluators are normally used to describe things could have happened but in fact did not. The future evaluators

are used to express the idea that things will be like this in the future but not at the moment when the narrator is writing. The modal evaluators are employed to provide possible thinking about events that could or might or should become true, but they are not true when they are being narrated. The topic selected to be analysed in Chen's 2004 study is home news to each newspaper. Articles selected as candidates were between 200 and 600 words in length and published on the Internet from January to March 1998. Chen chose the first 50 articles satisfying all these criteria from each newspaper as her data. From the quantitative analysis carried out in this study, it is noticed that the overall use of negative, future and modal comparators is greater in the texts from *The Times* than from *China Daily*. By detailed interpretation of findings from newspaper articles regarding negative, future and modal comparators, the author concluded that use of evaluations by the two newspapers are different due to the different roles which they play in the society where they are from. This study reveals significant differences of the use of evaluations between the two newspapers, in terms of frequency of appearance of evaluations and the way they are used. In general *The Times* uses more evaluations than *China Daily* because of *The Times*' economic survival depending on selling newspapers. *The Times* needs to tell stories to entertain and engage its readers so that it is able to attract more commercial investments, while *China Daily* is 'a mouthpiece for the Party in its efforts to communicate with the wider world' (2004: 700) by following the official line.

Reasons for choosing Chen's 2004 research as one representative study for my reference is because this study makes comparison between Chinese media and Western English media with the help of critical discourse analysis, which is a great motivation for my study although I have added corpus analysis in my study to supplement and enhance my work. Also, the findings on evaluation from Chen's work account for much of the difference in tone between *China Daily* and *The Times*.

But in this study, it seems to me that there are some places which could have been improved as well. There is no specific topic to be discussed in this research and the topic is only loosely focused on 'home news'. Home news is too big a topic and thus may be problematic when selecting data. Also in the data selection period, Chen says that she chose the first 50 texts with 200 to 600 words in length from each newspaper's website. Why the texts have to be 200 to 600 words in length is left

unexplained. Chen selected the first 50 texts meeting all her set requirements to be included in her database, which may not be representative of the whole style or feature the newspaper possesses. These are all potential problems in Chen's work.

More positively, although I recognise that it is difficult to compare two very different newspapers across different cultures and news systems, Chen has provided a possible and successful precedent for making this kind of comparison. I can say that Chen has done some suggestive pioneering work in supplementing 'nonlinguistic studies of the Chinese media with studies conducted upon hard linguistic grounds, as well as making contrastive analysis' (Chen 2004: 702), which provides evidence that Chinese media written in the language other than its native language can be compared with a media source from a completely different culture. That offers sound grounds for me to carry out my research to do a competing discourse analysis among Chinese media published in English language and its British counterpart. In the meantime, there are not many researches which have been completed about comparisons among media discourses across different cultures. Currently, most of the studies focus on newspapers from one country only, or at least from the similar cultures, for example newspapers published in the US and the UK. The lack of research in cross-cultural media discourse comparison serves one important reason for me to focus on this kind of research. By following Chen, I want to do some more work toward filling the current gap in this area. Chen's work acknowledges the ideological importance of language of evaluation in news reports and my own analyses focus on some instances of evaluation as well. Nevertheless, in my study I refer to a more specific topic—"China's peaceful rise" compared to Chen's home news topic for doing discourse analysis, which is something different from Chen's work.

The second publication from Chen is her 2007 study 'Negatives and Positives in the Language of Politics: Attitudes towards Authority in the British and Chinese press'. In this study, Chen looks at how politics is represented in the media by two newspapers from different countries—China and the UK. Chen (2007) focuses on Halliday's verbal processes, in other words the speech verbs, to study journalists' choices when introducing politicians' words. It is believed that the choice of one verbal process instead of another one can be treated as the indicator of the

journalist's either favourable or unfavourable stances towards what politicians say. Chen develops the category of verbal process further by dividing it into three sub-categories, which are the negative verbal process indicating unfavourable attitude, as *insist*, *deny* and *complain*; the positive verbal process indicating a favourable attitude, for example *announce* and *emphasise*; and the neutral verbal process indicating no obvious attitude. Chen focuses on the first two types of verbal processes in her study. By studying the negative and positive verbal processes, Chen aims to find evidence of differences in the attitude of British and Chinese journalists towards political figures and authorities in the two countries through the contrast of verbal process uses in the UK *Times* and the English-language *China Daily*. This kind of attitudes contrast can inform people with regard to the different relationships between media and politicians in the UK and China.

Chen uses a model for the linguistic comparison of the British and Chinese press developed by herself in 2004 to study linguistic differences gained from the comparison of these two newspapers—*China Daily* from China and the UK *The Times*. The hypothesis of Chen's 2007 research is that there are significant differences in the pattern of use of negative and positive verbal processes between Chinese and British press. In this study, she seeks to apply an analytical model based upon these sub-categories. 50 texts from *The Times* and 50 from *China Daily* are collected for study. Similar to Chen's 2004 study, she collects articles between 200 and 600 words in length, covering home news to each newspaper, in other words, news concerning China in *China Daily* and news on Britain in *The Times*. These articles were all published on the Internet between the time span of January and March in 1998. Chen compares data from the two sources and looks at individual texts showing typical usages of verbal process in detail.

According to the quantitative analysis produced from the two sets of data, there is no significant verbal processes difference between reports from *China Daily* and *The Times*. For the neutral and positive verbal processes, differences between them are not frequent either. However, when moving to the negative verbal processes, figures show up as highly significant. There is a great tendency for *Times* to use more negative verbal processes than *China Daily* in their reports concerning politics. In the detailed interpretation section in this essay, Chen offers examples with the use of

words *complained*, *denied* and *claimed* appearing in *Times* texts to support her statistics. Although both *China Daily* and *The Times* frequently use positive verbal processes, the way they are used varies. The findings of the use of negative and positive verbal processes from the linguistic point of view within the study help confirm the attitudes of the two newspapers in their respective cultures: *China Daily* treats authorities with more favour and *The Times* is more skeptical about authority and questions it more consistently. Again, I found a similar pattern of suspicion in *The Times* dataset of my own study and more neutral or positive reporting in *China Daily*. The tone and general characterisation are consistent with Chen 2004.

Chen's 2007 work discusses the significant difference from both negative and positive aspects between Chinese and British media; this kind of comparison provides linguistic evidence for me to refer to in the process of developing my own research, which is beneficial to me. It is also notable that Chen's research focuses on the same two newspapers as mine, *China Daily* and *The Times*, which is no doubt helpful for me in terms of understanding media systems in China and the UK and these two newspapers' stances represented in each country. This is all very valuable background information for reference in my study. In addition, this study also alerts me to specific points to consider and study more closely, for example negatives, reporting and reported speech, and many of my own findings seem to complement or confirm those of Chen.

The above mentioned three studies are mostly carried out from qualitative perspectives. For the next study to be considered, the focus was shifted to a more quantitative approach—discourse analytic research informed by corpus analysis. The study to be discussed in this section mainly focuses on corpus analysis, but has the intention of discussing the extent to which a corpus analysis can help develop discourse analysis: Gabrielatos and Baker (2008). In Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), authors collect data from LexisNexis, which serves as an online resource for obtaining newspaper articles. Altogether nineteen newspapers from the UK are selected for data collection, including six daily tabloids and their four corresponding Sunday editions, five daily broadsheets, two Sunday broadsheets and two regional newspapers. The time span for data collection runs from January 1996 to October 2005. The whole database consisted of 175,139 articles, which is 140 million words.

These data were kept in separate folders and each folder contained articles from one newspaper in one calendar month. The study focused on two important factors of corpus analysis: keyness and collocation.

By studying keywords, Gabrielatos and Baker can find out words that are relatively frequently used in broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. To explore these keywords within their contexts, it is possible to check out different types of discourse about what Gabrielatos and Baker term RASIM (refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, migrants) in different newspapers. Collocation studies bring information about the semantic analysis of a word and show the frequent co-occurrence of words. For this research, Gabrielatos and Baker develop a technique called ‘consistent collocates’ (c-collocate) to look at words consistently collocating instead of what they label as ‘seasonal collocates’, those words may have very frequent collocations in some years, and not in the other years, but are still counted as collocates through the entire corpus.

This corpus-based analysis is mainly carried out in the following stages: recognition of keywords closely connected with the concept of RASIM, for example words such as *refugees*, *asylum seekers*, *immigrants*, *migrants*; then qualitative concordance analysis of those keywords to recognise semantic prosodies. In this process, the lexical analysis software *WordSmith Tools* is used to assist this research. Results derived from those stages are grouped, and some of the most interesting results are summarised, namely diachronic patterns, collocates and topoi, confusion/conflation of RASIM terms, broadsheet vs. tabloids, and nonsensical terms (explained later). In the diachronic patterns, counting the number of articles appearing in the corpus every month, there is a clear growing coverage of the topic between the year 1996 and 2005, while there are many sharp rises and falls in the number of news stories. When examining the collocates and topoi, it is noticed that the c-collocates of RASIM (refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants) give ‘strong indications of the stance adopted in their representation’ (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008: 20) and there is a limited number of topics covering the RASIM discourse, therefore just a small number of topoi are engaged, ‘most of which denote a negative stance’ (2008: 20). In the confusion/conflation of RASIM terms section, this paper studies in great detail the overlapping use of the RASIM terms through examination of their shared c-

collocates; under ‘broadsheet vs. tabloids’, authors provide detailed keyword analysis obtained from comparing the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers; in the final part, nonsensical terms, this study looks at some expressions with the involvement of RASIM terms via their frequency distribution, unabashed negative prejudice can be traced from these usage. Gabrielatos and Baker’s above-mentioned detailed analysis shows that ‘the conservative and tabloid British press are responsible for creating and maintaining a moral panic around RASIM, which has increasingly become the dominant discourse in the UK press’ (2008: 33) and is arguably now driving government policies. This is the social effect this research has on the society, which is able to raise people’s awareness about the RASIM issue.

From this study, I can realise the important role corpus analysis plays in conducting linguistic research, which is fast in speed and involves relatively little human intervention, and that is used to compensate the disadvantages CDA approach has. The qualitative and quantitative analysis are interwoven in this research, both CDA and corpus analysis play important parts to achieve the final conclusions. For example, when examining the c-collocates and topoi, looking for confusion of RASIM terms, a huge amount of careful and detailed discourse analysis has been carried out. This serves as a good example of highlighting the importance of the combination of the two methods, discourse analysis and corpus analysis, to present a fuller account of the data. This study provides supportive evidence of the possibility of combining both qualitative and quantitative approaches to develop linguistic analysis, which is the procedure I choose to carry out my research: to carry out corpus analysis first and then followed by qualitative analysis on the basis of previous corpus analysis findings.

In this study, as stated in the end by the authors themselves, there are some questions that still need to be answered, for instance whether the keywords are spread evenly in all collected data, whether the keywords are always key throughout the texts and so on. Because this study is mainly corpus driven, there is relatively little discussion about qualitative analysis. Generally, similar to my study, to analyse media discourse with the aid of corpus analysis is an option attracting more and more favour from the field, which strengthens my faith to follow a similar approach.

From all previous studies researchers conducted regarding both qualitative and quantitative aspects, I benefit a lot either from researches with same data sources or methodologies adopted by those relevant studies, which inform the aspects that I can focus on and investigate in for my own work. They all have sparked my ideas of designing my own research structure and alerted me to the potential problems existing in those research papers, which I try to overcome. Research is a continuous work and is built on previous research. These have all been important studies for me to learn from, to compare and to think about, in order to improve my own work.

2.5 Summary

All literatures read on CDA, corpus analysis and previous similar studies relevant to my own research have helped build my understanding about both the theoretical ground for this study and social background knowledge basis. By building my own research on these previous achievements and overcoming criticisms raised by scholars with my propositions throughout, I want to contribute to better understanding of “China’s peaceful rise” discourses by doing comparative critical discourse analysis with the aid of corpus analysis.

Chapter Three Methodology

In previous chapters, we have gained the background knowledge about the study and the significance of carrying out this study, and also studied relevant literatures and works this study draws upon. In this chapter, focus is shifted to discuss in detail the methodologies adopted in this study.

This chapter consists of three parts: data collection and corpus building, methodology of corpus analysis, and methodology of critical discourse analysis (CDA). As mentioned earlier, both qualitative and quantitative approaches have been applied in this study. The procedure of carrying out the analysis is to do the corpus analysis first; basing itself on findings from corpus analysis, the study then analyses in detail how the texts have been organised linguistically and what kind of ideology could be uncovered with the help of the qualitative analysis.

3.1 Data collection and corpus building

Before moving to discussions on the methodologies used to carry out analysis in this study, it is necessary to cover how data of this project are collected. On the one hand, data collection procedure provides the basis for the whole analysis. A reasonably well-selected pool of data is vital for reliable analysis and results obtained from the analysis. On the other hand, readers are able to generate a fuller picture about the topic under study from familiarising themselves with the whole data selection procedure, which is expected to facilitate readers understand the study better, so the section on data collection and corpus building has been put in the first place.

3.1.1 Choice of databases

Systematic data collection is the vital basis of empirical research. When constructing the database where data were to be collected, many newspapers have been taken into

consideration. After evaluating factors such as newspaper format, circulation, readership and influence, the following two newspapers were selected: *China Daily* from China and *The Times* from the UK.

First, “China’s peaceful rise” is a topic involving information concerning politics, economy, military, world order, culture and so on. A broadsheet newspaper has a better coverage of events from a relatively serious perspective and it presents many facets of the event, so it was felt that a broadsheet newspaper should be selected to correspond to this topic. In China, as is known to the West, it is not the Western-styled free media and some restrictions are applied. For example, Flowers writes that ‘in the words of the BBC’s correspondent in China, “The opening-up of the media industry has extended to distribution and advertising, not to editorial content”’(2010: 37). However, as an important English-language newspaper in mainland China, *China Daily* is ‘regarded as one of the country’s most authoritative English media outlets and an important source of information on Chinese politics, economy, society and culture. It is often regarded as the “Voice of China” or “Window to China”’ (*China Daily*, 2007) for foreign readership according to its own website; while in the UK, a broadsheet newspaper should be of the right type to be considered to discuss the topic of “China’s peaceful rise” because of its more serious writing and more coverage of international events than the tabloid newspaper. *The Times* is just one outstanding example among them because News International claims ‘*The Times* has been at the forefront of British journalism since it was founded...in 1785...Today *The Times* maintains its position as the journal of record, across a broad range of areas. It is renowned for the quality of its journalism, and its writers and columnists include some of the biggest names in journalism’ (News International, 2008a).

Second, circulation is a principal standard to evaluate the popularity and likely influence the newspaper has among certain readers. *China Daily* is normally distributed free of charge in international hotels, higher education institutions, foreign countries and other high-end groups. The average daily circulation of *China Daily* ‘is more than 300,000, one-third of which is abroad in more than 150 countries and regions’ (*China Daily*, 2007). *The Times* is among the top quality newspapers selling in the UK. According to the figures available from its owner News International in 2008, ‘*The Times* is read by 1.8 million people daily’ and ‘541,416

copies are sold every day' (News International, 2008a). Both newspapers have a high circulation and they are likely to produce great influence in the society where they are from.

Third, readership is a factor which cannot be ignored when evaluating a newspaper. From a certain point, I could say that readership can reflect the stance and quality of the newspaper and the interests it stands for. From descriptions of *China Daily* from its official website, it was observed that *China Daily* put a lot of focus on high-end group readers. *China Daily* states that 'Two-thirds of *China Daily*'s worldwide readers are government officials, think-tanks and decision makers from multinational corporations'. 'Domestic readers mainly include foreigners and high-end nationals, for example, diplomats and governmental policy makers. Overseas subscribers are mostly government officials, members of parliaments, staff members of international organizations and multinationals, professors, researchers and students in universities and institutes' (*China Daily*, 2007); In the UK, 'News International's *The Times*, *The Sunday Times* and Times Online continue to attract more business executive readers than their daily, weekend and online rivals, according to the Ipsos Mori British Business Survey 2008'. The topic "China's rise" is importantly an issue for economists and business people like these, or will be reported in terms of business and economics from that perspective. Another influential factor is that the figures quoted from News International on the National Readership Survey (NRS) read that *The Times* is 'No. 1 for ABC1 Adults 25-44; No.1 for ABC1 Adults earning £50k or more; No. 1 daily paper for business readers in the UK; No. 1 for C-suite executives (CEO, Chairman, CFO, CMO)' (ABC1 stands for middle class) (News International, 2008a). This may indicate that both the *China Daily* and *The Times*' readerships share a similarity of high-end readers group. The elite readership enjoys more power than the ordinary people and thus they have more influence over the discourse since "we can say that power in discourse is to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants." (Fairclough, 2001: 38-39). From the influence of the readership, we can tell the influence these newspapers may produce in society.

Therefore, after seriously considering quality of the newspaper, circulation and their targeted readership, *China Daily* and *The Times* were chosen for this study for

reasons given.

3.1.2 Corpus building

A great deal of information is available from the Internet nowadays, including newspaper articles, so that people increasingly locate information from the Internet. This is also convenient for researchers. Data to be used in this research are all collected from the official websites of the two newspapers: *China Daily* at www.chinadaily.com.cn and *The Times* at www.timesonline.co.uk. The *China Daily* website is, according to its own description, ‘one of the biggest English portals in Asia with more than 12 million daily hits, two-thirds of which are from overseas’ (*China Daily*, 2007). The *China Daily*’s website has been recognised by various parties, for example, in 1997 ‘America Online names Chinadaily.com.cn one of the top global news websites’ and in 2000 ‘The Chinese government designates Chinadaily.com.cn as one of the country’s five key media websites’ (*China Daily*, 2007). Both of these examples prove the significant role *China Daily*’s website plays. For *The Times*, Timesonline.co.uk received The 2008 Press Computer Systems Award and was the winner of Electronic News Site of the Year in The 2008 Newspaper Award. And the 2008 Newspaper Award is claimed to be ‘the only industry awards dedicated to newspaper and news media production’ (Newspaper Rewards, 2009). Meanwhile, Times Online has attracted a large number of readers. It is claimed by News International that ‘Times Online reaches 19 million global unique readers every month’ (News International, 2008a), so the broad coverage of online readers is a potential advantage for spreading this paper’s influence. Although *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* started to charge for online content from June 2010, and this action might reduce the number of readers accessing Times Online news materials, this change does not affect influences newspapers have already produced among readers. All of this information points to the usefulness and popularity of these two newspapers’ websites.

Digitised data were freely available on the above-mentioned two websites when my data were collected. The corpus linguist needs not scan or enter those texts manually, which is really time-saving. With the help of Site Search engines provided by these

two newspaper websites, relevant articles were quickly located.

Articles were collected within a certain period of time. My data collection period is set between 2003 and 2008. The year 2003 is the time when the idea of “China’s peaceful rise” was first proposed during the 2003 Boao Forum for Asia in a speech given by Zheng Bijian, who is the former Vice Principal of the Central Party School of the Chinese Communist Party and this principle began to be known to the public gradually; the ending time year 2008 is a year important to China. China was put on the world stage by many events in the year 2008, for instance disturbances in the Olympic torch relay across continents, natural disaster in Sichuan, successful holding of the Olympic Games in Beijing and so on. All of these events attracted the world’s attention and coverage of the topic of “China’s peaceful rise” could be expected to appear in newspapers to some extent in this year. On the other hand, data collection has to end at some point and 2008 is chosen to be the suitable time as a 5 year period in which a sufficient number of articles can be collected to make analysis worthwhile.

There is one more point worth considering from the political norm of the West, which could be applied as defence for this five year period of data collection. In the US and the UK, every four and at most five years respectively, these two countries hold their general elections to choose new governments to lead the countries. As a result, it is expected in their newspaper reports that changes of the stances towards the principle of “China’s peaceful rise” might be influenced by this political cycle. If there are changes from the West, its Chinese counterpart should have made consequent reactions to these changes, which are expected to be found from their reports. So five years could be regarded as a reasonable span to trace changes among reports, and in consequence my data collection time span is considered to be appropriate.

Query terms for data selection were *peaceful rise of China*. In the beginning, query terms were *China’s peaceful rise* since that is the principal topic the research is going to explore. However, in *The Times* website, after keying in “China’s peaceful rise” (the number of articles might change in different date, the following figures were collected on 10 January, 2010 when looking back to check the data), fifteen results

came up. Among these fifteen articles, two were the same article with two appearances, and four articles were published in 2009, which are out of the time range the researcher sets for data collection, between the year 2003 and 2008 as discussed above, so keying in “China’s peaceful rise” could not achieve a satisfactory amount of data. Although 398 relevant results could be found in the website of *China Daily* after keying in “China’s peaceful rise”, for the sake of consistency in the process of data collection, the same query terms were to be used in the two newspapers, “China’s peaceful rise” were considered not suitable query terms for this study. In the process of locating data, it was noticed that “peaceful rise of China” was also frequently used in newspapers to express similar meaning to “China’s peaceful rise”, as a result “peaceful rise of China” was typed instead and this time 107 results showed up in *The Times*. Similar procedures were applied to the website of *China Daily*, and 813 results came up. Although there was an enormous difference between figures concerning “China’s peaceful rise” (the reason for still using “China’s peaceful rise” instead of the query terms “peaceful rise of China” as the research topic throughout the study is that “China’s peaceful rise” is the official translation from the Chinese government when this topic first appeared) found from these two newspapers, it is reasonable since that is normal for *China Daily* to cover more and pay more attention to news concerning China. Conboy has argued that ‘Readerships could be gathered and maintained if they felt that they were part of a community’ and ‘National narratives provide coherence and fixity...[and] These provide cultural stability as a backdrop for politics and economics which ensure the cohesion of power elites’ (Conboy, 2007: 150). And the same theory applies to *The Times*. As a result, there was a difference in aggregate numbers.

Moreover I judged that not all texts found from the Site Search engines were suitable for this research. Some texts may have no relations with this topic, only containing one or more words, e.g. *China, peaceful* or *rise*, in the topic I was looking for. For example the article entitled *We are with you, and will always be* published on 17 May, 2008 in *China Daily* was suggested by the search engine due to sporadic words *peaceful, rise* and *of* appearing in this article. But in fact, this article was about how Chinese people acted after the disastrous earthquake in Sichuan and praised Chinese people’s braveness and magnificent human spirit, and this article did not have close connection with the topic the research focused on. In this case this article was not

qualified data the research needed. This proved the importance of manual selection of articles after results were provided by the newspaper websites' search engines. Careful manual selection of the found data was carried out to identify the most suitable articles to carry on exploring the chosen research questions. In the meantime, it was fully recognised that some texts on the topic "China's peaceful rise" which may not use exactly the same words as shown in the topic may have been neglected because of previously discussed selection criteria. While since the number of articles selected from the websites by applying those query terms were reasonably satisfied for the further analysis, there should be no need to waste more time in the very initial job. It has to be confessed that it was impossible to make selection without any subjectivity, either derived from one's identity, experience, or from the influence of external factors, for instance the influence from the mass media. By using the combination 'peaceful rise of China' as the query terms, setting my data collection period between 2003 and 2008 and combining with careful manual selection afterwards, data have been collected in an extremely serious and painstaking manner from the *China Daily* and *The Times*' websites.

Besides what has been mentioned above, one more factor to be highlighted is that when searching texts from *The Times* online database, both articles from *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* were searched. Due to the limitation of texts selection (I decided to only choose articles from one newspaper on a particular topic in a certain time period), in order to find enough articles to analyse, both qualified texts from *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* were included even though it is recognised that these two newspapers have different styles since they do not share editorial staff and were independently founded. But similarities *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* share include common ownership since 1966 and their readerships. According to published data from News International, '*The Sunday Times* has a higher number and concentration of ABC1 (87%) and AB (61%) readers, than any other Sunday newspaper', also '44% of *The Sunday Times*' readership have a degree or higher' (News International, 2008b). These similarities in targeted reader groups, quality of their readers, as well as common ownership shared between *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* make it possible and reasonable to include articles from *The Sunday Times* into *The Times* database for this study.

When looking in detail into the *China Daily* database, one article from *The Financial Times* and four articles from Xinhua News Agency were noticed. For the article from *The Financial Times*, it was in fact reprinted word for word after changing the article title. I felt it was legitimate to include this article inside my *China Daily* database even though it was not produced by the writer from *China Daily* because this article has been accepted by *China Daily* to cover this topic which shows that *China Daily* agrees with to some degree what has been written by a different media organisation, which should be consistent with the ‘line’ *China Daily* continuously follows. For articles obtained from Xinhua News Agency, we can first have a look at the background information about Xinhua News Agency. According to Zhao (1998), Xinhua News Agency is the largest news organisation in China, which mainly has three component departments, namely domestic, international and translation departments. Xinhua News Agency has news bureaus in every province in China and more than ninety branches overseas. And Xinhua News Agency also provides ‘reports from foreign countries for restricted distribution among Party and government bureaucracies’ (1998: 18). By analysing articles taken from the *Financial Times*, the internationally acclaimed London-based newspaper and *Xinhua News Agency*, the authoritative media source in China, it can be helpful to find the standards which have to be met so that articles can be selected for use or reproduction by *China Daily*.

3.1.3 Size of database

According to the criteria outlined above for data collection, forty-five texts from *China Daily* website have been selected and twenty texts from *The Times* online resources have been chosen from the year 2003 to 2008. The word count for texts from *China Daily* is 43,050, and word amount for *The Times* is 23,807. Originally there were 44,492 words in the whole *China Daily* database and 23,981 words in *The Times* database. The database was cleaned by removing extraneous information, such as publisher, date of publication and author appearing before the body of content because they were not relevant in the process of doing corpus analysis. The same procedure has been applied to *The Times* database to make sure the software tool calculates the useful and important information only in the corpus analysis process.

Appendix I and Appendix II contain the titles of the articles in the two database sources on the issue of “China’s peaceful rise” from *China Daily* and *The Times*.

3.2 Methodology of Corpus Analysis

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the procedure of carrying out analysis is to do the corpus analysis first. After selecting data and building up corpora, in this section, detailed description of how corpus analysis is carried out in this study is provided.

3.2.1 Corpus analysis software packages

In my corpus analysis, two software packages have been applied to carry out the research, namely *Wmatrix* developed by Paul Rayson (2008) and *WordSmith Tools* by Mike Scott (2001). In the analysis, *Wmatrix* is the main software package used and reasons are given below. Figure 3.1 shows the screenshot of the interface of *Wmatrix*:

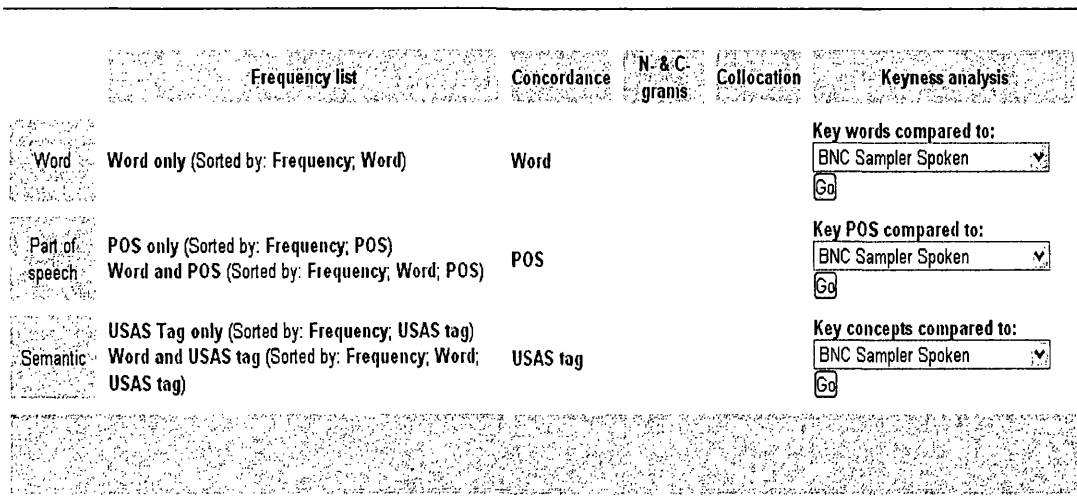


Figure 3. 1 Interface of *Wmatrix*

Wmatrix is a corpus analysis and comparison tool which has similar functions to

WordSmith Tools. *Wmatrix* carries out corpus analysis, for example, by focusing frequency list, concordance and keywords, which are the standard corpus analysis methodology I have followed in my study.

By using the frequency list function, a list of words appearing in the text is provided and those words are arranged according to their frequency order or alphabetical order to facilitate researcher to identify the use of language from a big picture; the concordance function provides researchers a chance to look at words in immediate contexts where they are used. With the search word centred and its context at either side, the information about in what kind of company this word tends to be occurring is noticed; with the help of the key words function, keywords in the texts are suggested, which are important to help find out any unusual use of language in the database, in order to lead to further exploration in the analysis.

When mentioning the concept of *keyword*, there are normally two ways to define it, either the cultural approach, as Baker discusses that people might refer to ‘keywords intuitively focused on words that they believed embodied important concepts which reflected societal or cultural concerns (e.g. Firth 1957, Williams 1983)’, or the statistical approach through which to derive keywords, for example Baker mentions that Mike Scott likes to take a corpus linguistics method to look for keywords (Baker, 2004: 346-349). Also Stubbs recognises that there are three different senses of keywords: in cultural study, in comparative quantitative corpus analysis, and from work on lexicogrammar (Stubbs, 2010: 22). All these discussion help me to look at the concept of *keyword* from various angles. Everyone has his/her own perspectives of viewing a topic and, therefore, what keywords are regarding to the same topic are likely to be varied to different individuals. It tends to be subjective if keywords are only defined intuitively on the basis of importance. However, if too much attention is put on a computer alone, it may be hard for computers to tell connotation embodied inside the texts and some words with important meaning but low frequency are likely to be ignored. As a result, it was decided to combine these perspectives together in finding keywords in my study.

After discussing the principle behind *keyword* selection in my study, the attention is now back to *Wmatrix*. In addition to the above-mentioned basic corpus analysis

functions *Wmatrix* possesses, this web-based software package extends the keyness study into key grammatical category and key semantic domain, which makes *Wmatrix* different from the other current corpus analysis software packages. Within the key grammatical category study, by doing the PoS (part of speech) level analysis, the dominant category of PoS appearing in the corpora is obtained. Within the key semantic domain study, which is possibly the most interesting and revealing part of *Wmatrix* study shown in my work, insights have been given to find out the main topics which the texts cover in the two different newspapers besides only studying keywords from the word level comparison.

Wmatrix ‘contains the USAS (UCREL [University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language] semantic analysis system) (Rayson, Archer, Piao, & McEnery, 2004), a framework that automatically annotates each lexical unit¹⁰ of a running text semantically... Each item in this lexicon has a syntactic tag as well as one or multiple semantic tags assigned to it. The semantic tagset is categorized into 21 main semantic fields, which are further subdivided into 232 more fine-grained semantic labels’ (Krennmayr, 2011: 181). The semantic categories information could be found from Figure 3.2 listed below:

A general and abstract terms	B the body and the individual	C arts and crafts	E emotion
F food and farming	G government and public	H architecture, housing and the home	I money and commerce in industry
K entertainment, sports and games	L life and living things	M movement, location, travel and transport	N numbers and measurement
O substances, materials, objects and equipment	P education	Q language and communication	S social actions, states and processes
T Time	W world and environment	X psychological actions, states and processes	Y science and technology
Z names and grammar			

Figure 3. 2 Main semantic categories in the USAS tagset (Archer, Wilson, & Rayson, 2002: 2)

Studying the semantic aspects of the databases enables the analyst to look at the key concept or domain the texts cover and trace themes these texts are interested in, which could be viewed as an advantage *Wmatrix* possesses over the other corpus analysis software packages from my point of view. This serves as an important reason for me to select *Wmatrix* as the main software tool for my corpus analysis. Moreover, when using the earlier version of *WordSmith Tools*, I was not able to successfully compare two word lists produced from my *China Daily* and *The Times* databases to generate keywords. The possible reason seemed to be the small size of my corpora, while *Wmatrix* allowed me to compare my small databases, so I used *Wmatrix* to help analyse my data.

Although *Wmatrix* possesses these features, I still used *WordSmith Tools* to help with my analysis. The reason is that when performing concordance search, I could not easily find collocations of the node word in *Wmatrix* concordance interface since instances were listed in the sequence of appearance in the corpus, and words on the left or right side of the node word could not be reordered alphabetically to facilitate the observation and analysis. However, in *WordSmith Tools*, that function is possible and also *WordSmith Tools* enabled me to highlight collocates in concordance, which is why *WordSmith Tools* was used in the study.

WordSmith Tools is currently a commonly used lexical analysis software package in the field of corpus linguistic study to find out how words function in texts. *WordSmith Tools* mainly functions from these three aspects: WordList, Concord and KeyWords. According to Scott, the developer of this software package, *WordSmith Tools* has been used by Oxford University Press for its own lexicographic work when making preparations for dictionaries. Many researchers interested in language patterns across the globe have also used this software package. This kind of wide acceptance and popularity, and more importantly the ability to complement *Wmatrix* in terms of concordance search, encouraged me to use *WordSmith Tools* to assist my research.

In addition to the two software packages, in the analysis, BYU-BNC, an online BNC (British National Corpus) resource website freely available at

<http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/x.asp> in the time of writing was also used in the process of corpus analysis to help check the recurrent patterns of real language use to compare findings with my databases. Baker and McEnery have shown that the reference to BNC is helpful to ‘reveal normative patterns of language use which can then be compared against the findings in the two more specific corpora’ (2005: 200). The BNC contains 100 million words from both real-life written and spoken data from the later part of the 20th century. The on-line BYU-BNC maintained by Mark Davies from Brigham Young University has data from the period of 1970s to 1993. I generated the typical usage concluded from BNC and found out features against the usage of words in my two newspaper datasets. Although the BYU-BNC has not been updated after BNC has been slightly modified with edition BNC World in 2001 and BNC XML Edition in 2007, these changes do not matter much to my analysis since I am focusing on the typical patterns on the use of words rather than how they are used across different times. So this on-line BNC search tool is capable enough to help me achieve my research goal.

3.2.2 Procedure adopted in corpus analysis

In corpus analysis, my focus was mainly put on keywords and collocations, especially on the search terms as nodes for concordance-based analysis.

It is claimed that ‘Keywords...will direct the researcher to important concepts in a text (in relation to other texts) that may help to highlight the existence of types of (embedded) discourse or ideology’ (Baker, 2004: 347). As a result, the researcher can be suggested the directions of further analysis via studying keywords. In addition to studying keywords, the emphasis has also been put on collocation analysis, the importance of checking collocation is expressed by Baker as:

In terms of methodology, collocation analyses can provide evidence that supports, refutes, or modifies conclusions based on small-scale qualitative analyses or formulated through introspection (i.e., post hoc reflection on informal observations).

(Baker, 2008: 13)

Sinclair also tells us that collocates are able to present ‘a semantic analysis of a word’ (Sinclair, 1991: 115-116) and through semantic analysis we can normally find out the relation between ‘a lemma or word-form and a set of semantically related words’ and the ‘speaker attitude’ (Stubbs, 2002: 65), which have been grouped by Stubbs under the titles *semantic preference* and *discourse prosody* respectively. Those are things implicitly conveyed and normally difficult to be noticed without the help of analysis tools. At the same time, Baker claims that ‘through their collocational and, consequently, prosodic choices, newspapers make and communicate sociopolitical choices’ (2008: 13), which is one important topic to investigate through the analyses.

In practice, the corpus analysis was carried out via two steps. Firstly, I studied the *China Daily* database. I compared its newspaper database against the in-built *BNC Sampler Written* in *Wmatrix*, which ‘contains material from books, periodicals and other sources covering a range of domains...representing a wide cross-section of written British English’ (O’Halloran, 2010: 227), to look for the language feature of *China Daily* in comparison to the general British written English. More detailed information about *BNC Sampler Written* can be obtained from <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/bnc2sampler/sampler.htm>. I studied keywords found from this comparison appearing in the keyword cloud (the cloud function of *Wmatrix* shows the 100 highest keywords) and their concordances. Then I compared the *China Daily* database against *The Times* database and obtained another keyword cloud. At this stage, both similarities and differences between the two keyword clouds produced from comparison could be achieved. After studying keywords from the two clouds and their concordances and collocations, the focus was moved to study key concepts of the *China Daily* database. In key concept study, the list of concepts produced by *Wmatrix* covered by the newspaper was ordered in the significance from the top of the log-likelihood profile. Due to the limitation of the space, the first five concepts were studied. Under each concept, a list of words sharing the meaning of that concept was presented. From checking contexts in which these words were used, how the concept was constructed linguistically and also semantic information these concepts would be likely to send out to the reader were explored.

The same procedures were followed with studying *The Times* database in comparison

to BNC Sample Written and the *China Daily* database respectively to find out keywords and key domain information.

After keywords, collocations and concordance analysis, and the key domain study, it was hoped to find out the language patterns existing in these two newspapers and semantic information conveyed from these newspapers, which could provide the basis for the next stage of critical discourse analysis.

3.3 Methodology of CDA

This second stage in my analysis based itself on the findings of the corpus linguistics analysis. From the first stage corpus analysis, a bigger picture about the language use in real society, its recurrent patterns, differences and similarities between the two newspapers' language and different angles of semantic concepts can be achieved. However, detailed qualitative analysis is also needed to deepen and further findings achieved from the quantitative analysis. From practice we know that CDA and corpus analysis are closely connected with each other, they talk to each other and complement each other, for example Baker has pointed out that 'Concordance analysis is where corpus-based and CDA methodological approaches overlap' (2008:15), which not only demonstrates the close relationship between these two approaches, but also shows the importance of focusing on concordance analysis in the previous corpus analysis process. I think what *overlap* means in Baker is not *repetition*, since corpus analysis and CDA are carried out by following different principles. Findings obtained from corpus analysis can enlighten and provide directions for CDA, and at the same time, CDA is able to check and enhance conclusions summarised via corpus analysis, which is what is meant by Baker by saying that 'the analyst had to make sense of the linguistic patterns thrown up via the corpus-based processes' (2008: 33).

In the CDA section, the analysis mainly follows Jeffries (2010) 'Critical Stylistics' framework. In her *Critical Stylistics* (2010), Jeffries introduces a comprehensive set of tools for analysts to carry out analysis, including naming and describing,

representing actions/events/states, equating and contrasting, exemplifying and enumerating, prioritizing, implying and assuming, negating, hypothesizing, presenting others' speech and thoughts and representing time, space and society. Jeffries studies each feature from three levels: exploring linguistic model or structures the tool is used as, studying the function of the tool via its form, and uncovering ideological effects the use of this tool in language may produce. Via these different aspects of analysis by drawing on both CDA and Stylistics, I can explain and analyse the power of written texts and explore the ideologies behind everyday texts.

In this study, I developed my CDA analysis on the basis of Jeffries' 'Critical Stylistics' (2010) model. Below are details on how I carry out analysis with different tools:

Under Naming and Describing, the selection of nouns and their modifications among various possibilities in different articles on the same topic "China's peaceful rise" was studied, since 'the main ideological important of noun phrases is that they are able to "package up" ideas or information' and 'the choice of a noun itself can...be ideological' (Jeffries, 2010: 19, 21). In this part, findings from corpus analysis provided an important resource, for example nouns shown in the keywords list.

Under Representing Actions/Events/States, the use of verbs in texts was studied. Verb is the media for the action to be taken into effect, the verb selections can reveal to some extent the author's attitude towards certain issues. Similar to nouns, verbs are also content words which enclose meaning and can inform about the readers the underlying ideas held by the authors or newspapers. Jeffries claims that 'the choice of a lexical verb [which] will present the situation in the way that the author (speaker) desires' (2010: 37).

Under Equating and Contrasting, topics on equivalence and opposition were focused. When making comparison, as this study did, it is expected that both similarities and differences exist although data are collected from different sources, which could inform readers how the world was presented and structured via different channels. Jeffries concludes that 'In the case of equating, the copular clause structure (*X is Y*) is

most typical, and in the case of creating opposites, negated opposition (*X*, not *Y*) is most typical' (2010: 54). By focusing on these two typical structures, and also detailed 'syntactic triggers' of equivalence: noun phrase apposition, parallel structure (2010: 53-54), and the common syntactic triggers of oppositions (2010: 55), deep-rooted ideologies in the texts were uncovered.

Under Prioritizing, focus was put on the structure of clauses to see what kind of information is prioritized to show its importance via analysing 'the information structure, the transformational possibilities or the subordination possibilities of the language' (Jeffries, 2010: 80). Jeffries says that 'analysing the information structure of a sentence depends on recognizing the main clausal elements of a sentence, and knowing which is the last *compulsory* element, as it carries the focus' (2010: 80). Shift of *focus* can be seen as an indicator of implying the author's ideas.

Negation has been treated as a common tool to produce effects of ideology throughout the language. Under Negating, by studying the use of negative particle (*not*), negative pronouns (*none*, *nothing* etc.) and some 'inherently negative' (Jeffries 2010: 108) words (*irresponsible*, *failure* etc.), I try to find the '*potential* for a hearer/reader to conceptualize this hypothetical situation. To the extent that it has been conjured up, it may have some persuasive power' (2010: 107).

Under Hypothesizing, the function modality plays in contributing to the ideology of texts was studied. Modality includes both modal auxiliary verbs (*may*, *must*, *should* etc.) and some other 'common modal items in English' (*suppose*, *if* etc.). Jeffries notes that 'Modality is one conceptual tool of analysis that we can access linguistically and is the one which alerts us to the encoding of the speaker/writer's own viewpoint' (2010: 116).

Under Presenting Others' Speech and Thoughts, the analysis was carried out by following the Speech and Thought Presentation model developed by Short (1996), to study how speech is presented under a range of possible options, mainly from the angle of direct and indirect speech. We know that 'the power to present the words and thoughts of others is potentially very manipulative of their ideologies as well as those of the reader', thus no matter how faithful the texts claims to be to the

originator, 'there is *always* a gap between the original version and any quotation' (2010: 130). The *gap* is able to demonstrate ideologies behind the texts.

Under Representing Time, Space and Society, deixis of person (personal pronouns like *I, we, us, you*) and social (titles like *Mr*, and the forms people are addressed) were checked to see how people's acts were constructed by 'some of the parameters of the social world' (2010: 146), in addition to previously mentioned tools focusing on textual practices.

It is noted that in Jeffries' 'Critical Stylistics' model, she also uses the tool Exemplifying and Enumerating, but I did not include this tool in my analysis since compared to the other tools, exemplification and enumeration are easy to identify and they did not seem to show anything very revealing about these texts when applied in my study. In addition, the tool Implying and Assuming is not listed as an independent category in this study either. Under Implying and Assuming, focus is to be shifted to presupposition and implicature. Jeffries points out that 'one of the main powers of language in general and English in particular is the ability to use assumption and implication to make ideologies appear to be common sense' (2010: 93). Presuppositions and implicatures are topics need to be studied from the use of language throughout the whole study in order to see in what ways the author presented what he/she wanted to express, and what ideas are implied, so Implying and Assuming was not listed as an independent tool in this study, but was embedded through the study.

In the CDA study, before carrying out individual analyses under different topics, I started with a sample analyses by applying these analytical tools to suggest how they can help understand a written text as a whole, and what functions they play in the article's construction. Followed were detailed analyses by applying different tools in independent sections to find out how each tool has been used by the two newspapers and what kind of information the reader can get from that perspective. In the CDA study, I referred to online *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (OALD), itself based on corpus linguistic study of English language use, as a supporting tool to suggest meanings of words to help study examples from a more authoritative stance rather than claiming the meaning by myself. Each tool suggested in *Critical*

Linguistics was listed under a separate section and each newspaper's data were studied in every single section to find features of the language use, and more deeply, the deep-seated ideologies behind the texts. It is realised that in the actual analysis, it is possible to find that more than one tool are used to analyse one sentence, e.g. Prioritizing, Negating and Contrasting can all be found in one sentence. No matter what kind of tool is used to analyse texts, linguistic analysis will always be put first, and on the basis of these analyses, it becomes possible to find out underlying ideologies in these two newspapers.

3.4 Summary

In the whole study, data were first studied via the corpus analysis approach. With the help of software packages, I studied both the *China Daily* and *The Times* databases from the angle of key words, concordance and collocation, and key concepts covered by different newspapers; on the basis of findings from the first stage corpus analysis, I developed the second stage study from the point of CDA. By applying tools derived from *Critical Stylistics* (Jeffries, 2010), I studied the whole databases under different topics. Findings from previous corpus analysis could provide guidance for the direction of the CDA study, and also by CDA study, corpus analysis findings could be further proved. To study the *China Daily* and *The Times* databases from these two stages could help readers/analysts achieve a fuller and more balanced picture of the development of the topic "China's peaceful rise" in different sources, and ideological information behind these differences could be suggested as well.

Chapter Four Corpus Analysis

In this chapter, I report studies of both the *China Daily* and *The Times* databases in detail from a quantitative perspective. In this chapter, all data from these two newspapers are studied and compared with the help of corpus analysis tools which have been introduced in Chapter Three ‘Methodology’. The advantages of corpus analysis could be summarised as fast, objective and thorough. Corpus analysis tools are able to process a large amount of data within a very short period of time and results generated are considered as objective compared to pure human observation (of course the analysts still have to make the subjective selection about what to study from their point of view). Computer-assisted corpus analysis can also produce results which might have been overlooked by unaided human observation. With findings from the corpus analysis, it is expected to provide guidance and hints to further discourse analysis, in other words, discourse analysis of the two newspapers are carried out on the basis of patterns revealed from the corpus analysis.

4.1 Corpus analysis tools applied in my study

In my corpus analysis, two software packages have been applied to carry out the research, namely *Wmatrix* developed by Paul Rayson (2008) and *WordSmith Tools* by Mike Scott (2001). The reasons for choosing these two software packages and their functions have been covered in Chapter Three ‘Methodology’.

As mentioned in Chapter Three ‘Methodology’, in the analysis I mainly focused on keywords, their concordance and collocations with the help of *Wmatrix* and *WordSmith Tools*. With the help of *Wmatrix*, I also studied the semantic profile of the two databases, which reveals the most frequently covered topics from the semantic perspective from either database.

In addition to the tremendous help gained from the corpus analysis in the process of analysing a large amount of data, I emphasise again that it is not a simple way of

getting objectivity and there are still many pitfalls for researchers to bear in mind. Detailed discussion on the potential problems of corpus linguistics can be found in Chapter Two ‘Literature Survey’.

4.2 Corpus analysis of the *China Daily* and *The Times* databases

In this chapter, I report these following words as shown in Table 4.1 in turn in the *China Daily* (Section 4.2.2) and *The Times* (Section 4.2.3) databases and reasons for word selections are provided in the process of analysis:

Section 4.2.1	Section 4.2.2 <i>China Daily</i>	Section 4.2.3 <i>The Times</i>
's rise,	peaceful; development	peaceful; development
rise of	US/United States; Japan; Tibet (Dalai Lama); Asia; Taiwan; Iraq (Cheney)	Beijing; Africa; Shanghai; America; Burma; Japan; Darfur; North Korea; Taiwan; Zimbabwe; Tanzania, Congo, Sudan
	mutual; bilateral	China's; world's
	developing countries	oil
	threat; risk	threat; risk
	should; you/your; n't; I; we; us	as
	media; community; environment; exchanges	cheap

Table 4. 1 Keywords analysed in the *China Daily* and *The Times* databases

4.2.1 Corpus analysis of 's rise and rise of

The topic of my study is “China’s peaceful rise”. I have noticed that this topic is sometimes reported as “peaceful rise of China” in newspapers. So before moving to individual newspaper databases, this section is devoted to corpus analysis of the way my study topic was constructed and presented in order to find out whether there is difference between the usages of 's rise and rise of. In other words, is there any

preference for the two newspapers between the uses of *'s rise* and *rise of*? Is there any ideology behind varied presentations of the topic?

In order to explore the differences, it might be helpful for me to study how these two combinations—*'s rise* and *rise of* are used in real life and then generate a conclusion to fit my own database based on findings from my research. To accomplish that purpose, I applied the on-line BNC tool available at <http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/x.asp>, namely BYU-BNC to help me carry out analysis about *'s rise* and *rise of*. Detailed descriptions on BYU-BNC can be found in Chapter Three 'Methodology'.

I entered *'s rise* and *rise of* in "Search String" in this web friendly BNC tool, and set the "Section" of my research in BYU-BNC as "Newspaper" to make sure the field of research carried out was consistent with the field of data I was studying, which is from my *China Daily* and *The Times* databases. After these basic settings, two lists about usage of *'s rise* and *rise of* in real texts in the UK press were shown up. There were 35 occurrences of *'s rise* in BNC newspaper field from BYU-BNC, and the number of usage for *rise of* was 155, within which seven were the same example. It was important to find out how these phrases were used in their context. I have categorised their usages into several dominant patterns as shown below:

About *'s rise*

According to contents following *'s rise*, three dominant types were grouped and they were positive meaning, negative meaning and neutral or descriptive meaning, shown in Table 4.2:

Dominant Types	Number of Occurrences
Positive meaning	23
Negative meaning	10
Neutral/Descriptive meaning	2

Table 4. 2 Dominant types of usage of *'s rise* in BYU-BNC

For the type of positive meaning, there were 23 examples out of the total 35 occurrences. A typical usage for this meaning is *from...to....* Normally *rise* was used in the context of developing from a not satisfying condition to a nice condition, for instance:

...the story of a small-time petty thief's **rise** from sleazy obscurity to fortitude and heroic deeds.

...a key figure in Rugby's **rise** from area league status to the top division over the past six years.

For *'s rise* with negative connotations, ten examples were found from the BYU-BNC search, for instance:

...the general's **rise** to power' (the negative idea can be detected from its context);
 Hitler's **rise** to power;
 January's **rise** in unemployment.

For the third group, no obvious attitudinal inflection could be detected from these usages and examples were:

...the effect of the yen's **rise** could figure in the March and April trade figures.
 ...it may take two or three years until the positive effect of the yen's **rise** appears.

About *rise of*

The usage of *rise of* were categorised into four major groups: number, negative meaning, neutral meaning and positive meaning, shown as in Table 4.3:

Dominant Types	Number of Occurrences
Number	94
Negative meaning	32
Neutral meaning	16
Positive meaning	6

Table 4. 3 Dominant types of usage of *rise of* in BYU-BNC

For the type of usage on number, there were altogether 94 out of its 148 total occurrences, which counted for 63.5% of the overall usage. If divided further, this group can be divided into two subcategories, which were *rise of* followed by percentage, for instance, ‘rise of 10 per cent’ and *rise of* followed by numbers, as ‘a rise of 50-70m a century’. There were 53 occurrences with percentage and 41 occurrences with numbers.

For the group of negative meaning, there were in total 32 instances. In some instances, *rise of* was used together with *Hitler*, *the National Front*, *nationalisms*, *fascism*, *Nazis*, *neo-Nazism*, *extreme right* and *ethnic violence*, and some were with words containing negative connotations judging from the contexts where words were used, for example:

But the **rise of** a centre party since the mid 1970s has created an intolerable situation;
... its inability to stop the inexorable **rise of** unemployment to a record three million.

This group of usage counted for 21.62% in the overall use of *rise of*.

For neutral meaning, 16 occurrences have been found out from BYU-BNC, which accounted for 8.78% of the entire usage.

For positive meaning, there were only six occurrences out of these 148 items. For example:

Five years ago this would have been a pipe-dream, but with **the rise of** the ethical investment movement it's becoming a real possibility;

JANICE HALE reports on the rapid **rise of** James Wattana, Asia's snooker “natural”;

The welfare state decades of 1952-1972 saw **the rise of** two of Britain's greatest ever amateur and professional boxers;

A healthy **rise of** pressure over the UK;

But a first victory at Filbert Street ensured another landmark in the amazing rise and **rise of** Rovers.

Looking from the percentage each category shares, usage on number covered the most pages, and the second place went to negative meaning, after negative meaning should be the category of neutral meaning.

From the above analyses, it was not difficult to tell that *rise of* had a preference for number and negative ideas, while positive meaning played a major part in the usage of *'s rise* although there were less usages in terms of the total number of occurrences. But we have to remember that it is not surprising to find negative or bad news in media reports since those are things which are thought to be worth reporting. This finding may be generalised to the topic I studied: whether “China’s peaceful rise” or “peaceful rise of China” should be used? The hypothesis was that *China Daily* may like to pick up the *'s rise* to write as “China’s peaceful rise” and *rise of* may have a higher appearance in *The Times* and be reported as “peaceful rise of China” based on different interest groups they represent. I moved back to my data to check if this hypothesis was supported by facts in my *China Daily* and *The Times* databases.

In the *China Daily* dataset, there are 35 occurrences of *'s rise* immediately followed by *China* in the form of ‘China’s rise’, 18 appearances of ‘China’s peaceful rise’, 20 occurrences of ‘China’s development’ and 7 occurrences of ‘China’s peaceful development’. In the meantime, the use of ‘China’s peaceful ascension’, ‘China’s ascending in peace’, ‘China’s ascent’, ‘China’s rapid economic development’, ‘China’s peaceful growth’, ‘China’s rapid economic growth’, ‘China’s rapid and sustained development’, ‘China’s economic and political development’ and ‘China’s tremendous development’ could also be found from the database, e.g.

China’s development has become a significant part of Asian rejuvenation;

China’s development is crucial to the world economy and will help the developed economies and the world as a whole to stave off the possible recession, a leading US economist said in a recent interview with Xinhua;

China has become increasingly attractive to other countries in recent years and the idea of

China’s peaceful rise is impressive, a famous US scholar told Xinhua in an interview;

Economic globalization and the vigorous development of regionalism have created a favourable international economic climate for **China’s peaceful ascension**.

From the contexts where these examples were used, the reader could feel the peaceful atmosphere demonstrated via the use of *'s rise* and other combinations with similar meaning and connotations from the *China's Daily's* articles on the topic of "China's peaceful rise".

When studying the use of *rise of* from the *China Daily* database, there were 53 occurrences. 39 out of 53 are directly connected with the exact word *China*, or words standing for China, like:

The broader, more flexible and more pragmatic diplomatic approach the Chinese leadership has demonstrated is now forging a favourable international platform for the **peaceful rise of** the world's most populous nation;

All these effective diplomatic efforts have begun to bring home to the global community that the **rise of China** will benefit the world;

The **rise of China** is and will be a peaceful rise (heping jueqi);

...the idea of **peaceful rise of Chinese power** is also impressive.

It is noticed that in all of the examples about *rise of China*, the idea of peace can always be found immediately following the word *China* or this kind of feeling can be traced from their contexts in my *China Daily* database.

In general, *'s rise* is used more often than *rise of* in *China Daily*. In *The Times* database, the findings were as follows:

In terms of the use of *'s rise* in *The Times* database, there are four occurrences of *'s rise* and they are all used in front of *China* as 'China's rise':

Nowhere in the world is **China's rise** more evident;

Deng's successors are gripped by forebodings that the Party could be the victim of what they trumpet as its great success: **China's rise**;

Historical evaluations of **China's rise** have left economists scratching their heads;

China's rise has been extraordinary.

All these examples demonstrate the growth of China either from a neutral or a positive perspective, with the exception of the second example which shows the

gloomy future of China.

In addition to 'China's rise', I can also find the use of 'China's development', 'China's peaceful rise' and 'China's peaceful development', with only one occurrence from each group:

China's development will never pose a threat to anyone; instead it can bring more development opportunities and bigger markets for the rest of the world, it [a Chinese government White Paper] said;

What they hear from Beijing is much rhetoric about **China's peaceful rise**; but what they observe is an intensely secretive, high-speed military build-up...

Their aim, said Xinhua, was to block **China's peaceful development** so as to maintain their established interests in the world arena.

These are all quoted from the Chinese source to explain by China to the West what China's rise means and ask the West not to be afraid of China's development. They either clearly shows the disagreement by *The Times*' article like the example containing 'China's peaceful rise', or shows the sources of quotation to tell *The Times*' readers that that is not what *The Times* considers about the topic of China's development, and these explanations are from the outside resources. No favourable or supportive attitude from *The Times* can be detected from these sentences. However, as analysed on pages 62-63, phrases relating to *China's development* used in the *China Daily* database have provided a different story, peace and harmony is the main theme. A contrasting picture of the interpretation and recognition of China's development is presented in front of readers.

After studying the use of *'s rise*, I now move to analyse how *rise of* is used in *The Times*. There are 11 occurrences and all of these 11 items place the word *China* or phrases standing for China immediately after *rise of*, for instance:

This time it would tap into the escalating US paranoia over the **rise of China** and its perceived threat to American prosperity;

The rest of the world hums with word of the **rise of China** and its increasing military might;

The Olympic furore is underpinned by fears about the **rise of China**;

Magnus focused on three themes—the **rise of China**, the fall of the American dollar and the

rocketing price of oil and other commodities;

How the **rise of the next superpower** challenges America and the world—conveys the breathless flavour of much Western commentary.

Among these 11 items about *rise of China*, two of them hold supportive view towards China's rise:

Let's put away the toys, grow up and accept the **rise of China** as a boon for world development;

I find it difficult to understand why some people regard the **rise of China** as a threat.

while the rest nine examples mainly indicate the threatening and challenging atmosphere about China's development on the other countries.

Till now, from the above analysis I may arrive at the conclusion that *China's rise/development* is more frequently used by *China Daily* in a more positive environment, while *rise of China* is used in many cases by *The Times* with unfavourable connotations. In the meantime, I notice that *China Daily* prefers to put the *rise of China* in a peaceful and favourable circumstance, and *China's rise/development* seem to have a preference for unfavourable context, this is evidently a 'competing discourse' between *China Daily* and *The Times*. If I return back to the hypothesis made in the beginning predicting that *'s rise* may have a higher frequency in *China Daily* and *rise of* may have a higher frequency in *The Times*, indicating different attitudes towards the topic of "China's peaceful rise", it seems to be correct from my limited collection that the use of *'s rise* with positive ideas appears more in the *China Daily* database and the use of *rise of* with negative ideas appears more in *The Times* database.

After studying the different ways the topic "China's peaceful rise" were presented in the two newspapers, I moved to individual analysis of each newspaper database. As mentioned in Chapter Three 'Methodology', by comparing to the *BNC Sampler Written*, I hope to find how the specific newspaper database is used in comparison to the common English language use; by comparing one newspaper database against the other newspaper database, differences between the two newspapers' English

language use are expected. And the keyword cloud function of *Wmatrix* is used to provide suggestions to my study.

4.2.2 Corpus analysis of the *China Daily* database

By comparing the *China Daily* database against the *BNC Sampler Written* database, I obtained the Keyword Cloud 1:



Figure 4. 1 Keyword Cloud 1 (*China Daily* database against *BNC Sampler Written*)

From the Keyword Cloud 1, it was not surprising to find words like *China*, *peaceful* and *rise* since they were the topic of this study, but it was revealing to find words such as *co-operation*, *economic*, *Japan*, *Tibet* and *US* as they showed the focuses these articles from *China Daily* make when compared to the general written English.

As part of the topic of the study, and also appearing as the top keyword in the Keyword Cloud 1, the word *peaceful* was used by *China Daily* with words *rise* and *development* (the word *development* will be discussed later) in most of the cases. Besides these two frequently collocated words, words sharing similar meaning with

rise and *development*: *growth* and *ascension* were also accompanied by *peaceful*. From the *China Daily* database, I identified 75 occurrences of *peaceful* used with *rise*. For example:

The country had taken a strategic path to its **peaceful rise** through independent development;
In terms of impact, China's **peaceful rise** means "rise for peace";
The pursuit of a "**peaceful rise**" is an innovative strategy;
George Bush also agreed that China's **peaceful rise** is "very reassuring and very, very important to the Asian horizon and Asia's landscape";
China needs a peaceful environment for its **peaceful rise** and a China that rises peacefully will further enhance the peaceful environment in turn;
This shows China's commitment to a **peaceful rise** to power;
It welcomes the **rise of** a confident, **peaceful** and prosperous China;
US welcomes **rise of peaceful**, prosperous China.

In these examples, *peaceful* and *rise* were written together for the majority of the time, and this kind of repeated writing of *peaceful rise* sent out a strong message to the reader that the rise of China was happening in a peaceful manner. It seems from these examples that in my *China Daily* database, focus was on reporting the process of China becoming stronger and more powerful as a peaceful course with determination and insistence. At the same time, according to these examples, the phenomenon of China's rise seemed to be welcomed by the US, the only superpower in the current world. The US in modern times used to be treated as opponent to China. If the US welcomed "China's peaceful rise", it may be able to reassure many readers who are worrying about conflicts between these two nations. After reading these examples, it was hard for readers to connect negative perceptions with China on its rise.

As mentioned, *peaceful* tends to be accompanied with *rise* and *development*. Both *peaceful development* and *peaceful rise* in the database have been used to represent the same concept by the Chinese media. I have studied examples concerning *rise*, and I now move to examine *development*, the other common word accompanying *peaceful* in my database. 28 examples were collected from the database, for example:

China's confidence and determination for **peaceful development** is already well-known;

China can realize its long-held dream of **peaceful development**;

The white paper...stressed China's pursuit of **peaceful development**;

China has embarked on the road of **peaceful development**;

Taking the road of **peaceful development**, which means harmonious progress domestically and co-operation and opening up internationally, is China's steadfast strategic choice;

China is committed to its goal of **peaceful development**.

Similar to examples about *rise*, readers can find from these examples that it is China that determines to walk the road of development in a peaceful way. In other words, the other countries that were afraid of China's development needed not to be worried since the peaceful path was picked by China itself and China had no intention of challenging the other nations.

Although *rise* and *development* were used separately with *peaceful* in these examples, in other words, it is either *peaceful rise*, or *peaceful development*, I still noticed one example with both words being modified by *peaceful* together, and it was:

This is the essence of China's road to **peaceful rise and development**.

No matter whether it was *rise* or *development*, the differences were difficult to be traced from their usages, but the similarity was easy to be found out, which was that China was becoming more competent and powerful in a non-confrontational way.

Besides *rise* and *development*, *peaceful* were also used in instances like:

...a favourable international economic climate for China's **peaceful ascension**;

...would have more confidence in China's **peaceful growth**;

A good relationship between the two nations is essential to the **peaceful growth** of China.

Different words have been used among these examples (*ascension* and *growth*), but the same reiterated idea has been sent out to readers as that of *rise* and *development*, that was the tranquil and untroubled advancement of China. There was nothing to worry about or threatened by.

I have previously mentioned that the topic “China’s peaceful rise” was sometimes reported as “China’s peaceful development” by the Chinese press. The use of *’s rise* and *rise of* have been studied in the beginning of the chapter, so the focus here was put on the word *development*. Among the 213 occurrences of *development* in the *China Daily* database, it was mainly used under the following three circumstances:

First, *development* appeared together with words *peace* or *peaceful* as discussed before. Within all the 213 occurrences of word *development*, 53 examples have been found from the database satisfying the above criterion. For example:

The Chinese people need **peace and development** more than anything else and hold them the dearest;

Peace and development define the essence of our times, which, in turn, determines that the only option for China is **peaceful development**;

A healthy and friendly relationship between China and Japan will...contribute to the **peace and development** of Asia and the world.

Whether it was used with *peace* or *peaceful*, the idea of development has been placed in the context of harmony, calmness and determination. It was seen that China was keen on developing itself by taking a peaceful route and that was beneficial to both China and the world according to these examples from my *China Daily* database.

The second category was about *development* used with *China’s*. For this kind of use, there were 49 instances:

China’s development depends on peace, co-operation and common development;

While some scholars and intellectuals see **China’s development** as ‘the seeds of inevitable great-power conflict and perhaps even war’, Newsweek magazine does not think so;

China’s development is crucial to the world economy.

From these examples, I found that reports from *China Daily* focused on mutual benefits provided by China’s development, that was China’s development was good to China itself and was positive to the globe as well. But at the same time, the

example of criticising unfavorable ideas towards China's development was also included. So it is clear to say that in terms of development about China, the authors from *China Daily* were generally reporting from a supportive and defending perspective.

The third category to be discussed in this part was *development* used with a group of words: *healthy, impressive, sustained, sound, tremendous* and *harmonious*, which shared similarity of containing positive ideas and presenting an upward growing tendency. Examples are as follows:

China's rapid and sustained development will influence world politics and the economic order;

...the **peaceful and steady development** of the Sino-US strategic relationship;

In the long run, the **healthy development** of Sino-Japanese relations will provide a stimulant to **China's peaceful development**.

From these examples, I notice that some uses of *development* were with regard to China's development in general or its economic growth directly, while some appeared in the context of bilateral relations between China and other nations, for instance the US and Japan in two of those examples and they all helped draw the same conclusion that it was a good thing for the world to accept the rise of China and it would produce positive effects to the world as well.

From these three categories of the usage of the word *development*, I may say that *development* appeared most of the time with peaceful and positive connotations connected with China in the *China Daily* database. It was not directly written as *China's peaceful rise*, nevertheless from the contexts of usages of *development* I have explored, it was not difficult to find out the favourable information behind usages of this word in the *China Daily* database from those examples. If *development* was a popular word in the *China Daily* database, how about the same word in *The Times* database? Was *development* also favourable to *The Times*? I explored this word when moving to study *The Times* database in the latter passages.

One feature noticed from the Keyword Cloud 1 was that words representing regions

or countries were frequently shown by following the frequency of the log-likelihood statistic which showed how significant the difference was, including *China*, *US/United States*, *Japan*, *Tibet*, *Asia*, *Taiwan* and *Iraq*. China was part of the topic of this study, so it was reasonable to find *China* in this list. But the other words all indicated to some degree that the different angles *China Daily* looked at on the topic “China’s peaceful rise” in contrast to the general written English. I explored these relations by studying their concordance lines.

US/United States

Before carrying out further analysis, it was inappropriate in the first instance to treat *US* either as the short of United States or the pronoun—*us*. After analysing, it was noticed that among all 157 occurrences, 147 had the meaning of United States, and 10 used as pronoun *us*, which was discussed later. *United States* had 65 occurrences. *US*, together with *United States* used in neutral contexts like:

As an observer, former **US** President George Bush also agreed that China’s peaceful rise is ‘very reassuring and very, very important to the Asian horizon and Asia’s landscape’; “It’s never a political liability, ever, for the prime minister of Australia to have a good relationship with the president and the vice president of the **United States**,” Howard said.

US and *United States* used in the positive context:

China’s set of principles for Sino-**US** ties is increasingly coherent, mature and efficient; Nevertheless, we have seen the **United States** make a cautious effort at collaboration in this regard.

And examples falling in this group normally focused on bilateral relations.

Also *US* has been used in negative context (no *United States* were found suitable for this category) such as:

Indians scalped settlers or **US** army butchered the Indians;
The death toll of Iraqi civilians has risen to nearly 1 million as a result of the **US** invasion.

Clear accusation of wrongs US has done to the other nations could be felt from the authors of these articles.

In addition to the previously mentioned examples, there were also 34 instances of *US* having connections with the American currency like:

Chinese products have saved US consumers **US \$20 billion** a year;

China has attracted more than **US \$500 billion** investment from overseas;

...though its [China's] per capita GDP was just **US \$1,591**, ranking behind more than 100 other nations.

These usages connecting with currency seemed to inform readers that China had experienced tremendous growth in its economic development and other nations like the US had benefited from China's growth. But in terms of per capita GDP, China still had a low ranking in the world.

The use of *US/United States* shaped contrast with other countries or regions reported in *China Daily*, which were nearly negligible compared with the United States. For instance, the country *Zambia* had only one occurrence in the whole *China Daily* database. It may not be appropriate to conclude that United States was the most significant nation concerned by *China Daily* and other nations were less important when talking about "China's peaceful rise", but at least in my database, the United States has been covered more in terms of the significance among all articles, which was able to imply this nation's importance to China on the topic of "China's peaceful rise" from my limited collection.

Japan

Out of the 83 occurrences of the word *Japan*, its usage could be found in four major categories. The most typical use of *Japan* in the *China Daily* database was in the field of bilateral relationships, which covered both political and economic perspectives. When discussing political relationship, both tension and cooperation between China and Japan were covered in those articles, for instance:

But unfortunately, at a time when economic relations between China and **Japan** are developing rapidly, their political relationship is less than ideal – a situation for which Japan is mainly responsible.

Japan needs a new mentality to frame its relations with China;

It is not only possible, but necessary for China and **Japan** to establish a reciprocal and friendly relationship.

When discussing economic ties between the two nations, a picture of mutual benefits could be seen from its description, e.g.

As a developing country, China needs Japanese investment, technology and exports while **Japan**, besides the low-cost articles of everyday use made in China, needs a geographically close and potential huge market like China for investment and trade.

However, the warning message was occasionally sent from China to Japan as well, e.g.

‘China could turn to American or European countries if it loses Japanese investment and technology. However, if **Japan** loses China’s market, it would be difficult to compensate for the loss because the world’s other major markets are either saturated or not yet developed’.

These above examples from the first category indicated the importance of Sino-Japanese relations *China Daily* attaches to the topic “China’s peaceful rise”. There was great potential for cooperation between the two nations, but there were problems at the same time, especially *China Daily* seemed to warn Japan that it was Japan that was going to lose if China stopped doing business with Japan.

The next typical use of *Japan* in the *China Daily* database was about history between the two nations, the *China Daily* database reminded Japan not to forget the past, and also listed Germany as a positive example for Japan to learn from, for instance:

Japan has historically inflicted damage on China and animosity still lingers;

If **Japan** can follow the example of Germany in dealing with historical issues, what it will lose is the burden and what it will gain is the understanding, respect and trust, which are the

important conditions for becoming a political power.

Japan's change of defence policy was the third category of usage on *Japan* in the *China Daily* database, and openly expressed concerns and even worries from China, e.g.

Therefore, under such circumstances, neighbouring nations have to be extremely concerned and alert about **Japan's** strides towards flexing military muscle;

Since the Gulf War, in particular since Koizumi took office, there have been shocking shifts in **Japan's** defence policy;

In fact, China's military expenditure of last year was only 56.78 per cent of **Japan's** and 5.69 per cent of that of the United States.

In addition to worries from Japan's military development, *China Daily* also showed to its readers that Japan was a nation with strong economic power and technology skills by listing examples like:

Japan has been an economic major power for decades and is now seeking to become a political and military major power;

Japan, as the world's number two economy and a regional power with colossal influence, occupies a special position;

Japan may be parasitic in breakthroughs made in basic research, but they are strong in technical innovation to make their products marketable and competitive.

From the four main categories of the use of *Japan*, the all-round coverage of Japan presented the readers with a comprehensive picture about the nation Japan. This country became one focus of *China Daily* while discussing the topic of "China's peaceful rise", and its usage showed both tension and cooperation between China and Japan, which was able for the readers to find out the unique position Japan was placed by *China Daily*.

Tibet

Tibet in the *China Daily* database was mainly used in four categories: Tibet is Chinese territory, uprising and rebellion in Tibet, the Tibet issue and Tibet

independence or Free Tibet. In the first group about ‘Tibet is Chinese territory’, there were examples providing the fact from historical point of view:

Those ancient Chinese emperors were not naïve with politics, therefore they gave some ‘administrative rights’ of the other part of **Tibet** to another Lama called Panchen.

From the international recognition about Tibet is part of China, I found:

For all countries in the world, **Tibet** is Chinese territory.

Both examples informed readers that Tibet is an indivisible part of China from history and current international recognition;

In the next category about the usage of *Tibet* describing uprising and rebellion in Tibet, the example is:

He [Dalai Lama] supports investments in **Tibet**, so his arsonists can set fires on those investments and properties;

The 1959 **Tibet** Uprising was a bloody affair that I heard when I was a kid.

These evidences supported the idea that rebellion in Tibet was inhuman and violent and was against the idea of peace;

For the Tibet issue category, examples could be found as follows:

Thus the **Tibet issue** in Sino-US relations has been deeply associated with the “anti-China, anti-Communism” Cold-War thinking from the very beginning;

Naturally, checking China’s rise became the core objective of the US’ China policy, while the “**Tibet issue**” was once again employed as an important and realistic means to attack China; He also pointed out that the real causes and background of the **Tibet issue** are not understood by the West;

In October 1959, the US manipulated the United Nations to pass a resolution over the so-called ‘**Tibet issue**’ in a bid to internationalize something that was entirely China’s internal affair.

From these examples, the authors consider the Tibet issue as a barrier in Sino-US relations and blame the US for using the Tibet issue to interfere in China's internal affairs. In the meantime, the use of *so-called* in front of the *Tibet issue* showed that it was not an issue at all and the authors questioned about the naming of the Tibet issue or consider that it has been improperly named or understood by the others. It could be read from these *China Daily* examples that the authors considered that there was no Tibet issue in principle, and it was the West that wanted to make Tibet into an issue to restrict China's development;

In the final category regarding the use of *Tibet*, evidences of *Tibet* being used in the context of free Tibet or Tibet independence are provided, for instance:

For the Tibetan youth who had threatened China with violence in the effort of '**freeing Tibet**', ask yourself whether your leader is some kind of Western born and educated organizer, knowing little about Eastern way of life?

...who has been a key figure in the whole "**Tibet independence**" conspiracy from the start; No country in the world has ever recognized the **independence of Tibet** or declared that Tibet is an "occupied country";

The fact that Pelosi is detested by the Chinese people is closely connected with her recent move to clamor for "**Tibet independence**" and instigate "boycotting the Olympic Games".

These examples clearly indicated that standpoints held by the authors were against either free Tibet or Tibet independence, and even extreme antipathy towards Tibet becoming independent could be detected from some of these examples. After studying the four main groups of use of *Tibet* under the topic of "China's peaceful rise", I may say that *China Daily* focuses its reports on proving that Tibet is Chinese territory and it is unacceptable to allow any forms of Tibet separation. It is the Dalai Lama and his followers who triggered the violent uprising, and there is in fact no Tibet issue but it has been purposely used by some countries to confine China's development. A clear tendency of supporting the Chinese government and criticising the West and the Dalai Lama was underpinned by this word.

It should be underlined that examples on *Tibet* were mainly from two articles closely focusing on the Tibet issue. It may not be impartial to generate a generalised

conclusion only basing on limited number of articles out of the whole 45 articles in the *China Daily* database, while the inclusion of these articles by *China Daily* under the discussion of “China’s peaceful rise” was still able to show to its readers that opinions expressed by these articles satisfy the official views held by the newspaper. As a result, although the number was small, they could still to some extent demonstrate *China Daily*’s opinions on the Tibet issue with respect to “China’s peaceful rise”.

For readers familiar with China, the person Dalai Lama is closely connected with Tibet, and *Dalai Lama* was also shown as a keyword in the Keyword Cloud 1. So before moving to study the next geographic name, I spared some time to study the usage of *Dalai Lama* to see in what kind of situation this name was used. There were altogether 31 appearances of *Dalai Lama* in the *China Daily* database, examples were:

We believe in their preaching, such as moderation, respect for nature, harmony--the stuff with which **Dalai Lama** used to charm you Western folks;

If you like Tibetan and those poor oppressed monks so much, next time when talking to blue collar workers in Detroit, don’t forget to tell them monks were slave owners buying and selling people under the reign of **Dalai Lama**, until Chinese government put a stop to it;

On March 26, 1959, then CIA Director Allen Dulles claimed at the 400th meeting of the US National Security Committee that it was the Chinese government’s plan to abduct the **Dalai Lama** to Beijing that triggered the armed rebellion in Tibet;

After the end of the Cold War, the **Dalai Lama** was again used as an instrument of the Western anti-China campaign and treated as a “brat” of the US.

In addition to *Dalai Lama*, there were six appearances of *Dalai group*, e.g.

Since the late 1990s and particularly the September 11 attacks on the US in 2001, the **Dalai group** saw its place on the US’ anti-China pop chart drop a rung or two yet again as the China-US relations improved with the peaceful development of China;

In the 1970s and the 1980s the **Dalai group** became an “orphan” during the Cold War, as the US adjusted its China policy to facilitate its anti-Soviet strategy and reduced its support for the Tibetan separatists while seeking to establish diplomatic relations with China;

The Western anti-China alliance resumed hearty financial support for the **Dalai group**.

And one *Dalai clique* in:

As is known to all, the Lhasa riots were masterminded by the **Dalai clique** and organized by Tibet separatists in and outside China.

All these usage connecting with *Dalai* showed a clear negative tendency from the authors of these *China Daily* articles towards the person Dalai Lama and his group. Readers were told by these articles that Dalai Lama either acted by himself as a trouble-maker, or way used by the West as a tool to restrain China, which was far different from the peaceful impression people in the West held about him. The use of *Dalai Lama* was in accordance with that of *Tibet* in the *China Daily* database to defend China's official view on Tibet.

Asia

The 56 occurrences of *Asia* mainly focused on two aspects, one was about the mutual benefits produced by China's development on China and Asia, area which meant that China's peaceful development promoted Asia's development and produce impact on Asia. And at the same time China benefited from Asia's development as well; the other aspect was about Asia used as the geographic name.

China has provided tariff breaks to the least developed countries in **Asia** and Africa...

China has pursued a series of policies which have been attractive to other countries, particularly in Southeast **Asia**;

Moreover, the peaceful ascent of **Asia** has become the basis for China's peaceful rise;

China's emergence is part of **Asia**'s emergence;

This indicates that China's emergence as an economic power is closely associated with the development of East **Asia**, with each side being indispensable to the other;

One should not over-emphasize the China factor when discussing the geopolitical change in **Asia**;

There are other factors impacting **Asia**'s geopolitical transformation just as strongly, such as the rise of Japan and India.

Close connections between China and the region where it was from have been demonstrated via these examples, while at the same time, these articles did not forget

to remind their readers that China was not the only factor influencing the region's development, which seemed to depict that China was not that strong and was not dominating Asia and as a result the other nations in Asia needed not worry much about a growing China.

Taiwan

From the collocation check, it was found that the 34 occurrences of *Taiwan* have been used frequently with *straits* (9 occurrences), *question* (5 occurrences) and *independence* (5 occurrences). For example:

As the US military rationalizes...Chinese deployment in the **Taiwan Straits** has put regional military balances at risk;

The largest challenge lies in itself, including whether or not being able to realize the balance and co-ordinated development between regions and industries, stabilizing the situation in the **Taiwan Straits** to achieve peaceful reunification, and becoming integrated into the mainstream international society.

The **Taiwan question** poses another big challenge for the country's development;

The country [China] should spare no effort to achieve this goal, but it will at the same time not stand any moves for "**Taiwan independence**" or interference by other nations.

Together with the other use of *Taiwan* in examples:

Taiwan's separatist activities have increasingly become the biggest imminent threat to both China's sovereignty and territorial integrity and the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region;

As a result, Tibet in Southwest China and **Taiwan** in the country's southeast stood out with their geo-strategic significance as two key pieces in the China-containment section of the US Cold War strategy;

Its **Taiwan** policy of "peaceful reunification" and "one country, two systems" is showing more signs of peace and reconciliation, bringing its relations with the island back to the track of stability.

These sentences showed the importance the Chinese government attaches Taiwan in the process of China's development. Readers could feel tensions behind these

sentences in dealing with the Taiwan question, which were either from what the other nation considers about China's position in terms of the regional security, and also from China itself on its determination of protecting the country's territorial integrity. And at the same time, the *China Daily* database showed the sincerity of China's hope of peaceful reunification. To *China Daily's* readers, Taiwan is considered as China's core interest, the stability and security of this area is vital to China.

Iraq

There were 22 occurrences of *Iraq*. All the use of *Iraq* either directly or indirectly connected with America:

Cheney's support for the **Iraq war**--he is considered one of the key proponents of the 2003 invasion--drew protesters into Sydney's streets for two days;

Answering growing criticism in the US and Australia, he defended the **Iraq war** as a "remarkable achievement" in one speech, and dismissed suggestions his influence in Washington is waning.

But **Cheney**, a leading architect in the Bush administration of the decision to invade **Iraq**...

I think the United States is paying too much attention to its hard power, as you see in the case of **Iraq**.

Most of the uses of *Iraq* were placed in a negative context criticising what America has done to Iraq. It was also interesting to notice that nine out of the total 29 appearances of the name of the former US Vice-President *Dick Cheney* had connections with *Iraq* in *China Daily* database, depicting him as the major figure behind invading Iraq as shown from the above examples. In the meantime, five occurrences of *Cheney* have been mentioned with the meaning of criticising China, like:

A Chinese scholar refuted **Cheney's** remarks, saying China is committed to its goal of peaceful development. But **Cheney**, a leading architect in the Bush administration of the decision to invade Iraq, said China's "military build-up" and its missile test last month "are not consistent with China's stated goal of a peaceful rise".

If Cheney appeared mostly in contexts with invasion of Iraq and criticising China

about China's development, it would be difficult for *China Daily's* readers to have a positive impression about this person. The unfavourable light in which *China Daily* presented this figure has been clearly demonstrated via these examples.

Before finishing the analysis of *Iraq*, I want to mention that *China* has only used once with *Iraq* among all 22 occurrences, but *China* was used in an obvious positive context comparing to America. It depicted a responsible China in front of the international world:

China has acted in a principled manner and played a constructive role on the questions of **Iraq** and Darfur in Sudan.

The different attitudes *China Daily* held towards China, America and Cheney have been shown in front of its readers from the use of *Iraq*.

Till now, I have studied regional names appearing in the first 100 keywords, and different attitudes to different nations, people, and issues have been clearly shown via the use of these words in the *China Daily* database. Their usages in general supported China on its development and emphasise on mutual benefits brought by China's peaceful development. The inclusion of the other regions in the discussion of "China's peaceful rise" either showed to *China Daily's* readers that it was not an easy process for China to develop since there were challenges from the other nations, and on the other hand, it demonstrated China's determination of developing and growing by following the peaceful path and presented positive effects the others could enjoy from China's peaceful rise.

In the previous analysis, I have mentioned many times the two-way benefits brought by China's peaceful development: to both China and the other nations/regions. And it was noticed that in Keyword Cloud 1, words containing the meaning of direction representing both parties were in the top of the list: *mutual* and *bilateral*, and they helped emphasise that kind of peaceful and beneficial ideas to the *China Daily's* readers.

Mutual

Among the 51 occurrences of *mutual*, it collocated most of the time with words *benefit* (14 occurrences) and *trust* (11 occurrences), and also words like *understanding* (4 occurrences), *respect* (3 occurrences):

...China has committed itself to equality, friendship, **mutual benefit** and win-win co-operation with all countries of the world...

The promotion of the new security concept with mutual trust, **mutual benefit**, equality and co-operation as its core and the successful practice of the Shanghai Co-operation Organization have contributed to enhancing increasingly the international basis for the legitimacy of China's peaceful rise;

China stands for **mutual trust** among countries on the issue of security and their mutually beneficial co-operation in maintaining regional and international security;

If the two countries [China and the United States] succeed in such co-operation, it would not only enhance strategic **mutual trust** between them but also contribute positively to global energy assurance and security;

In the spirit of **mutual understanding**, **mutual accommodation**, and fairness, China has completely settled its boundary issue left over from history with Russia and some other countries through consultations and negotiations, and reached agreement with India on the political guiding principles for the settlement of their boundary issue;

The strategic partnership of co-operation between China and Russia continues to deepen, as the leaders of the two countries have kept close exchanges in mutual trust and **mutual respect**.

All these examples with *mutual* presented to readers that benefits and interests were two-sided, and China's development and rise would bring peace rather than conflicts to both China and the world.

Bilateral

The word *bilateral* had 33 occurrences in the *China Daily* database and it has been found mostly collocating with *relations* (11 occurrences, and another 3 with the word *relationship*), *ties* (8 occurrences):

In recent years, the two big powers of East Asia China and Japan have been locked in a stalemate, with political and security friction escalating and sometimes spilling outside **bilateral relations**;

In Japan, difficulties in **bilateral relations** have also caused concern among the discerning public.

All the above, however, can not replace the negative side of **bilateral relations** [China and the US], parts of which are in fact growing;

US Democratic front-runner Hillary Clinton wrote in the latest edition of Foreign Affairs journal that the Sino-US relationship would be "the most important **bilateral relationship** in the world in this century" and called for "co-operatitve" ties with Beijing;

He [Fred Bergsten, director of the Peterson Institute] believes the Sino-US relationship is the most important **bilateral ties** in the world;

He [Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao] said **bilateral ties** have gained momentum, and the two neighbours share great potential to develop economic and trade ties as their economies are "complementary".

These bilateral relationships were about Sino-US and Sino-Japan relations and these examples showed the close connections between China and these two countries and importance of maintaining a harmonious bilateral relationship. And this also proved the importance of America and Japan in the discussion of the topic of "China's peaceful rise" *China Daily* has attached to as analysed earlier.

Developing countries

When discussing the topic "China's peaceful rise", I always found that China wrote itself as a developing country to indicate its incapability of challenging the big power in the world, for example:

China, as a **developing country**, thus will not rival the United States in those areas, the article said;

Both the United States and the former Soviet Union were superpowers and both had military and overall national strength which was greater than the combined strengths of other major countries, while China is still a **developing country**;

In per capita terms, it is still a low-income **developing country** ranking 100th in the world; China and the United States, the biggest **developing country** and the biggest developed one in the world, enjoy great mutual benefit in economic co-operation and trade.

And in the Keyword Cloud 1, the plural form of *developing country--developing*

countries has been used more significantly in *China Daily*, for instance:

The **developing countries** should be helped to participate on an equal footing in international economic affairs;

Strengthening solidarity and co-operation with **developing countries** is the basic point of departure of China's diplomacy;

Christopher J. Flint, senior sales director of the Boeing Company, said that China is a good example for **developing countries** in terms of elimination of poverty and improving people's lives;

China will never relent in its efforts to develop friendly ties with **developing countries**.

China claimed itself as a developing country, and with the emphasis on *developing countries* at large, China wanted to show to the world the close relation China had with the other developing nations in the world and also China played an active role in bringing benefits for developing countries, which could be seen as the benefits China's development brought to the world. China, as an individual developing country, did not want to and also could not challenge the developed nations; as one of the developing countries, China benefited the whole developing world. So from either aspect, it was hard for readers to connect the idea of threat or challenge with China, but the positive outcome China may bring to the other developing nations were implied from the use of *developing country/countries*.

From the previous analysis, a common feeling about the use of English in *China Daily* was that *China Daily* tried to apply words containing positive connotations to achieve the purpose of positively constructing the idea of "China's peaceful rise". If *China Daily* considered this principle to be peaceful, it would be against its intention to find the word *threat* in Keyword Cloud 1 since it seemed to be in disagreement with the peaceful intention the newspaper wanted to express. In order to find out how the word *threat* was used by *China Daily* and even reasons for the inclusion of this word, I thought that it might be useful to study it in detail here. Also from the background information about the principle of "China's peaceful rise", I understood that this principle was proposed to counter the "China threat" discourse and it might be revealing for me to study the counterpart of *peaceful rise*—*threat* in articles from *China Daily* to trace the context of its usage. At the same time, as a word with similar

meaning to *threat*, *risk* is a commonly discussed word in our society. In Chapter One Introduction, I have quoted some scholars' work on risk society theory to develop my argument. So I allocated some paragraphs here to discuss the usage of *risk* as well although the word *risk* did not show in Keyword Cloud 1.

Threat

The word *threat* presents immediate and close danger, and *risk* shows something dangerous or undesirable could happen in the future. In my *China Daily* database, I obtained 41 instances of the usage on *threat*. I divided its usage into three categories according to the topic it covered: on the “China threat” idea from the West, on worry caused by China’s development from the West and on traditional security threat. In the first group on fixed saying of “China threat” idea from the West, there were following examples:

Since 1992, some foreign researchers and officials have been referring to the “**China threat**” fallacy, which gave rise to deep worries in the international community, especially China’s neighbours, about the potential threat from its rising political, economic, trading and military power;

Moreover, as Westerners who believe in “democratic peace” doubt whether China can become “democratic” in the future, they recognize the theory of “**China threat**” more than the theory of “China’s peaceful rise.”;

But for a long time, “**China threat**” advocacy has been spreading, while some of the country’s domestic and foreign policies have been misunderstood or even distorted;

In the long run, the healthy development of Sino-Japanese relations will provide a stimulant to China’s peaceful development; it will also be a positive demonstration for China’s relations with Western powers and a rebuttal of the “**China threat**” assertion;

The country will continue to make efforts to dispel outside misgivings relating to the alleged “**China threat**”.

These examples listed what the West thinks about the idea “China threat” in front of readers and clearly presented the viewpoint of the authors that it was improper for the West to label threat remarks with China and China did not agree with that kind of idea proposed by the West, and China also tried hard to change the wrong impression of the West of China. *China Daily* did not agree with the idea of “China threat”, and

China Daily helped positively present China in front of its readers by these articles.

On the second group of usage: danger and worry caused by China's development from the West were studied and examples were:

Its rise will be a contribution, **not a threat**, to world peace and development;

China's rise will be **neither a threat** to Japan nor a threat to any other nation;

Accompanying China on its route to this destination will be international community opportunities, **not threats**;

Adhering to an independent foreign policy of peace and a defensive national defence policy, China will mainly "rely on its own strength for development" rather than going for expansion or seeking hegemony, and therefore "poses **no obstacle or threat** to any one.";

The scholar said he does **not** think most Americans will consider China's increasing "soft power" as **a threat**;

China is committed to its goal of peaceful development, a Beijing academic said **in response to** Friday's remarks on the country's "**military threat**" by US Vice-President Dick Cheney;

The significant thing is that there is a body of influential opinion that is **bent on projecting China's rise as a major threat** to world order;

This is partly due to the rise of China and the associated **false fears** that China could become an economic and political **threat** to the West.

Examples in this group served a similar function as examples from the first group on "China threat" theory to help defend "China's peaceful rise" principle and reassure the other nations about China's development. An obvious feature of examples from this group was that these threat ideas were used either with words expressing negation like *no*, *not*, *neither* clearly indicating the opposite denial or the opposite meaning could be easily noticed from the context in which they were used. These examples all helped demonstrate the idea that China's development was not causing threat to any party, and there was no need to worry about a rising China. Examples in the first two groups all directly focused on China and connected China with the threat concept, and the authors of these *China Daily* articles were arguing for China to present a non-threat image to its readers. In the last major group of the usage of *threat*, on traditional security threat, examples were not directly connected with China, but discussed from an international aspect, for instance:

With the 9-11 incident five years behind, the world is mired deeper in terrorism, natural disasters, fatal epidemics and other **non-traditional security threats**;

At the same time, various **cross-national non-conventional threats** are growing in prominence;

“...Some developing countries have not gained their fair share of benefit from economic globalization,” said Hu, noting that recent years have seen increasing **non-traditional security threats** including terrorist activities, natural disasters and outbreak of major communicable diseases.

Readers could not find direct connection for these security threats with China, and it read like growing non-traditional security threat was affecting the entire world. As one part of the international community, China was suffering from that kind of threat as well. So in this group of examples, China became a victim. Following this kind of logic, China was not going to cause threat to the world, but tried hard with the other nations in the world to counter the increasing non-traditional security threat.

In all previously mentioned examples on *threat* from the three groups of its dominant usage in my *China Daily* database, it was felt that the feeling of trouble and danger was not from China, but was fabricated by the West.

In addition to the dominant types of usage on *threat*, there was one example:

The referendum scheduled for March 20 by the Taiwan authorities under the pretext of democracy **poses a threat** to stability across the Taiwan Straits.

This was the only one occurrence of *threat* showing worries from China in the whole *China Daily* database and China was written to be very concerned about its national security according to this example. To China, Taiwan is an indispensable part of Chinese territory and any form of Taiwan independence is not accepted, which could be felt from the analysis of *Taiwan* in the previous passages. The Taiwan question is considered by China as an internal issue, so even if the threat became true, it is remaining inside China from Chinese government's perspective, and it still does not pose threat to the other nations. All in all, *China Daily* helped establish an idea that China's development should not be treated as a threat to the West.

Risk

After studying the word *threat*, I moved on to check the word *risk* in my *China Daily* database. I only found two occurrences of *risk*:

It is only through co-operation that we can gradually redress the imbalance in global development, effectively ward off economic and **financial risks**, and enable countries to seize the opportunities brought by globalization to realize common development;

As the US military rationalizes...Chinese deployment in the Taiwan Straits has put regional military balances **at risk**.

One instance of *financial risks* was about the general-termed finance area, it was not only China faced that risk, but also to the whole world, and that kind of risk was not caused by China; the use of *at risk* appeared in the example focusing on potential danger coming from China in its military development viewed by the US. From the context where this sentence was used, the disagreement from this article on the conclusion drawn by the US was felt. Like the word *threat*, examples with *risk* did not show the danger posed to the world by China's development and readers could not associate harmful connotations with China from China's development.

So far, I have studied the Keyword Cloud 1 by comparing the *China Daily* database against the *BNC Sampler Written*, and explored features existing in the *China Daily* database in comparison to the general written English. And now I move to compare the *China Daily* database against *The Times* database to find how English was used in *China Daily*. After comparison, the Keyword Cloud 2 was yielded:

's -- 21st_century active also and anti-china areas article asean author benefit bilateral billion challenges changes Cheney
 China China_Daily co-operation colleagues common community constitution
 cooperation countries country Dalai_Lama demonize developing_countries
 development differences diplomatic during each_other environment especially exchanges forum further
 globalization government harmony hegemony i important institutes international kind let_'s
 maintaining major media mutual n't nations order organization organizations other peace
 peaceful Pelosi people powers premier progress prosperity prosperous regional relations
 relay result rise said security should sino-japanese sino-US situation southeast strategic strategy successful
 support through Tibet tibetan ties traditional two United_States US war WE Wen world you
 your

Figure 4. 2 Keyword Cloud 2 (*China Daily* database against *The Times* database)

In the previous sections, I have seen what kind of language *China Daily* was using to promote the principle of “China’s peaceful rise”, and in comparison between Keyword Clouds 1 and 2, similarities shared between these two keyword clouds were noticed, for example, *US*, *development*, *rise*, *Tibet*, *bilateral* and *mutual*, appeared in both keyword clouds and have been discussed previously. In the meantime, I also found differences between the two keyword clouds. The most obvious differences were not on content words, but the functional words: modal auxiliary verb *should*, possessive adjective *your*, short form of negative particle *n’t* and personal pronoun *you*, *we*, *I*. In addition, *environment*, *exchanges* and *media* for instance were more key in Keyword Cloud 2 than in Keyword Cloud 1.

Should

When studying the 87 occurrences of *should*, the top three words collocating on its first left side were *we* (12 occurrences), *China* (11 occurrences) and *countries* (8 occurrences), for instance:

China should also work harder to reduce the growing disagreements among Western countries on environmental protection;

China should base its domestic politics and foreign policies in the 21st century upon the concept of peace and then apply the concept to allow for its peaceful rise;

On the other hand, China has 1.3 billion people, so the logical line would be that **China should** not be contained, but encouraged to become a responsible global citizen;

“What **China should** do is to carry out more active communications, co-ordination and co-operation with other nations to reach a win-win result, which will make the ‘China threat’ theory lack the needed ground and prove China’s development should be seen as an opportunity instead of a challenge,” Yu [Yu Xintian, director of the Shanghai Institute of International Studies] said;

As it stands, the Sino-Japanese relationship is at an impasse, but **we [China] should** not be pessimistic about it;

However, **we [China] should** keep in mind that his instinct to draw attention by flirting with foreign powers and pushing for internationalization of the “Tibet issue” will never go away;

As Cao put it yesterday, the military exchanges between the two **countries should** be based on the establishment of mutual political and security trust and in the interest of promoting long-lasting friendship between the two peoples;

China believes that all **countries should** aim to achieve mutual benefit and win-win results in their pursuit of development;

The developing **countries should** be helped to participate on an equal footing in international economic affairs.

All these examples have connections with China. China has been put as the subject of the sentences in the first two categories (*we should, China should*) and also actively participates in the third category (*countries should*) to perform the action of what need to be done by China from the point of the author. These examples showed that China did not force the other nations to do things from China’s point of view or to satisfy China’s interests, but to ask China itself to perform better to bring benefit to the world and ask for rights for the others. They all showed a calm and responsible China and also demonstrated that a rising China would bring positive effects rather than challenges to the international world.

If moving to the top three words collocating on the first right side of *should*, they were *be* (21 occurrences), *not* (12 occurrences) and words with two occurrences: *also, bring, do* and *focus*. I concentrated on the first two collocations here since they are the typical usage of *should* applied in *China Daily*. Here were examples:

It [China] must prevent major Western economic entities from concluding that principles of free trade **should be** abandoned;

It **should be** noted that the US National Security Committee and the State Department were responsible for making Tibet-related policies, while the CIA executed them;

The premier said China and Russia are good neighbours sharing a common boundary line of 4,300 kilometres, adding that the two countries “**should be** friends forever and never fight again”;

This time, we [China] **should not** miss the golden opportunity;

The rising of China **should not** be seen as competing with others for hegemony, shifting the world’s centre of power and whitewashing the indignity China has suffered in modern times; On the other hand, Japanese politicians **should not** forget that the war of aggression waged by Japanese militarists led their country to the brink of destruction and that it is the post-war peaceful environment that has ensured Japan’s rejuvenation and transformed it into the world’s second most powerful economy.

These sentences were used by the authors to show the responsibility of China, what China and the other countries relating with China or having different opinions on China’s development were supposed to do, and results from these examples were all in favour of China. I could conclude from both the left and right side collocations of *should* that *China Daily* considered that China should not be contained but encouraged to develop since China’s peaceful rise was a good thing to the world, which idea was supported by these articles.

You/Your

105 occurrences of *you* have been found in the *China Daily* database, and 14 were from different articles but the rest 91 were all from the same article *Muse of 2008 Olympic torch relay*. It was the same to the possessive adjective *your*, out of the 29 occurrences of *your*, only one was from a different article, and the rest 28 were all from the same one article as that of *you*. This reminded me of the other two similar examples, *let’s* and *demonize* in Keyword Cloud 2. They were also from the same article *Muse of 2008 Olympic torch relay*. All 17 appearances of *let’s* were also from the same article, and all the 13 occurrences of *demonize* were used immediately after *let’s* in that article.

In that case, these words *you*, *your*, *let's* and *demonize* were not treated as the keywords meeting my selection criteria covered in methodology chapter and may not be valuable from the point of corpus analysis, but the inclusion of this article by *China Daily* to discuss about “China’s peaceful rise” still revealed the *China Daily*’s views. These words drew a clear line between China and the West, and demonstrated obvious disapproval of the author on the way the West treated China. Throughout the article, a feeling of anger from the author towards unbalanced selection of reporting on China by the Western media could be felt. This sentence from this article might be able to summarise the author’s opinion: ‘Whenever there is one voice against China, that voice will be heard; while other 99 voices supporting or even neutral to China would be silenced.’ The author of that article did not clarify where these voices would or would not be heard, but presumably implied in the Western press. Although these words were not analysed here, readers were still able to feel the strong feelings from this particular article of supporting China on China’s rise, arguing against critical remarks on China.

N’t

N’t is the reduced form of negative grammatical particle *not*. Among the 64 occurrences of *n’t*, 27 of them collocated with *do*, 9 with *can*, 8 with *will*, and the form of *isn’t*, *didn’t*, *couldn’t*, *aren’t*, *doesn’t*, *wasn’t* and *hadn’t* were identified. For example:

But, for all the patriotic fervor that the Games brought, ordinary Chinese **don’t** understand this talk of a rising China threatening world order or world peace;

We **don’t** force our belief systems onto other people and call them “barbarian” or “uncivilized” when they refuse to accept;

Never mind, you **won’t** hear that reported in the Western media;

They wonder why other countries should have a problem if China rises. To them, it only means rising from poverty and then rising into prosperity. I **can’t** agree with them more.

This may be seen as a feature of *China Daily* that it used the reduced form *n’t* more often than *The Times*. And the negative presentation of the sentences also helped

strengthen the idea of supporting China's rise and shape a sharp contrast with those who do, can, will act in the opposite way. A negative necessarily conjured up the opposite to negate it, so this was a competitive discourse, putting another point of view to the reader.

I

The 98 occurrences of *I* were used to express personal feelings, which may close the distance between the authors and their readers and be easier for the readers to appreciate these ideas from their own perspectives. Pronoun *I* is used in examples:

"I [Fred Bergsten, director of the Peterson Institute] think China has enormous possibilities for continued rapid economic growth, and I expect another 30 years of very positive progress in reducing poverty, increasing living standards, continued rise of China," he said;

In the post-Olympic Games period China would insist on the opening-up policy and peaceful development, Commerce Minister Chen Deming said, "I believe every friend here at the fair will receive the opportunity and benefit from the peaceful rise of China."

"The progress I have seen in China by my own eyes was more dramatic than I've seen in many other countries in the world," said the economist, who served as an assistant secretary of the US Treasury during 1977-1981.

In fact, most of the common people I had a chance to talk to thought China was still a backward country that would take many, many years to catch up with the West.

It was noticed that these *I* all represent experts from different backgrounds including economist, politician and journalist, and many of them are from the West. By quoting from these people in the form of first person, their personal feelings and consideration on China's development could be viewed from a way easily accessible to readers, which helped demonstrate to the world how peacefully China was rising and developing.

We

There were 122 occurrences of *we* in the *China Daily* database. The top five words collocated on the first right position with *we* are *are* (22 occurrences), *should* (12 occurrences), *will* (8 occurrences), *can* (8 occurrences) and *don't* (7 occurrences):

“**We are** firmly against weaponization and an arms race in outer space. We have never participated in an arms race of whatever form in outer space, nor will we do so in the future,” she [China Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Jiang Yu] said at a news briefing before Spring Festival;

“**We should** approve of the positive diplomatic changes in the past few years which, at least, indicate China is trying hard to learn how to behave like a responsible power,” the researcher says;

“**We will** further deepen the reform of foreign-related economic sectors, accelerate the transformation of pattern of trade growth and improve trade structure to ensure balanced growth of import and export,” he [Chinese President Hu Jintao] said, “**we will** actively introduce foreign investment, open the service sectors wider, enhance intellectual property rights protection and raise China’s overall level of openness.”

China’s period of strategic opportunities is nothing but an international environment and evolutionary process where world peace is maintained and common development promoted. It is only under this strategic premise that **we can** achieve the grand goal of building a moderately prosperous society in an all-round way.

“**We do not** fear an economically stronger and more competitive China, which benefits the Chinese people, the American people, and the prosperity of the global economy.” Paulson said when addressing the Fourth Annual China Institute Executive Summit.

We don’t force our belief systems onto other people and call them “barbarian” or “uncivilized” when they refuse to accept.

Most of these usages focused on China and used *we* to stand for China to present the principle China followed in the process of its development, which was peaceful and respecting the others: from previous examples, the reader found the use of *we are* was to present the fact that China was a firm supporter of peace; the use of *we should* implied the responsibility China considered to take over in order to preserve the peaceful development policy; the use of *we will* showed the action China was certain to take in the future and benefits to be enjoyed by the others as well; the use of *we can* indicated the capability of China achieving all-round prosperity, and Chinese people’s confidence and determination could be felt. These examples were all focusing on one country at a time, either China, or US, or the anti-China advocates, and at the same time, *we* in these examples stood for both nations in bilateral relationship:

“This new era in US-China economic relations requires new and dynamic ways of doing business. **We are** meeting these challenges through the creation of the political space and the institutional capacity for long-term stability in our bilateral economic relations,” he [Alan Holmer, the Bush administration's top envoy to China] added;

First of all, **we should** make stabilizing bilateral relations to prevent them from further deteriorating a top priority. Both sides [China and Japan] should take forceful measures to stop the transformation from “cold politics versus hot economy” to “cold economy coupled with cold politics”;

and even more broader and generic concept including anyone in concern, e.g.

“In my view, there are four key elements that **we** should focus on for further promoting new investment in China...he [Shoichiro Toyoda, the third chairman of the Japan-China Investment Promotion Organization] said;

I have spent time in China and have many friends there...**we** all are not so different;

We need co-operation to maintain common security;

“Hu told business leaders from Asia-Pacific that **we** are in the one big family and **we** must work together,” Lee [Kelvin Lee, managing director of the Vina Capital company] told China Daily after the speech.

All these usage of *we* occurred in the context of China’s development, and from them the atmosphere of international cooperation was sent out, or actions to be carried out by two nations or a single nation, with the common purpose of promoting development of the world at large.

us

When studying *US*, I mentioned on Page 71 that it stood for both *United States* and the pronoun *us*. Together with the other pronouns, I looked into the use of *us* (10 occurrences) at this point. From the analyses of following examples:

It is neither proper nor possible for **us** to rely on foreign countries for development;

...the worship of military might will lead **us** nowhere;

...still remember retired veterans telling **us** how Tibetan rebels smearing their faces with blood;

It “helps **us** signal to China that we welcome the rise of a confident, peaceful and prosperous China”

us either stands for Chinese people or Americans in these examples, it is rare to find inclusive use of *us* to stand for both parties, the different national identity can be felt from these usage. The possible reasons behind the division may be that the two peoples are still cautious about each other and do not want to think from the other’s point of view, and that may explain the deeper reasons for conflicts between the two nations.

After checking keywords only appearing in Keyword Cloud 2 (no occurrences of these words could be found in Keyword Cloud 1), I now move to see words with higher log-likelihood statistics in Keyword Cloud 2 than in Keyword Cloud 1. In this group, I selected four words: *media*, *community*, *environment* and *exchanges*. Since my study is a competing media discourse analysis, it is interesting to know how the word *media* was applied in the *China Daily* contexts; China is one part of the international society. The word *community* has been significantly used according to the Keyword Cloud 2, and it is interesting to know how China’s peaceful rise was fixed in a wider term beyond its own interests, and in what kind of groups China’s development has been discussed; the word *environment* has been used differently from its basic meaning about the physical world which people are living in, in other words, in most of its usage, *environment* has been treated as the conditions for China’s development, thus it may be revealing to see what kind of conditions China needs for its development; the last word in this selection was *exchanges*. Once again, *exchanges* contained meanings similar to *bilateral* and *mutual* in the *China Daily* database, which seemed to be the feature of *China Daily*’s articles always writing about China’s development contributing to two sides, as a result the word *exchanges* shown in the Keyword Cloud was also included to check how consistently that kind of ideas were expressed.

Media

Among all 40 occurrences of *media*, 23 occurrences collocated with *western* on its first left side, however, 20 out of the 23 were from one article *Muse of 2008 Olympic*

torch relay which has been mentioned earlier criticising the unfair reporting of China by the West, and the rest three of *Western media* were used in:

The riots in Tibetan-inhabited areas in our country in March are not as simple as some members of the **Western media** seem to think. People will see that the so-called “Tibet issue” is a “pawn” in the United States’ game of keeping China in check and is closely linked to Washington’s China policy;

Taken in whole, the **Western media**’s discussion of China this year really reflects a wide range of opinions, some which are not as sentimentalized and morally conceited as we are used to hearing;

For **Western media** in general, a popular topic in the recent year-ender and prediction season is China.

The Western media was criticised for not impartially reporting China, but at the same time, the changes happening in the Western media’s ways of reporting China have also been mentioned and praised by China. Although China considered the Western media’s reports on China as unfair, it still cared about what the West talked about China and liked to see changes happening on the Western media’s coverage about China, which demonstrated the significant importance of the Western media viewed from *China Daily* on the principle of “China’s peaceful rise”.

The other use of *media* could be found in examples like:

Media reports from both countries [China and Japan] even propagate the theory that “a war is inevitable”;

The US **media** also played its part by propagating that “the US is ready to recognize Tibet as an independent and free country”;

Domestic [Chinese] **media** have hailed the case as a good example of Sino-US collaboration in criminal investigation and a major breakthrough in the fight against corruption.

Together with the use of *western media*, all of them demonstrated that media report played an important role in delivering ideas either positively or negatively to the general public, of which “China’s peaceful rise” was definitely affected. The significant place media enjoyed in its reporting of China has been demonstrated.

Community

Among the 30 occurrences of *community*, there were 25 instances of *international community*, 4 instances of *global community* and 1 *one community*:

In fact, China's more responsible attitude and flexible diplomatic tactics have already won wide acclaim from the **international community**;

China's recent boom has prompted a lot of tongue-wagging in the **international community**;

In addition, China's peaceful development will provide the **international community** with a brand-new development model;

The new leadership has further confirmed the important status of China's neighbours while maintaining a strategy of developing smooth relations with all members of the **global community**;

Second, drawing from the lesson of the Great Depression of the 1930s, the **global community** is now adjusting economic activities through such macro-economic means as financial, interest rate and taxation tools;

He [Chinese President Hu Jintao] made the remarks when addressing the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) CEO Summit, which is held under the theme of "Towards **One Community**: Creating New Opportunities for Shared Development."

From the usage of *community* applied on a global stage, it is felt that China's development has been put in a large picture of the whole world, rather than restricted inside China only. On the one hand, it showed the close connections among nations in the world and China's development was happening in the global village and has been recognised as part of the global development; on the other hand, it indicated that China's development would produce influence on the whole world and China should not be ignored or isolated by the world.

Environment

There were 32 occurrences of *environment* in the *China Daily* database, and words collocating on the first left side of *environment* in the order of frequency were *international* (8 occurrences), *the* (6 occurrences), *external* (4 occurrences), *peaceful* (3 occurrences), *domestic* (2 occurrences) and *global* (2 occurrences):

China's period of strategic opportunities is nothing but an **international environment** and evolutionary process where world peace is maintained and common development promoted; In terms of **the environment**, China is able to and will inevitably realize the "rise in peace."; Tackling this issue both on the surface and deep down is of extreme importance to securing a favorable **external environment** for China's development;

On the other hand, Japanese politicians should not forget that the war of aggression waged by Japanese militarists led their country to the brink of destruction and that it is the post-war **peaceful environment** that has ensured Japan's rejuvenation and transformed it into the world's second most powerful economy;

China needs a **peaceful environment** for its peaceful rise and a China that rises peacefully will further enhance the peaceful environment in turn;

The new leadership, elected in late 2002, is determined to secure a peaceful international and a stable **domestic environment** to ensure the world's most populous country can seize a rare period of strategic opportunities in the coming 20 years;

China needs a peaceful **global environment** to advance its economic modernization program and to address its own myriad domestic challenges and reform imperatives as a developing country.

These collocations indicated the connections China's rise had with the other parts of the world and informed readers that China's rise could not be achieved without the involvement with the other nations, and China's development was defined to be tranquil and calm because of the conditions which it developed from.

On the first right place of *environment*, there were 8 occurrences of *for*, and they were all connected with the idea about China's rise/development, in the form like *its peaceful rise, China's ascending in peace*:

The new mode for co-operation among the big powers in the field of non-traditional security such as anti-terrorism and anti-proliferation has created a **favourable international political environment for China's rise**;

China needs a **peaceful environment for its peaceful rise** and a China that rises peacefully will further enhance the peaceful environment in turn;

Rifts over territory and water are not the obstacles preventing China from developing good relations and co-operating with its neighbouring countries to build regional security, which has created a **favourable security environment for China's ascending in peace**.

And four occurrences of *to* followed with verbs *ensure*, *develop*, *nurture*, and *advance*:

The new leadership, elected in late 2002, is determined to secure a peaceful international and **a stable domestic environment to ensure** the world's most populous country can seize a rare period of strategic opportunities in the coming 20 years;

Zheng, a key theorist behind the peaceful rise strategy, explains that heping jueqi implies that "China must seek **a peaceful global environment to develop** its economy even as it tries to safeguard world peace through development.";

China is a peace-loving country and the Chinese people long for **a peaceful international environment to nurture** their domestic economic development;

For these reasons, China needs **a peaceful global environment to advance** its economic modernization program and to address its own myriad domestic challenges and reform imperatives as a developing country.

All the use of *environment for* and *environment to* showed the great importance of a peaceful environment, whether that was domestic or international, for China's growth and development.

By studying the use of *environment* from its concordance analysis on both the first left and right side, it was noticed that in most of the cases the word *environment* was used differently from its basic meaning about the natural world we live in like in the example:

Bilateral [China and the EU] exchanges and co-operation in culture, science, technology, education and **the environment** are thriving.

but the word was used to indicate the condition that affects China's growth, and the importance of the favourable conditions for which China was eager to have or was doing its best to create for its development. At the same time, learning from the other nation's (Japan in this case) history of rapid development to emphasise the necessity of a peaceful environment for a nation's growth and success has also been mentioned. That example may suggest that if Japan could enjoy a peaceful environment for its later-on tremendous development, why not China?

It was interesting to find that the word *environment* was used abstractly in most of the cases, where in fact ‘the environment’ in comparison to pollution would normally be expected to feature more in China as elsewhere today. China did not discuss what the West might want it to discuss under the ‘environment’ topic in *China Daily*.

Exchanges

This word *exchanges* had 22 occurrences, and it collocated five times with *cooperation* in the form of *exchanges and cooperation*, three times with *with*, for instance:

“On the space question, we have upheld the peaceful use of outer space and supported the strengthening of international **exchanges and cooperation** on the peaceful use of outer space,” said Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Jiang Yu, earlier;

Bilateral [China and EU] **exchanges and co-operation** in culture, science, technology, education and the environment are thriving.

China has all along stood for the development of diplomatic relations and economic and cultural **exchanges with** all countries and against aggression, hegemony and power politics; All China wants is to share the responsibility of maintaining regional security and the regional space for international **exchanges with** the US;

And four times with *between* in the form of *exchanges between the two countries* (China and Japan), *exchanges between world cultures*, *exchanges between the two militaries* (China and US), and *exchanges between the two nations* (China and US).

The use of *exchanges* in the *China Daily* database showed mutual benefits from China’s development in many areas, and the benefits were enjoyed by both China and the world at large. Similar to previously analysed words *mutual* and *bilateral*, these words all signaled to the world that China’s development was a good thing, from which all parties benefited and thus China’s development should be promoted rather than being constrained.

So far, I have studied keywords in the *China Daily* database in comparison to both



BNC Sampler Written and *The Times* database, and now the focus is shifted to the semantic analysis of the *China Daily* database to look at the key semantic level to explore the key domains my *China Daily* database covers. By following the similar procedures to perform the comparison of the key concepts for the *China Daily* corpus with *BNC Sampler Written* and *The Times* database respectively, with the help of *Wmatrix*, this corpus analysis software package produced the following two tables (Table 4.4 and Table 4.5) on the key semantic features of *China Daily*:

	Item LL	O1	%1	O2	%2
1 List1 Concordance	Z2 1788.40	1990 Geographical names	4.82	14502	1.50 +
2 List1 Concordance	E3+ 835.23	307 Calm	0.74	623	0.06 +
3 List1 Concordance	G1.1 601.44	558 Government	1.35	3542	0.37 +
4 List1 Concordance	W1 515.03	265 The universe	0.64	912	0.09 +
5 List1 Concordance	A2.1+ 427.45	513 Change	1.24	3939	0.41 +

Table 4. 4 Semantic concepts covered by *China Daily* in comparison to *BNC Sampler Written*

	Item LL	O1	%1	O2	%2
1 List1 List2 Concordance	E3+ 111.38	307 Calm	0.74	36	0.16 +
2 List1 List2 Concordance	S8+ 100.43	439 Helping	1.06	81	0.36 +
3 List1 List2 Concordance	A2.1+ 56.99	513 Change	1.24	142	0.63 +
4 List1 List2 Concordance	M7 45.24	612 Places	1.48	196	0.87 +
5 List1 List2 Concordance	S5+ 36.29	305 Belonging to a group	0.74	82	0.37 +

Table 4. 5 Semantic concepts covered by *China Daily* in comparison to *The Times*

I listed the top five semantic topics list of the *China Daily* database from both comparisons and put the two tables together to highlight both differences and similarities existing in them.

In Table 4.4, which contains information about semantic concepts covered by *China Daily* in comparison to *BNC Sampler Written*, the most frequent semantic topic discussed was Geographical Names, the top five words covering this concept in this list were words *China* (887 occurrences), *Chinese* (245 occurrences), *Japan* (83 occurrences), *Tibet* (67 occurrences) and *United States* (65 occurrences), which were in accordance with regional words discussed in Keyword Cloud 1 and showed that “China’s peaceful rise” had close connections with many regions or nations in the world and China could not be isolated from the rest of the world for its development.

The semantic concept ranking the second place in Table 4.4 was Calm, the top five words covering this concept in this list from the *China Daily* database were *peaceful* (166 occurrences), *peace* (100 occurrences), *rest* (12 occurrences), *peacefully* (9 occurrences) and *peacekeeping* (6 occurrences). These words all expressed tranquil and peaceful feeling and they were consistent with the ideas expressed from the *China Daily* database that “China’s peaceful rise” was not creating danger or troubles to the world, but it was a clam and peaceful process.

The next concept covered in Table 4.4 was Government. The first five words appearing in the list on this concept were *country* (137 occurrences), *government* (69 occurrences), *nations* (44 occurrences), *nation* (34 occurrences) and *President* (32 occurrences). The coverage of “China’s peaceful rise” is focused from the national level, which showed the important position the Chinese government has put it on, and also indicated that China’s development concerned not only China, but also other nations from the inclusion of nations, and previously discussed Geographic names. The frequent mention of *President*, standing for either the top leader of the United States, or China or Russia in the *China Daily* database, showed the high level this topic was discussed, which also showed the importance this topic enjoys.

The fourth place in Table 4.4 went to the concept The Universe, all words covered in this list were *world* (249 occurrences), *geopolitical* (8 occurrences), *world-market* (4 occurrences), *global* (2 occurrences), *zenith* (1 occurrence) and *geo-political* (1 occurrence). Obviously, the discussion of “China’s peaceful rise” has been put in an international background. China’s rise was not restricted to China itself, but was

treated as an issue to the world. As analysed previously, it was argued that the feelings from the *China Daily* database that the world was benefiting from China's peaceful rise was indicated.

The fifth place went to the concept Change, and the top five words in this list covering this concept were *development* (213 occurrences), *become* (41 occurrences), *reform* (35 occurrences), *developing* (29 occurrences) and *changes* (19 occurrences). The idea of growth and rise has been seen as the main topic from this group, and from previous analysis of *development* in *China Daily*, I could clearly feel the positive consequences of China's growth to the other nations.

I have seen that when comparing to the general written English, the above mentioned semantic concepts were the top five ones covered by the *China Daily* database: Geographical Names, Calm, Government, The Universe and Change. From the analysis of words appearing under these titles, it was noticed that the *China Daily* database has focused "China's peaceful rise" from the national boundaries to the whole world and this kind of growth was taking place in a peaceful environment. And in Table 4.5, which holds information on semantic concepts covered by *China Daily* in comparison to *The Times*, the most frequent semantic topic discussed was Calm, which was the second concept shown in Table 4.4. This may suggest that in comparison to *The Times*, *China Daily* has focused more on the idea of peace, based on previous analysis which also seemed to be the purpose *China Daily* wanted its articles to convey to the world on the basis of previous analysis.

The second concept appearing in Table 4.5 was Helping, and the top five word connecting with this concept in the *China Daily* database were *cooperation* (101 occurrences), *support* (26 occurrences), *benefit* (20 occurrences), *help* (19 occurrences) and *promote* (18 occurrences). It could be felt from the previous analysis that China's rise was not achieved by its own, but with the close connections and contributions from the world, thus a cooperative relationship with the other nations were important for China. In the meantime, *China Daily* has emphasised heavily on the good things brought by China's rise to the world, so all these ideas could be traced from this concept of Helping.

The next concept shown in Table 4.5 was Change, which was the fifth one in Table 4.4 and has been used to demonstrate the positive effects brought by China's development. Changes were taking place, and they were to be welcomed since that kind of change produced by China's rise was beneficial to all parties concerned as shown from the *China Daily* articles.

The fourth semantic concept covered in the *China Daily* was Places, from which the first five words in the list were *countries* (150 occurrences), *international* (135 occurrences), *foreign* (74 occurrences), *regional* (38 occurrences) and *region* (26 occurrences). Similar to Geographical Names in Table 4.4, this concept put China's development in a context bigger than China's own territory, and extended it out of China to regional or even international boundaries. "China's peaceful rise" was thus considered to be a broad concept since it covered a wide area of places.

The fifth concept in Table 4.5 was Belonging to a group. The top five words found in this list were *bilateral* (33 occurrences), *community* (30 occurrences), *society* (26 occurrences), *organization* (15 occurrences) and *organizations* (12 occurrences). Words *bilateral* and *community* have been analysed before and they helped show that the topic China's rise was not concerned with China only, but was an issue important and beneficial to the other nations too. On the other hand, as this concept--Belonging to a group--shows, China was one member of a group, either the bilateral relationship, or in the international community, China's development could not be isolated from the group it was in.

There were both similarities and differences for the semantic concepts of my *China Daily* database in comparison to *BNC Sampler Written* and *The Times* database, altogether, these semantic concepts helped present the topic of "China's peaceful rise" against the big international world background, and the growth of China has been reported to take place in a peaceful cooperative developing environment, which was beneficial to both China and the other nations. Both the keyword analysis and the semantic concept survey against *BNC Sampler Written* and *The Times* database have confirmed the similar conclusion that China's rise was considered by the *China Daily* database as peaceful and profitable to many parties. China's peaceful rise should be welcomed and promoted, rather than constrained and restricted.

4.2.3 Corpus analysis of *The Times* database

By comparing *The Times* dataset to the *BNC Sampler Written* database, the Keyword Cloud 3 as shown below was obtained:

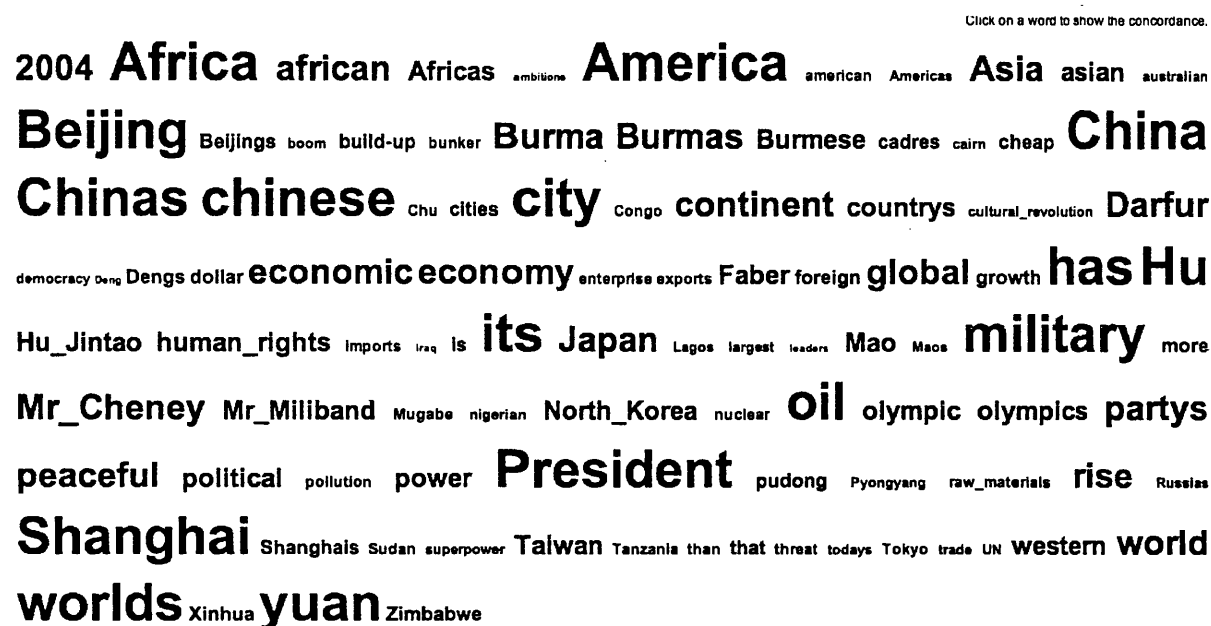


Figure 4. 3 Keyword Cloud 3 (*The Times* database against *BNC Sampler Written*)

As the topic of this research, I have studied the use of *rise* from both newspapers in the beginning of this chapter, so the detailed analysis was not repeated here. I could say that the word *rise* in *The Times* database has been used in a different context from that of the *China Daily* database. In most of the cases, it was seen with examples showing threat, danger and worry from *The Times* database.

Following the similar procedure as that in Section 4.2.3, I started from analysing topic words *peaceful* and *development*. There were altogether 17 occurrences of *peaceful* in *The Times* database, in the form of ‘peaceful development’, ‘peaceful rise’, ‘peaceful intention’, and ‘peaceful nature of its rise’. But by analysing contexts in which they were used, it was found that *The Times* did not intend to deliver the peaceful ideas to its readers, as:

What they hear from Beijing is much rhetoric about China's **peaceful** rise; but what they observe is an intensely secretive, high-speed military build-up, as China converts the lumpen foot-soldiery of the People's Liberation Army into a military machine capable of fighting and winning the high-tech wars of the twenty-first century, projecting air and sea power far beyond Chinese territory under doctrines designed by its military planners to master the strategic configuration of power;

Its **peaceful** rise in Africa is no longer so peaceful;

Aware of the nervousness its rapid economic development is engendering among its neighbours, China has for more than two years engaged in a propaganda offensive to emphasise its **peaceful** rise.

Instead, they were the ironic and quotative uses and feelings of non-peace could be felt after reading these examples. Whether China was really going to rise in a peaceful manner and whether China's rise would turn out to be safe to the world, which seemed to be difficult for readers to agree with what China has proposed.

From the previous analysis in the *China Daily* database, the word *development* had a close connection with *rise* and it could sometimes replace *rise* in the topic, thus the word *development* played an important part in the *China Daily* database. Although the word *development* did not appear in either Keyword Cloud 3 or the comparison between *The Times* and *China Daily*, as a comparative analysis, it may still be meaningful to check how the same word was used in *The Times* database to find out what the differences were between the two newspapers' usages. It was found that the word *development* had altogether 22 occurrences in *The Times* database. Among these 22 occurrences, four of them directly connected with the word *peaceful*:

"China, remember, will continue to pursue a path of **peaceful development**," he said, insisting that his country posed no threat to anyone;

The row coincided with the publication by Beijing of a government White Paper which stressed that China had chosen the path of **peaceful development**;

Their aim, said Xinhua [this is Chinese state news agency], was to "block China's **peaceful development** so as to maintain their established interests in the world arena";

...but vowed it was committed to the **peaceful development** of its 2.3 million-strong military, the world's largest.

The similarity shared by all these four examples, or more specifically, quotations, was that all of them were either directly or indirectly attributed from the Chinese sources. These sentences were not being used neutrally but modalised, to keep *The Times* distant from such statements, not endorsing them. From the contexts where these instances were from, it was not difficult for readers to find disagreement with the idea of “China’s peaceful development” from *The Times* database.

Other usage of *development* in *The Times* were found in:

This is leavened by a sober account of the disorders afflicting **Chinese development**, disorders whose roots lie in the tensions between the market imperatives of growth and the Chinese leadership’s deep reluctance to relinquish control;

Aware of the nervousness its rapid **economic development** is engendering among its neighbours, China has for more than two years engaged in a propaganda offensive to emphasise its peaceful rise;

Let’s put away the toys, grow up and accept the rise of China as a boon for **world development**.

The word *development* was either used to present China’s growth from an unfavorable perspective, or as a neutral word, or positively support China’s rise. Unlike the previously analysed mostly ‘positive’ *development* in the *China Daily* database, the same word has been used in a multifaceted way serving different functions in *The Times*’ reports.

Words representing geographical regions were still noticeable in this Keyword Cloud 3 as that in the Keyword Cloud 1. By following the frequency of the log-likelihood statistic in Keyword Cloud 3, the first word representing geographical regions in the list was *Beijing*:

Beijing

In *The Times* database, 51 out of the 59 appearances of *Beijing* were used to represent the Chinese government, mostly with negative connotations, and eight

cases used as the neutral name of this city, e.g.

Many senators who are firmly in the grip of this China syndrome will be pressing the US Treasury to label **Beijing** a currency cheat in its twice-yearly report to Congress on exchange rates, also due this month, in which it must identify countries that manipulate their currency value to boost their trade unfairly;

Yet Burma's popular uprising is a strong reminder of its own crowd control problems; for **Beijing** is annually confronted by tens of thousands of local protests, some violent;

Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe has hailed China as his second home and praised **Beijing** for its refusal to link aid and investment to human rights or democracy as it scrambles for assets in Africa;

There are bound to be protests on victors' rostrums and on the streets in **Beijing** in August;

There will be 20-30,000 foreign journalists in **Beijing** to report whatever happens.

The use of *Beijing* may indicate that *The Times*' authors were in favour of the application of metonymy to use the capital city of China to represent Chinese government, perhaps political control or centralisation was suggested from those negative presentations.

Africa

There were six occurrences of *Africa*. This word *Africa* has been used in the context of Chinese migration to Africa, China's investment in Africa and China's greed for natural resources. For the usage on migration part:

During the last decade tens of thousands have uprooted themselves from China and migrated to **Africa**, with Chinese-government approval;

One Chinese expert was so bold as to suggest that China needed eventually to send 300m people to **Africa** to solve its problems of over population and pollution.

It could be concluded that encouraging Chinese people going to Africa was a government-supported policy and reasons to do that was to solve China's internal problems of over population and pollution. The truth was not to help promote Africa's development, but to export problems from China and reduce burdens on China's shoulders at home. If that was the case, China's development could not be as

peaceful as China claimed.

As for China's investment in Africa, or maybe more properly, it was seen as invasion to Africa by *The Times*, examples were:

China...began stepping up its presence stealthily in **Africa** in the early 1990s;
Chinese entrepreneurs are invading **Africa** and reviving the fortunes of the world's poorest continent.

These examples presented readers a China of investing in a surreptitious manner rather than being open and aboveboard. At the same time, as the result of China's investment in Africa, it destroyed the local small business. It was not benefits that African people enjoyed from China's investment, but disasters;

For another category of the usage of *Africa* in *The Times* database, China's excessively desirous appetite for natural resources in Africa could be shown from examples:

But the Zimbabwe deals are emblematic of China's refusal to let political criticism stand in the way of its demand for oil, minerals, diamonds and timber from **Africa**;
It may have become the workhouse of the world but it has almost no natural resources of its own to sustain its new dynamic role, and has had no alternative but to seek them out in **Africa**.

Natural resources are the key behind development, which was the reason of China's seemingly kind and generous help to Africa as shown by these examples. Resources are vital to any nation's development in the world. As a continent full of natural resources, China could not afford to overlook Africa and China had to play a role there, which may serve the reason why an author from *The Times* wrote 'Its [China's] "peaceful rise" in Africa is no longer so peaceful'.

From the use of *Africa*, readers from *The Times* were likely to shape the idea of a greedy and irresponsible China. China only cared about its own growth, but ignoring the interests of the other nations in Africa. At least, China's development in Africa

should not be seen as peaceful from these examples.

Shanghai

Shanghai has been used in a different way from *Beijing*. There were no obvious political connections with *Shanghai*, and all its appearances represented the city itself, but they still showed the important position the city Shanghai enjoys in China, especially in terms of economy, e.g.

Ideologically, **Shanghai** was no backwater in the Mao years on the contrary, it was the spawning ground for Mao's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution but economically it stagnated along with the rest of China;

They come from the still impoverished Chinese interior to industrial centres like **Shanghai**, site of the world's first magnetic levitation train in commercial use, and Canton, where millionaires enjoy exotic dishes of abalone costing 120 each.

As a famous international city and economic harbour in China, it was not surprising for *The Times* to mention Shanghai when discussing the topic of "China's peaceful rise". The city Shanghai is seen as a commercial centre or free market forces, and that might make the West more comfortable with its idea of 'Shanghai' than with 'Beijing'.

America

From the 33 appearances of *America*, it was noticed that China always cast its shadow in these examples. Sometimes America was challenged on its own by China, and sometimes with allies like Europe, and these challenges were on both economy and politics.

Like it or not, China's growing economic presence in Africa is a reality that Europe and **America** have to face;

In particular, senators on Capitol Hill, with one cynical eye on November's US mid-term elections, will be turning up the heat on the White House over the alleged undervaluation of the Chinese yuan currency and the role this plays in the flood of cheap Chinese imports into **America**;

A new superpower is fuelling global recovery and could overtake **America** by 2015;
Hu Jintao, China's new President, confirmed this strategy by visiting Russia not **America** on his first foreign trip last year;
He calls for an end to finger-pointing between **America**, Europe and Asia and urges co-operation to rebalance the world economy.

From articles written by *The Times*, readers from the West may worry that a developing China has already created so many challenges to the currently most powerful nation in the world, what consequences would be if China rises in the future. Feelings of uncertainty and worries might have been created in the readers' minds after seeing a rising China.

Burma

The next geographical region name more significantly used in *The Times* than in the *BNC Sampler Written* was *Burma*. It had altogether 16 appearances in *The Times* database. It was learnt from their usages that *The Times* was criticising China on the issue concerning Burma. Examples were:

...as Russia's use of its energy weapon is reminding Europeans, supposedly responsible powers can behave pretty badly, and over Darfur, Iran and **Burma**, China has already demonstrated just how unscrupulous it can be when the international good conflicts with its narrower interests;

If democracy is good for **Burma**, after all, why not for China;

China's continued insistence is that it does not intervene in **Burma's** "internal affairs". This is hogwash.

Although these examples were mainly from two articles, it was still revealing when comparing to the *China Daily* database since *Burma* was not mentioned at all in the *China Daily* database. Different focuses of these two newspapers can be shown clearly. All these examples from *The Times* showed that China had a close relationship with Burma and has influences over Burmese government. But China decided not to involve itself inside due to China's narrow interests. China faced similar problem as Burma did, if China criticised Burma, how shall China react to its own problems? *The Times* articles considered Burma as a closely connected topic

with China's rise, so it was not difficult to arrive at the critical point of view regarding *The Times'* attitude towards this topic of "China's peaceful rise" that China was not a responsible nation in the international affairs, like promoting democracy and human rights in Burma.

Unlike the coverage of *Burma* in *The Times*, it was found that there was no occurrence of *Burma* in my *China Daily* database at all, which suggested that *China Daily* did not want to discuss the topic of Burma and chose not to cover it. This reminded me of discussion on *Tibet* in my *China Daily* database, and no use of *Tibet* was found from *The Times* database, which seemed to say that the Tibet issue was a topic *The Times* might be reluctant to report when discussing China as shown from my database. That could be seen as one evidence of newspapers' different focuses when reporting the topic of "China's peaceful rise".

Japan

The 22 occurrences of *Japan* have been seen in *The Times* database mainly in three categories: about alliance relationship between the US and Japan, economic status of Japan in the world, and Japan's natural resources consumption:

Beijing officials already describe the US alliance with **Japan** as a long-term threat to China's security;

Having reassured **Japan** that it gave high priority to its demand for the return of Japanese kidnapped by North Korea, the US supported a document last week that made no mention of them;

Beijing's foreign reserves top \$400 billion, second only to **Japan**;

China depends on coal, the unwashed, sulphur-belching variety, to meet 70 per cent of its primary energy demand, and already burns more coal than the US, Europe and **Japan** together;

This is just the start: the Chinese Academy of Engineering reports that, in the next fifteen years, China will need as much additional power from all sources as the US developed in the past half-century even if its industries can be compelled to curb wastage so profligate that each unit of output consumes 50 per cent more energy in China than in India, and ten times more than in **Japan**.

Japan has been used in contexts closely connecting with the US and that kind of alliance relationship was viewed by the Chinese government as a threat from *The Times*' reports. Also the important economic position Japan enjoyed in the world could not be ignored even though China has developed rapidly. Japan's consumption of natural resources has been used as a comparison to that of China to show a sharp contrast about the great demand China needed for its own development and also the serious pollution caused by China's development to the environment may be felt. Unlike *Japan* in the *China Daily* database that has been used in many times in the context of China asking Japan not to forget the history, there was only one instance of reminding *The Times*' readers about Japan's invasion of China:

Ravaged by Western powers, including Britain, invaded by **Japan** and tormented by warlords and the worst excesses of Maoism, the Chinese missed out on both stability and prosperity for more than 150 years.

In this example, it provided the reasons for China to lag behind the times, which were not only from the external, like from the UK and Japan, but also from the internal, China's Maoism. In that case, the West should not be blamed solely, and China needed look closely at itself as well.

All these usage of *Japan* in *The Times* told readers a different story from that of the same word in the *China Daily* database. Japan was more neutrally reported in *The Times* dataset.

Darfur

The ten occurrences of *Darfur* in *The Times* database could be found in instances:

The trip came only days after the Hollywood director Steven Spielberg resigned as an artistic adviser to the Olympics in protest at the failure of China to pressure Sudan over **Darfur**;

In Sudan, China's strategic interest in securing oil supplies has led it repeatedly to block any efforts by the United Nations Security Council to intervene in the conflict in **Darfur**, where aid agencies say a human catastrophe has occurred;

But as part of the deal, the Chinese are selling Khartoum arms, effectively underwriting the

war effort in **Darfur**.

Similar to examples on *Burma*, these examples helped depict another image of an irresponsible China. When it came to China's narrow interests, China did not care about the other nations' basic human rights issue and had no view of merits at all. As a consequence, if a nation like China became powerful in the future, what could the rest of the world expect China to do? And how could world justice be maintained? It was a serious worry placed in front of *The Times*' readers.

North Korea

The nine occurrences of *North Korea* in *The Times* database were used in the context of North Korea nuclear issue and Japanese kidnapped by North Korea, which seemed to have no direct connections with China and China's rise. However, in terms of the geopolitics of the region where North Korea is from, in most people's schemas, China is an important ally of North Korea. In consequence, China is expected to share some responsibility of nuclear and kidnapping issues happened in North Korea, and that could be the reason why North Korea has been introduced as one topic when reporting China's rise in *The Times*. Once again, China could be viewed by the reader as an irresponsible nation.

Taiwan

Taiwan was used 12 times in *The Times* database. It was found in instances expressing worries about the Taiwan security with the threat from China:

Beijing admitted in late December that it was strengthening its defences to thwart any attempt by **Taiwan** to push for independence, but vowed it was committed to the peaceful development of its 2.3 million-strong military, the world's largest;

It not only has 830 missiles aimed at **Taiwan**, but has or is developing ground-launched cruise missiles and three strategic missile systems, including the 8,000-mile road-mobile Dongfeng-31A able to reach the US;

China's ambitions avowedly go beyond the recovery of **Taiwan**, to winning informationised wars by the mid-21st century.

All these examples exposed Taiwan under China's threat and challenge, and the safety and security of Taiwan could not be guaranteed as shown from these articles from *The Times*. *Taiwan* was also used in the context regarding the involvement of the US in the Taiwan issue:

The issue of **Taiwan** lies at the heart of Sino-American relations since Beijing has said that it will retake the island, which it sees as a renegade province, by force if necessary while the United States is committed by treaty obligations to the island's defence;

Washington has chided **Taiwan**, which remains a potential source of conflict, for holding an anti-Beijing referendum.

In these instances, the US was put in the position of protecting Taiwan from China's threat due to its commitment to Taiwan, which presented the US a figure with responsibility, also helping maintain the security balance of the region by blaming Taiwan for the wrong thing it has done. Both examples helped depict a responsible US and an aggressive China.

All together the appearance of *Taiwan* in *The Times* database mainly showed the potential challenge and threats from China over Taiwan and even the US, which was against the peaceful development slogan proposed by China.

Zimbabwe

At the time of writing, the country *Zimbabwe* was not a favoured nation in the Western politicians' eyes. The ten occurrences of this country in the writing of "China's peaceful rise", in other words, to closely connect Zimbabwe with China in *The Times*' reports, I could expect readers' unfavourable feelings to China deriving from China's closeness with this country:

Chinese diplomats have also frustrated any UN sanctions against either Sudan or **Zimbabwe**;

...the **Zimbabwe** deals are emblematic of China's refusal to let political criticism stand in the way of its demand for oil, minerals, diamonds and timber from Africa.

These examples showed that China was protecting Zimbabwe from being punished by the international justice, and reasons behind was China's desire for natural resources from the country China protected. Readers may consider that China should take the moral stance if it was a world leader, and what China has done was not to be welcomed.

Tanzania, Congo, Sudan

In *The Times*, there was more coverage of concrete African country names than the *China Daily* database. This was in accordance with the later-on semantic analysis noticing that natural resources was a favourable topic to *The Times* database and these resources were from Africa. In addition to previously analysed *Darfur* and *Zimbabwe*, I also found *Tanzania*, *Congo* and *Sudan*.

Examples of these words showed what China's development was really about in Africa and what China's development has brought to these African countries and the world:

In **Tanzania**, for example, the scene of China's great railway triumph, the country's only flip-flop factory is dying;

While 6 of every 10 trees cut down belong to China, the WWF estimates that two-thirds of the forests in the **Congo** basin the second largest expanse of tropical forest in the world after Amazonia could disappear in 50 years if exploitation continues at this rate;

Mr Miliband's plea came at the end of an official six-day trip to China, amid heightened controversy in its Olympic year about its failure to put pressure on **Sudan** to end the killing in Darfur;

Neighbouring Burma puts to the test, far more sharply than China's cossetting of more distant Zimbabwe, Uzbekistan, **Sudan** and Iran, the pledge, implicit in Hu Jintao's peaceful rise, that China will use its power responsibly.

This could be interpreted as China's rise meant destruction of local business, robbery of natural resources, and even further deterioration of human rights record in Africa. Clearly, China's development was not peaceful, but on the other hand, it was

bringing disaster to people in Africa according to *The Times* database.

After studying words representing geographical names in Keyword Cloud 3, very different ideas behind these words were sensed in comparison to that of the *China Daily* database. In the *China Daily* database, words representing geographical names in general supported China on its development and emphasise on mutual benefits brought by China's peaceful development to the others. But in *The Times* database, it seemed to be different that China's development has been viewed as not peaceful and it was not bringing peace and tranquility to the other parts of the world, especially countries in Africa from my data collection, but worries, concerns and even troubles. Different contexts behind these geographical names showed from one point the different attitudes these two newspapers had towards the topic of "China's peaceful rise".

After studying the Keyword Cloud 3, I compared *The Times* database against the *China Daily* database and obtained the Keyword Cloud 4:

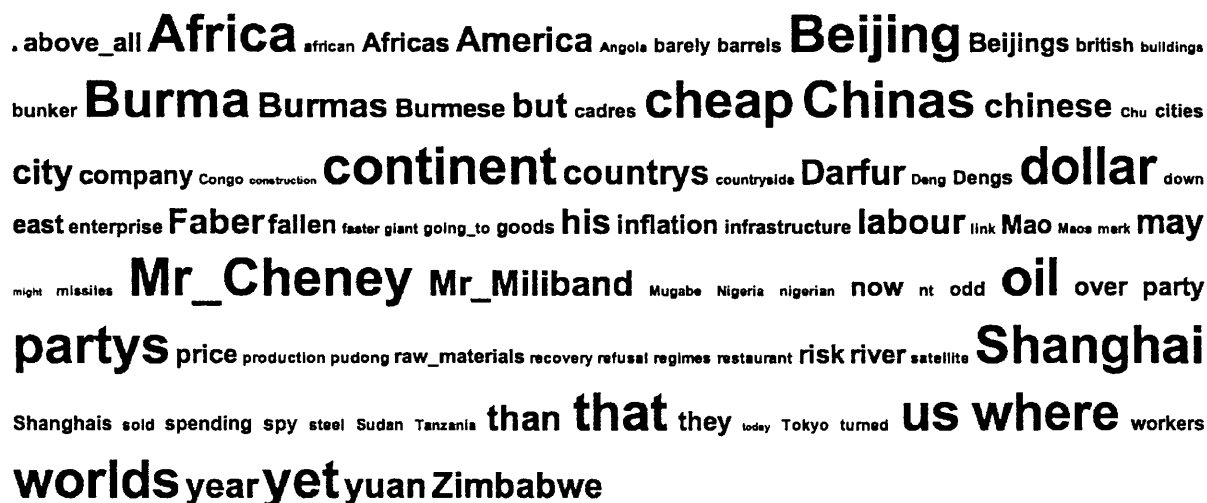


Figure 4. 4 Keyword Cloud 4 (*The Times* database against *China Daily* database)

In Keyword Cloud 4, the most significant key item is *China's*. From the analysis about *China's*, the use of *China's rise* or *China's development* only have nine occurrences among its 117 appearances. So this category of usage was not the majority. *China's* has been used in many cases in the context of oil, Africa, raw

materials, military and trade issues:

China's massive appetite for raw materials such as leather and iron ore has sparked a mini-boom in Brazil;

Current trends in **China's** military modernization could provide China with a force capable of prosecuting a range of military operations in Asia, well beyond Taiwan, potentially posing a credible threat to modern militaries in the area;

...the recently appointed Japanese Foreign Minister condemned the secrecy surrounding **China's** rising military spending;

Beijing's officials already describe the US alliance with Japan as "a long-term threat to **China's** security";

In Sudan, **China's** strategic interest in securing oil supplies has led it repeatedly to block any efforts by the United Nations Security Council to intervene in the conflict in Darfur, where aid agencies say a human catastrophe has occurred;

Dick Cheney, the US Vice-President, has expressed unease over **China's** growing military might, warning that its recent testing of anti-satellite weapons clashed with the country's professed peaceful intentions'.

These examples from *The Times* database indicated a worrying and frightening world with a fast-growing, but irresponsible China, and China's military growth was also a concern to many countries in the world. As a consequence, China's development was not bringing peace to the world according to reports analysed from *The Times* database.

World's

From analysis done in Section 4.2.2, I found that *China Daily* preferred to present "China's peaceful rise" in an international context and put it on the world stage, in Keyword Cloud 4, *world's* was on the top of the list with 26 occurrences. The use of *world's* was able to ask readers to look at China's rise from a global view and to evaluate China's influence in the entire world. Among the 26 uses of *world's* in *The Times* database, 14 examples had direct connections with China, for instance:

...the **world's fastest-growing** economy;

...make it the **world's third-biggest** defence spender after the United States and Russia;

China's emergence as the **world's factory** has generally been beneficial;
China's emergence as an economic power house that will soon become the **world's chief** trading nation;
China may already be the **world's biggest** emitter of greenhouse gases;
...it has committed to the peaceful development of its 2.3 million-strong military, the **world's largest**.

Whether it was environmental pollution or economic achievements, or military size and spending, all of those examples directly put China on the world stage to present China as a globally powerful and aggressive nation. The application of superlative degree (e.g. *fastest, biggest, largest*) has made China's image more extraordinary.

There were also six examples which indirectly connect to China to represent China's influence in the international world, for instance:

China, which now foresees annual trade with the **world's** poorest continent totaling \$100 billion (£50 billion) by 2010;

The discrepancies between the **world's** awed assumptions about China's 'unstoppable' rise and the anxieties voiced in its burgeoning think tanks and universities have long seemed odd; Chinese entrepreneurs are invading Africa and reviving the fortunes of the **world's** poorest continent.

Although connections between China and the world in these examples were not explicitly written, from their contexts it was not difficult to learn about China's influence in Africa, China's greed for natural resources in Africa and China's great production capacity all over the world. From all these examples both directly and indirectly connecting with China, I could conclude that *The Times* put China in an international sphere to talk about China's rise, to write about China's potential development in the near future. All of these descriptions contributed to present a China that is becoming field leading in many areas and challenging the current world order. In that case, it was difficult for readers from *The Times* to consider the process of change as peaceful.

Oil

The word *oil* was used measurably more often in *The Times* database and appeared as the sixth significant keyword in the list. When talking about China's rise, *The Times* habitually referred to the topic of natural resources. The recognition about the overuse of the word *oil* as shown in the list was helpful to support the idea that *The Times* tended to connect oil with China's development to present the importance of oil as the power of China's rise, and also China's demand for obtaining more oil from Africa was depicted from this word's usage. The threat to the West was partly competition for natural resources.

Threat

In Keyword Cloud 3, the word *threat* appeared; in Keyword Cloud 4, the word *risk* showed. I have studied how these two words *threat* and *risk* were used in the *China Daily* database, and the next section is devoted to the study of these two words in *The Times* database. There were 13 occurrences of *threat* in *The Times* database. There was only one example found in *The Times* database to show worries deriving from China:

Beijing officials already describe the US alliance with Japan as “a long-term **threat** to China's security”.

And the rest were all showing to the reader that the creation of threat was made from China:

To them, China is both a **threat** and a saviour: a buyer of luxury imports as well as a low-cost competitor and a potential bully, yet a counterweight to America;

“Current trends in China's military modernisation could provide China with a force capable of prosecuting a range of military operations in Asia, well beyond Taiwan, potentially posing a credible **threat** to modern militaries in the area,” the report said;

Mr Aso, who has strong nationalist views, referred to the “perception that China is becoming a major **threat**”.

All these examples showed the direction of threat was from China, and China was creating tensions and worries to the others. The use of *threat* may indicate from *The*

Times database that the West was worrying about China's development more than China's fear towards challenges from the outside world to China.

From examples analysed in both *China Daily* and *The Times* databases, it was learnt that the word *threat* was used in the majority of the time to introduce worries from the West on China's development and those worries were in various fields, economy, military or politics. In general, the authors argued for China to challenge those threat remarks about "China's peaceful rise" from the West in the *China Daily* database, and *The Times* articles helped spread the threatening feelings the West had concerning China's peaceful rise to its readers.

Risk

In *The Times* database, there were ten occurrences of the word *risk*, for instance:

Recession would be a real **risk**;

The discrepancies between the world's awed assumptions about China's 'unstoppable' rise and the anxieties voiced in its burgeoning think tanks and universities have long seemed odd, as has the blindness of financial analysts to **risk** factors that would, in any other country, strike them quite forcibly;

But for China the **risk** of embarrassment is greatly outweighed by the chance to celebrate the country's re-emergence as a great global power.

There were similar examples as that in my *China Daily* database focusing on financial danger to all countries concerned, but also there was specific danger for China. This word *risk* did not present a negative picture for China in the *China Daily* database. By analysing both words from both newspapers, the word *risk* was not a strong word in terms of its usage in comparison to *threat* in my two newspaper databases. *Risk* emerges from events and situations, there is no obvious agent for this word. *Risk* in *The Times* database was used to warn of the possibility of something negative happening in the future and the fearful idea was not very obvious and *risk* was used in a more general way without pointing to a specific party, for instance to China. While the word *threat* presented a different picture as shown in *The Times* database, which presented the immediate danger has being posed to relevant parties.

Also, *threat* has an agent, and someone threatens someone else and it was more focusing on China as shown in my databases.

Till this stage, I have studied keywords in *The Times* database in comparison to both the *BNC Sampler Written* and the *China Daily* database. I have noticed that keywords from this database on the topic of “China’s peaceful rise” were used in different contexts in comparison to the *China Daily* database, and the reports did not advocate the development of China as much as *China Daily* does, but in many instances warned the West and the world that China’s development may cause troubles and tensions to them, thus China’s rise was not a peaceful process and did not mean peace and prosperity to the others either. After studying keywords, the focus now shifts to the semantic concepts covered by *The Times* database by comparing against the *BNC Sampler Written* and the *China Daily* database respectively, to read out significant semantic information conveyed by *The Times*. Table 4.6 below was about semantic concepts covered by *The Times* in comparison to *BNC Sampler Written*.

	Item	O1	%1	O2	%2
1 List1	Z2	1294	5.76	14502	1.50 +
Concordance	1511.88	Geographical names			
2 List1	G1.1	224	1.00	3542	0.37 +
Concordance	160.32	Government			
3 List1	W1	99	0.44	912	0.09 +
Concordance	143.63	The universe			
4 List1	A13	18	0.08	0	0.00 +
Concordance	136.34	Degree			
5 List1	I1.3-	74	0.33	780	0.08 +
Concordance	92.88	Cheap			

Table 4. 6 Semantic concepts covered by *The Times* in comparison to *BNC Sampler Written*

In Table 4.6, the first five concepts covered were Geographical names, Government, The Universe, Degree and Cheap. Three out of the five concepts in Table 4.6 were the same as that of previous study of Table 4.4: Z2 Geographical names, G1.1 Government and W1 The universe, which showed that in comparison to the *BNC Sampler Written*, both the *China Daily* and *The Times* databases have similarities in

the coverage of the topic “China’s peaceful rise”, however different angles in terms of actual usage in which these concepts appear. *The Times* has also spent a large portion of its reports on Geographical names, the first five words shown in this list were *China* (257 occurrences), *Chinese* (201 occurrences), *China’s* (109 occurrences), *Africa* (60 occurrences) and *Beijing* (59 occurrences). From the previous analysis of these geographical names, it is felt that *The Times* has connected worries, concerns and uncertainty with these nations in the context of “China’s peaceful rise”, in other words, China’s rise may not bring peace to these nations or regions, which was different from the peaceful proposition by China as shown from the *China Daily* database.

When discussing the topic of The Universe, “China’s peaceful rise” has been staged on the global platform by *The Times*, such as word *world’s* (26 occurrences) used here. I have studied *world’s* and found that challenges from China to the world could be felt from its application in these *The Times’* articles. Repeatedly, similar concepts conveyed varied ideas to readers from these two newspapers.

Differences between Table 4.4 (Semantic concepts covered by *China Daily* in comparison to *BNC Sampler Written*) and Table 4.6 (Semantic concepts covered by *The Times* in comparison to *BNC Sampler Written*) were: Calm and Change were the remaining two concepts in Table 4.4, while Degree and Cheap were the two left in Table 4.6. When comparing to the same reference corpus, these different concepts were presented, which also suggested that those concepts were the different focuses these two newspapers have put on reporting “China’s peaceful rise”:

Under the concept title Degree, word *as* with 18 occurrences was the only one listed in this group. Examples are:

Some Chinese enterprises have turned out to be just **as** greedy and cut-throat as their old Western counterparts, with behaviour on the margins of legality;
China will need as much additional power from all sources **as** the US developed in the past half- century even if its industries can be compelled to curb wastage so profligate that each unit of output consumes 50 per cent more energy in China than in India, and ten times more than in Japan;

China makes twice as much steel as the US, a quarter of the world's entire production, and more laptops than any other nation.

The use of *as* in these cases showed comparisons *The Times* database made between China and the others. From them, readers may notice the great demand on resources from China to support its development, and also the potential negative effects a greedy China may produce for the world.

The other concept different from that in Table 4.4 was Cheap. The top five words in this list were *economic* (49 occurrences), *cheap* (12 occurrences), *low-cost* (3 occurrences), *undervalued* (2 occurrences), *cheapness* (1 occurrence). To my understanding, the inclusion of *economic* may be a mistake in this group since the title Cheap seemed to suggest the word *economical* rather than *economic*. But the inclusion of *cheap* may be able to suggest what kind of meaning *The Times* wanted to send out to its readers:

Chinese workers, a **cheap** and seemingly limitless resource;
...flood of **cheap** Chinese imports into America;
...he cannot compete with **cheap** Chinese imports sold for less than cost price.

The use of *cheap* helped stick a label in Chinese product and its labour resources. *The Times* was talking about China's rise, the overuse of *cheap* could emphasise the decisive factor for China's development and at the same time, a feeling of low quality about China's product could not be ignored either.

Both similarities and differences could be seen from the comparison of Table 4.4 and Table 4.6. In Table 4.7, it showed the semantic concepts covered by *The Times* database in comparison to the *China Daily* database:

	Item LL	O1	%1	O2	%2
1 List1 List2 Concordance	O1.1 77.40	57	0.25	8	0.02 +
		Substances and materials: Solid			
2 List1 List2 Concordance	I1 64.63	111	0.49	58	0.14 +
		Money generally			
3 List1 List2 Concordance	O1.2 58.96	50	0.22	10	0.02 +
		Substances and materials: Liquid			
4 List1 List2 Concordance	H1 43.10	90	0.40	55	0.13 +
		Architecture, houses and buildings			
5 List1 List2 Concordance	I2.2 36.94	152	0.68	136	0.33 +
		Business: Selling			

Table 4.7 Semantic concepts covered by *The Times* in comparison to *China Daily*

When comparing Table 4.7 with Table 4.5 (Semantic concepts covered by *China Daily* in comparison to *The Times*), which showed the semantic concepts covered by *The Times* database in comparison to the *China Daily* database, I found no similarities. The first impression from Table 4.7 was that *The Times* has devoted a large amount of its reports to concrete things, like materials either solid or liquid, money and buildings, which may suggest that *The Times* had a preference of covering the topic of “China’s peaceful rise” from the point of economy and resources, and that was far different from the top five concepts in Table 4.5: Calm, Helping, Change, Places and Belonging to a group.

Under the first concept in Table 4.7, Substances and materials: Solid, the first five words in this list were *China’s* (8 occurrences), *steel* (5 occurrences), *copper* (4 occurrences), *coal* (4 occurrences) and *iron* (3 occurrences). As the title suggests, they are all about solid natural resources. These words appeared in the context of China’s demand for natural resources from Africa. If these concrete materials became focus of *The Times* on “China’s peaceful rise”, it may not be hard for the reader to connect natural resources with China’s growth. Based on previous keywords analysis in *The Times* database, the negative presentation of China’s greed over Africa’s resources definitely damaged China’s proposed peaceful image. However, the word *Chinas* should not appear in this group and it has been misunderstood by the software as the plural form of *china*. Similarly, inside the list about Substances and materials: Solid, *Terracotta Army* appeared, and also the name of a person *Wood*.

These should have been cleaned from the list and the researcher expects to be able to find methods of excluding those distracting factors in the latter further study of the application of *Wmatrix*.

The second concept covered in Table 4.7 is Money generally, *yuan* (17 occurrences), *dollar* (14 occurrences), *financial* (12 occurrences), *currency* (9 occurrences) and *money* (7 occurrences) were the first five words in this list. The significant semantic information sent from *The Times* was that it focused a great deal on the economic aspect of China's development and money was a very important issue when talking about China's rise.

The third concept in Table 4.7 was about Substances and materials: Liquid. The first five words used in this list were *oil* (37 occurrences), *water* (4 occurrences), *petroleum* (2 occurrences), *oil company* (2 occurrences) and *crude oil* (1 occurrence). I have studied the word *oil* in the previous paragraphs and it showed that China needed more oil to fuel its development and this may lead to competition with the West on the limited natural resources. Together with the first concept Substances and materials: Solid discussed earlier, *The Times* has connected the discussion of "China's peaceful rise" closely with natural resources, and from the context analysed previously, the unwelcoming feelings from these concepts could be felt.

Architecture, houses and buildings has been found as the fourth concept Table 4.7. First five words used under this concept were *built* (11 occurrences), *construction* (9 occurrences), *building* (8 occurrences), *buildings* (5 occurrences) and *build* (4 occurrences). China was like a big construction site and new buildings were constructed both in China and outside by Chinese workers, these words used in the following contexts:

Built by 50,000 Chinese and costing \$500m, it was the largest foreign-aid project undertaken by China at that time;

Estimates that China accounts for half of all **construction** activity on the planet may not be wide of the mark;

For everything else, they rely on the 30,000 Chinese immigrants who've turned the country into a **building** site.

China's rapid development has been demonstrated via these constructions happening inside and outside China. A powerful China with great momentum has been presented to the West.

The fifth concept covered in Table 4.7 was Business: Selling. The first five words found from the list are *trade* (19 occurrences), *market* (15 occurrences), *exports* (9 occurrences), *imports* (8 occurrences) and *markets* (8 occurrences). The applications of these words put the topic "China's peaceful rise" in an environment of dealing with business, which may be in accordance with the second concept in Table 4.7 covering Money. Influence on economy might be the focus this newspaper wants to put on.

The semantic messages sent by these concepts from *The Times* were that an economic perspective was an important issue when talking about China's rise, like the topics on money and business. At the same time, natural resources, no matter solid or liquid, were also key areas for *The Times* to focus when reporting the development of China. When I compared Table 4.5 and Table 4.7, a sharp difference was realised. *China Daily* database tried to put the topic of China's rise in an obviously tranquil and calm atmosphere to show the cooperation and mutual benefits gained from "China's peaceful rise", while in *The Times*, it was hardly noticeable for readers to find clues about peace, but very realistic issues like money and natural resources, which seemed to inform readers that those were focuses China put on in its process of becoming stronger. Two very different pictures were presented after reading from the semantic level comparisons.

4.3 Summary

With the help of online BNC, *Wmatrix* and *WordSmith Tools*, from the quantitative analysis of the *China Daily* and *The Times* newspaper databases, I have studied keywords' usages in contexts in detail. With the semantic level study of the two databases, I have also been able to notice the key domains different newspapers

cover and their emphasis in reporting the topic of “China’s peaceful rise”. In this chapter, I have been enabled to be relatively objective to study language use with guidance and hints provided by information gained via software tools and found that *China Daily* and *The Times* held different views when conducting their competing reports: *China Daily* used more words than *The Times* to show the idea of mutual benefits and peace, e.g. *co-operation*, *exchanges* and *mutual*, to construct a more favorable attitude to the topic of “China’s peaceful rise” and presented it from a more positive aspect, while *The Times* did not present the same positive picture of China, and it was sometimes standing in opposition to *China Daily* by focusing more on China’s irresponsibility in the international society and consequences of China’s rise. *The Times’* focus has been put on words representing natural resources, like *oil* and *copper* and also words standing for geographical names have been used in very different contexts among the two newspapers, e.g. *Tibet* had no appearance in *The Times* and *Burma* could not be found in *China Daily*, Iraq has been used by *China Daily* to criticise the US, and many African countries’ names were covered by *The Times* to support its writing that China is greedy for natural resources. All these findings could help support the two different angles *China Daily* and *The Times* held in reporting “China’s peaceful rise”. In fact, the above mentioned differences could be found from the semantic level analysis as well. So both keywords analysis and key concepts study helped reveal differences between the two newspapers in the corpus analysis.

As in Baker’s comments that corpus analysis is ‘removing bias, testing hypotheses, identifying norms and raising new research questions’ (2006: 183), the detailed corpus study of these two newspapers’ databases from different levels served as basis for my next stage, critical discourse analysis. With the hints provided and information revealed from the corpus analysis, in the next chapter, I report the qualitative analysis.

Chapter Five Critical Discourse Analysis

In the previous chapter, I have studied the *China Daily* and *The Times* databases with the help of corpus analysis software packages, and noticed the patterns of the English language used in both databases, and also the frequent semantic domains these two newspapers have focused on when reporting the topic “China’s peaceful rise”. Findings from the corpus analysis carried out in the last chapter have shown that the two newspapers held varied opinions regarding the topic of “China’s peaceful rise”, and the same topic has been reported from different angles with different ideological effects on readers. On the basis of findings and hints generated from the corpus analysis, in this chapter I study the two newspaper databases from a qualitative approach to deepen previous conclusions drawn from the corpus analysis and to explain and analyse the power behind the texts in the social and political contexts in which they are used with the help of Jeffries’s ‘Critical Stylistics’ framework (2010).

5.1 Critical Discourse Analysis of *China Daily* database

It has been mentioned in Chapter Three ‘Methodology’ that in dealing with the qualitative analysis of the *China Daily* and *The Times* databases, Jeffries’s ‘Critical Stylistics’ (2010) framework has been applied. I used the following tools: Naming and Describing, Representing Actions/Events/States, Equating and Contrasting, Prioritizing, Negating, Hypothesizing, Presenting Others’ Speech and Thoughts, and Representing Time, Space and Society, to develop my analysis.

In this section, I started by analysing a representative text from the *China Daily* database by applying analytical tools suggested by Jeffries (2010). Selection criteria of this representative article were provided below.

From analysing articles from the *China Daily* database, it was noticed that the majority of the articles pay attention to inform the idea of peace from China’s development and sometimes problems existing in China were covered to prove

China's incapacity to challenge the other nations. This article *Nation rising in peace* was such an article covering both aspects to explain to the reader what "China's peaceful rise" means and how China rises in a peaceful manner. This article appeared on page six in *China Daily* under the section of *Opinion*. This reminds readers that this was a piece of soft news or commentary and an author's personal opinion was expected from it. Conboy, though with primary reference to the Western press, observes that 'The opinion pieces, often by prominent and professionally controversial columnists, exist to provoke reaction and response and to generate debate around issues close to the institutional core of the newspaper's own news values' (2007: 9). So we could read this article to find out how the debate was carried out through newspaper article. The author of this piece was Zheng Bijian, who was the former Vice Principal of the Central Party School of the Chinese Communist Party and first used the expression "China's peaceful rise" in his speech given in November 2003 during the Boao Forum for Asia. As the principal originator of the principle "China's peaceful rise", Zheng's 'prominent' background equipped him a better and more comprehensive understanding of this idea, which was hoped to be traced from his writings. From the background information about the author, it could be thought that this article might not show solely personal perspective, but contained some useful information about "China's peaceful rise" and wanted to spread these ideas among readers even if this article was published in the opinion section. For reasons given above, this article was selected as the representative article for analysis. Full text can be found in Appendix III.

In this article *Nation rising in peace*, the author used nouns *boom* and *achievements* to describe what China has achieved in its development. These achievements were supported by figures and facts listed by the author, in most of the cases, via comparison, to show the tremendous growth China has achieved, for example, 'China accounted for less than 1 per cent of the world economy in 1978. Its share has now grown to 4 per cent', 'In 1978, China's total foreign trade volume was US\$20.6 billion. Last year, it was US\$851.2 billion, 40 times as much and ranking fourth in the world'. These examples formed contrasts in meaning and compared China's economic status in 1978 to what the economic status was like today. From these comparisons, the readers were able to see a clear picture about China's economic success. By contrasting, after detailing these achievements, the author has also

presented difficulties China faced in its development, e.g. 'China has a population of 1.3 billion. Any small difficulty in its economic and social development, multiplied by this figure, could become a huge problem. Any considerable amount of financial and material resources, divided buy the 1.3 billion also makes only a tiny handful in per capita terms'. In this example, *small* and *huge*, and *considerable amount* and *tiny handful* constructed two pairs of antonyms and indicate the difficulties in China's development. Through comparison, the reader could understand these challenges and difficulties more easily. In addition, contrastive indicators *but* and *however* in this article helped shape contrasts between China's success in economic development and its relative weakness in terms of world economy, e.g. 'But economic growth alone cannot clearly show the real picture of a country's development', 'As an economic power with a tangible growth rate, China's economy in 2003, however, was still just one-seventh of that of the United States in aggregate terms, and one third of that of Japan'. Opposition created by these syntactic triggers informed the reader two aspects of China: one is China's overall economic achievements, the other one is China in terms of per capita terms. These comparisons were able to show to the reader that China was experiencing an unbalanced development and there were a number of issues for China to deal with. The implication of these oppositions might be that China still needed to walk a long way before it really became powerful and the peaceful environment was important for its own growth as well. Thus, there was no reason for China to challenge the existing world order. Moreover, opposition in this article has also been used in the form of negated opposition (*X, not Y*) to compare two different routes of China's development, e.g. 'Accompanying China on its route to this destination will be international community opportunities, *not threats*', and replacive opposition (e.g. *instead of*) in 'As an emerging power, China will acquire capital, technology and resources for its modernization drive through peaceful means, such as opening up to the rest of the world - namely, integrating itself into, *instead of* detaching itself from, economic globalization.' The negated opposition example put the idea of threat in a negative context to highlight the idea of opportunities gained from China's development; the replacive opposition example also compared the two approaches available to China for its development and the selection made by China was integration into global economy. These oppositions made China's choice for its development clearer to the reader: non-confrontational and cooperation. Apart from opposition, this article also used negative particle *not*,

negative pronoun *no* and inherently negative word *lack* in many cases. In ‘China does *not* seek hegemony and predominance’, negative particle *not* put China in a position against hegemony and predominance. By using the negative presentation, the author intended to emphasise China’s intention of peaceful development. In ‘China is *not* the only country that is rising peacefully’, the negative particle made China part of a group, rather than a special case different from the others. In other words, China’s peaceful rise was *not* a rare case and there were other nations having experienced the similar process. In that case, the world needed not worry too much about China. In example ‘On the other, it must *not* depend too much on the world market’, the negative particle *not* highlighted the importance of independence for China’s development and from the context where this sentence was from it could be learnt that the author was confident about China’s capability of resolving its own problems. In the following two examples, ‘The country should spare *no* effort to achieve this goal, but it will at the same time *not* stand any moves for “Taiwan independence” or interference by other nations’ and ‘In other words, the use of force will by *no* means be ruled out’, the use of negation presented to the reader a determined China in dealing with the Taiwan problem in a peace way (*spare no effort*) and also a unwavering China in fighting against “Taiwan independence” (*not stand any move, by no means be ruled out*). The Taiwan problem is an important issue cared by China in its peaceful development, which could be reflected from the previous corpus analysis indicating *Taiwan* as a keyword in the *China Daily* database. The negation in these examples helped to present China’s standpoints on the Taiwan issue clearer. When studying the sentence containing the negative word *lack*, ‘The third challenge is a *lack* of co-ordination between economic and social development’, the negative word *lack* showed to the reader the deficiency in China’s development, which presented China’s ability of coordinating economic and social development in a negative context and corresponds to previously mentioned problems and issues faced by China.

When studying Hypothesizing, modal auxiliary verb *will* has been used to construct the article and predicate the future. In ‘The goal alone *will* keep several generations of Chinese people quite busy’, to achieve China’s development was not an easy task and that was a long-term aim for China to fulfill to the author, which might imply that China had no spare energy to challenge the other nations. In ‘China’s

development needs world peace, and its development *will* in turn reinforce world peace’, the author considered the outcome of China’s rise as *reinforce world peace* and that was one good result brought by China’s development. Both examples predicated things to be happening in the future from the author’s perspective. To the author, these were all things helped support the peaceful nature of China’s development and benefits brought to the world.

By applying tools provided in *Critical Stylistic* framework (Jeffries, 2010), they helped the reader to understand this piece of written text from different angles and the reader could find that by presenting both achievements and problems existing in China from these different perspectives, the author intended to send out the message that China’s development did not pose any threat to the world. I could argue that this article has been written in the light of actively supporting the idea of “China’s peaceful rise” and considered that China’s development would take place in a peaceful manner. The author has listed problems and difficulties existing in China at present, which have been applied as factual evidence of China’s incompetence to challenge the existing world order or pose threats to the West. Considering these difficulties, the author was still faithful to China’s rise in the future and trusted that China’s rise would be achieved peacefully. Problems were noted but presented as sure to be overcome and not able to threaten development as it was already occurring.

From the above sample analysis, the reader could find how these tools help understand the article from various aspects. In the following part, I carried out the analyses by applying different tools in independent sections with hints and suggestions brought from the corpus analysis to find out how each tool has been used by the two newspapers and what kind of information the reader could find from that perspective. In other words, each tool was listed under a separate section and each newspaper’s data were studied in every single section to find features of the language use, and more deeply, the deep-seated ideologies behind the texts. The first tool checked in the analysis is Naming and Describing.

5.1.1 Naming and Describing

In this section, I focused on nouns appearing in *China Daily*. The selection of nouns and modification of nouns can to some degree express the authors' opinions to the topic they report, and they can play an irreplaceable function in helping explore articles and find ideologies behind written texts. In previous corpus analysis study, I found that the same nouns, for instance, *rise*, *development*, *threat* and *risk*, have been used in contrasting contexts in the two newspapers. *China Daily* has used these nouns with various modifications to present a peaceful and calm growing China to its readers, while *The Times*' readers may feel worries and challenges from China after reading these texts. In addition to previously analysed nouns in Chapter Four 'Corpus Analysis', I explored more examples from both *China Daily* and *The Times* to further test how nouns influence readers' impressions on "China's peaceful rise". In this part, focus was put on the *China Daily* database first, and *The Times* was covered in the latter section.

In previous semantic analysis of key concepts covered in *China Daily* in Chapter Four 'Corpus Analysis', the concept on Helping was frequently covered and noun *cooperation* had 101 occurrences in the whole database. It might be interesting to explore how this noun was used by *China Daily* when developing the idea of "China's peaceful rise".

5.1 ***Robust cooperation*** between China and Africa has provided a range of benefits to African countries since 1956.

This example 5.1 was from *China Daily*. The word *cooperation* implied the bilateral relationship between two parties working together towards a shared aim. *Cooperation* referred back to previous chapter's discussion of *mutual* and *bilateral*. In this example, China and Africa has been shown to work closely with each other. The word *cooperation* was modified by *robust*, which showed strength and vigorousness on both sides and also indicated the tendency of future development. The tense of this sentence was present perfect and this tense could signal to readers that *robust cooperation* was not only in the past, but also was continuing at present, and implied the future trend and tendency of the fast and vigorous growth as well. In this example, even though *cooperation* focused on two sides, it seemed to emphasise

only on one direction--benefits to African countries since 1956, together with the title of this article 'Ties create options for Africa', readers could find the supportive tendency of the author of this article on good impacts Africa has enjoyed from China's development. China was seen as a disinterested benefactor, but there was no mention of why China has been so kind and good in the whole text.

5.2 By opting for such a path of development, China has committed itself to *equality*, *friendship*, *mutual benefit* and *win-win co-operation* with all countries of the world in keeping with the tide of history, and to *self-reliance*, *reform*, *innovation* and *scientific approach to development* while transcending the traditional models, so as to achieve *comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development* and build *a harmonious socialist society*.

In example 5.2, when discussing China's development, a cluster of nouns and their modifications *equality*, *friendship*, *mutual benefit* and *win-win co-operation* have been used to describe the nature of China's rise and effects on the other nations. All these nouns were showing advantages the others could gain from China's growth and no feeling of challenge could be felt. When discussing the way China rises, *self-reliance*, *reform*, *innovation* and *scientific approach to development* were used to develop this topic. These nouns presented an independent and reliable China to the reader. The outcome of China's development has been depicted as achieving a *comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development* and *a harmonious socialist society*. The features of the development China aimed to achieve and the society China hoped to build have been presented in front of the reader. They all sound promising and peaceful to the world, and there was no reason for the world not to allow China to develop according to these descriptions. In example 5.2, nouns and their modifications have helped show a concrete China with these positive and welcoming characters to promote the principle of "China's peaceful rise".

5.3 China's *confidence* and *determination* for peaceful development is already well-known.

In example 5.3, two nouns *confidence* and *determination* were used in discussing China's peaceful development. Both nouns sent out the approving messages to readers and assured readers of belief in China's rise as peace. An image of China

committing itself to following the path of peaceful rise has been presented. Through the word *well-known* in the end of the sentence, China's commitment to peaceful development has become widely known and that has been recognized as a fact.

From above-mentioned examples, I could summarise that nouns used in *China Daily* help to present a concrete picture of what China looks like. The selection of nouns could reveal to some degree the intention of the author from *China Daily* and implication of those articles on the topic "China's peaceful rise".

5.1.2 Representing Actions/Events/States

In developing articles in the *China Daily* database, verbs have been used widely to represent ideas. Verbs were selected by the authors in the way which they desired them to be used. In this section, I studied the use of verbs in the *China Daily* database with the purpose of exploring ideologies behind them.

5.4 He *spoke highly of* the Strategic Economic Dialogue (SED), saying the US and China are advancing the bilateral economic relationship by establishing new habits of bilateral cooperation through the framework.

In example 5.4, the Strategic Economic Dialogue between China and the US was discussed in a very positive environment. The use of verb phrase *speaks highly of* emphasised the important role this dialogue played and also effects this dialogue may produce on Sino-US bilateral relations. A positive and supportive signal on Sino-US relations has been sent to readers.

5.5 *From* meeting with the Dalai Lama in India *to* calling on US President George W. Bush not to attend the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympic Games, *from* making *irresponsible remarks* on the Olympic torch relay *to* proposing an anti-China resolution on Tibet passed Wednesday by the US House of Representatives, Pelosi has *never hesitated to flagrantly interfere* in China's internal affairs with double standards.

In example 5.5, the author used two sets of *from...to...* to show readers what Pelosi has done on issues about Tibet and Beijing Olympic Games in parallel structure

(discussion on parallel structure was mentioned in the later *Equating and Contrasting* section). This kind of writing emphasises the persistence of Pelosi's actions on opposing China and also the areas her actions get involved in. Pelosi's comments on China have been clearly labeled as *irresponsible* by the author and it corresponded to the use of *flagrantly interfere* which was used to suggest Pelosi's notoriously bad record. The verb *interfere*, according to OALD, means 'to get involved in and try to influence a situation that does not concern you, in a way that annoys other people', which has already expressed the negative ideas that Pelosi was strongly disliked, together with the modification *flagrantly* in front, the feelings of dislike was doubled, even hatred towards Pelosi from this author since she showed no respect to China and its internal affairs in an obvious way according to these words. Also, the whole sentence contained subordination clauses (discussion on subordination structure was mentioned in *Prioritizing* section), it placed the Adverbial, the parallel structure in the beginning to help construct the anti-China environment in which the whole sentence was to be developed. After the very long Adverbial, the Subject (*Pelosi*), Predicate (*has never hesitated to flagrantly interfere in*), Object (*China's internal affairs*) and another Adverbial (*with double standards*) were presented. The structure of this long sentence has become clear till this stage and the stress the author has put was on Pelosi's actual deeds towards China, which was depicted in an obviously negative manner.

5.6 What she has done is simply an irresponsible act and a move to interfere in China's internal affairs, *but* Pelosi *ostentatiously showed* herself *off* as "a moral authority".

Both the use of *show off* and its modification *ostentatiously* in example 5.6 expressed the same idea that Pelosi behaved in an obvious way to present herself as a moral authority to impress other people. Both words have the negative connotation and I could read the unfavourable attitude the author holds towards Pelosi. At the same time, the use of *but* created a contrasting image, which presented two Pelosi: one is an irresponsible Pelosi intervening in the other nation's internal affairs, while the other one is a 'moral authority'. Two extremely different images of the same person have been presented in front of the reader. What the reader found from the media report about Pelosi's moral authority image and what she has really done to China according to this *China Daily's* article have presented far different identities for the

same person. By following the logic of this article, if Pelosi was a person whom the reader could not trust, how could her comments on “China’s peaceful rise” be believed by the reader?

5.7 Only by holding direct talks can the two militaries thaw the ice between them and explore common ground. This will *reduce mistrust, build consensus* on issues of bilateral concern and *establish new mechanisms* for further exchanges and cooperation.

In example 5.7, consequences for holding direct talks between the two militaries (China and Japan according to the context) were summarised by the author as *reduce mistrust, build consensus* and *establish new mechanisms*. Verbs *reduce, build, establish* and nouns following them: *mistrust, consensus* and *mechanisms* together sent out promising and positive picture to readers in terms of bilateral relationship. The function of holding direct talks in helping improve two countries’ mutual understandings and relationship has been clearly presented in front of the reader.

5.8 China *picks* peaceful path to prosperity

This was one title from a *China Daily* article. With the use of *pick*, the Subject *China* has been seen as choosing the way for China’s development from a group of selections, and the peaceful path has been the result. China was described as a peace-lover and had no intention of being involved in conflict and collision with the selection of the verb *pick*.

I noticed from these examples that in the *China Daily* database, the newspaper either used verbs with clear supportive meaning to describe China’s development, or fought against people or actions being harmful to the principle of China’s peaceful development. Verbs were carefully selected by the *China Daily* authors to achieve those purposes.

5.1.3 Equating and Contrasting

When constructing the topic of “China’s peaceful rise”, the authors have used both

equivalence and opposition to tell readers what China's rise is about and what China's rise is contrasting with. Through studying these two topics, a better understanding of the position the newspaper placed itself in could be achieved. In this section, I divided the discussion into two sub-categories: the first sub-category focused on Equating, and the second one was on Contrasting.

5.1.3.1 Equating

The most typical clause structure for equating is *X is Y* according to Jeffries (2010: 54). From the *China Daily* database with the help of software packages, the following examples were spotted:

5.9 Peace, development and cooperation *is* the irresistible trend of the times.

5.10 Loving peace, honouring promises and living in harmony with all others far and near *is* an important part of China's cultural heritage.

5.11 "The urgent matter for Sino-US relations *is* the trade problem *rather than* the military threat," said Shi, in an interview with *China Daily* on Friday.

In example 5.9, the author saw peace, development and cooperation as the unstoppable direction of the world we are living in. This equating structure placed the two segments in front and after *is* in equal positions. If the trend of peace, development and cooperation could not be stopped, China's development should be irresistible as well. Example 5.10 depicted a picture of China's cultural heritage consisting of three important features, which were all promising and positive. A nation with these characters was not supposed to be threatening and challenging. In example 5.11, the urgency of trade problem between China and the US via this equating structure was achieved. And the use of *rather than* in this sentence helped create a contrasting idea. In comparing to trade problem, military threat was not an urgent issue to the speaker, which may play down the idea of military threat and help to present a less threatening image of China to readers.

Besides the basic *X is Y* structure, parallel structure was also used to express meanings on Equating. In *China Daily*, examples with parallel structures could be

found like:

5.12 China's peaceful development *is a path* of developing itself while maintaining world peace and promoting world peace with its own development. It *is a path* of co-ordinating domestic development and opening-up to the outside world, *a path* that features both the participation in peaceful international competition and extensive co-operation with other countries.

In example 5.12, the *X is Y* structure has been used to talk about *China's peaceful development as a path*. All further explanations of the *path* have clearly defined the nature of China's development and presented benefits of China's rise to the world. The three *a path* appearing in 5.12 in parallel structure helped label China's peaceful development and showed in detail to the reader the wide contents of China's peaceful development.

5.13 By opting for such a path of development, China has committed itself *to* equality, friendship, mutual benefit and win-win co-operation with all countries of the world in keeping with the tide of history, and *to* self-reliance, reform, innovation and scientific approach to development while transcending the traditional models, so as to achieve comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development and build a harmonious socialist society.

In 5.13, the Object of verb phrase *commit to* has been listed in the parallel structure. The Object of *commit to* have shown to the reader the determination China has made for its development. Inside each commitment, readers could find detailed descriptions: equality, friendship, mutual benefit and win-win co-operation have been listed to describe the relationship between China and the world; self-reliance, reform, innovation and scientific approach to development were seen as the requirement China has set for itself in the process of development. The aim for China's commitments has been concluded as 'to achieve comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development and build a harmonious socialist society'. The noun *development* has been modified by three words *comprehensive*, *coordinated* and *sustainable*, and the society to be built was described as *harmonious*, which all helped generate positive ideas. A growing China in an environment of doing good to the international development, as well as to its own transformation, should be

welcomed according to this sentence.

In addition, apposition could also imply equivalence between the two items used in the structure. For instance, in the *China Daily* database:

5.14 During Cheney's visit to Australia—one of the United States' staunchest allies in Iraq—he said history would ultimately judge the war a success, pointing to the end of Saddam Hussein's dictatorship and Iraq's democratic elections.

The noun phrase apposition mark '—' was used in example 5.14. Australia is equal to 'one of the United States' staunchest allies in Iraq' in this case. The selection of this label to introduce Australia on the one hand showed the close relationship between Australia and the US, which could be felt from the noun *allies* and its modification *staunchest*, both words depicted a image of loyal and close friend to the US, and on the other hand, put both Australia and the US in the context of Iraq. The inference of this sentence could be that the readers were lead to the unfavourable feelings deriving from that disastrous war happened in Iraq. In this way, I may say that neither Cheney nor Australia has been presented in a favourable light by *China Daily* although Cheney talked about justice and democracy in the later part of this sentence.

5.15 But Cheney, a leading architect in the Bush administration of the decision to invade Iraq, said China's "military build-up" and its missile test last month "are not consistent with China's stated goal of a peaceful rise".

The long phrase 'a leading architect in the Bush administration of the decision to invade Iraq' in example 5.15 has been applied when introducing Cheney, the then Vice-President Dick Cheney to *China Daily*'s readers. Cheney has done a lot of work as the Vice-President of the US, there should be something welcomed by the public. But *China Daily* picked this one to introduce Cheney. When connecting Cheney with the Iraq War, which was widely criticised around the world, readers might find easy to conclude from what Cheney has done in Iraq War to what he has said this time towards China's military build-up—unbelievable or suspicious or at least ironic.

5.16 Zheng, a key theorist behind the peaceful rise strategy, explains that heping jueqi implies that “China must seek a peaceful global environment to develop its economy even as it tries to safeguard world peace through development.”

In addition to the surname of the person *Zheng*, ‘a key theorist behind the peaceful rise strategy’ was followed in example 5.16 to add more information about this person. The important position Zheng held in the discussion of the topic of “China’s peaceful rise” has been depicted via this apposition structure. By directly quoting from Zheng, together with the additional information introduced in the later sentence helped enhance the authoritative tone the following quotation had since it was from a principal theorist of the policy of “China’s peaceful rise”.

When discussing Equating, synonymy plays its part in introducing similarities shared by various parties. In the following example 5.17:

5.17 “It breaks down classic bureaucratic stove-pipes that *hinder* effective communication and *impede* results,” he told the US think tank. “And that’s what direct engagement does: it keeps the relationship on an even keel by *lessening* miscommunication and *dispelling* misperceptions so common in the history of the US-China relationship,” he added.

There were two pairs of synonyms in example 5.17: *hinder* and *impede*; *lessen* and *dispel*. Both *hinder* and *impede* shared the meaning of slowing or preventing progress, which were used here to indicate the old bureaucracy disturbs the bilateral communication and progress between China and the US. From the context, I knew that the old obstacles have been cleared and the two nations’ cooperation has become closer. Progress that has been made through direct engagement between China and the US could be felt. Before the next pair of synonymies in this sentence, there was a phrase *on an even keel*. Diplomacy and the state, as often, are seen as a ship in a sea metaphorically, weathering storms. In this example, the bilateral relationship was not weathering a storm, but enjoying smoothness. According to OALD, *on an even keel* means ‘living, working or happening in a calm way, with no sudden changes, especially after a difficult time’. This phrase told readers that changes in the bilateral relationship were taking place, but this would be a calm and smooth process, which highlighted the importance of direct engagement between the two countries and at the same time direct engagement is able to lessen people’s worries about the future

development of this important bilateral relationship. In that context, after exploring the meaning of the two words *lessen* and *dispel*: *lessen* has the meaning of steady or gradual diminution, and according to OALD, the word *dispel* has the meaning of ‘to make something, especially a feeling or belief, go away or disappear’, both of these two words *lessen* and *dispel* were able to inform readers that misunderstanding between China and the US could not vanish in an instant, but that would be a gradual process. If looking at the misunderstanding and misperception from a historical view, it was described as *so common* in the history of the two countries’ relationship, which served to further remind readers why it was not easy to remove miscommunication and misperception in a short time.

5.1.3.2 Contrasting

The basic negated opposition structure is *X, not Y*, as discussed by Jeffries (2010: 54). In the *China Daily* database:

5.18 In the case of China, its “dramatic growth in global stature has come from its peaceful economic development, the government’s decisiveness in managing difficult development problems, and the consequent improvement in the lives of its citizens, *not* from its military power or geopolitical assertiveness,” he said.

5.19 Western media should not anger Chinese because justice is on their side, *not* because Chinese have a tendency to go back into a shell.

5.20 Its rise will be a contribution, *not* a threat, to world peace and development.

All these examples presented to readers the contrasting images on China. Example 5.18 argued that reasons for China’s development have been seen as its hard work, and there was nothing to do with influences projected from China’s military. The contrasting structure placed the military threat remarks in a negative presentation, which helped highlight reasons of China’s growth from the author’s perspective. Example 5.19 explained to readers why the Western media should not anger China, the wrong concept held by the West has been argued by the author starting with *not because*, which was used to construct a contrasting image with the correct answer from the author’s perspective: because justice is on their [Chinese] side. In example

5.20, it clearly stated what China's rise means to world peace and development. To the author, China's rise is a contribution, and he/she explicitly told the reader that China's rise had nothing to do with threat. The author used two nouns *contribution* and *threat* in example 5.20 to form the contrasting image, and explicitly defined the welcoming and positive content of China's rise. All these three examples have shown contrasting pictures in front of the reader presenting a China in the context of peace, rather than threat and danger posing onto the other nations.

When analysing Contrasting, the contrastive conjunction *but* is normally a signal in discourse to introduce changes of different meanings, normally from positive to negative, from good to not good and forms an obvious contrast.

5.21 That is what the US as a rising power did to Europe, *but not* what China is doing.

The context of the example 5.21 was about the traditional way major powers behaved when they rose. The first part of 5.21 wrote about what the US has done to Europe when the US rose in the past, and the latter part began with *but* to show a different path China was taking in its way of becoming strong. The negation *not* emphasised the difference lying between the two paths. The traditional way of conflict was contrasted with the peaceful rise China took, and sharp differences could be seen from this sentence.

5.22 The fact is, China has much lower percentage of stay-home women than US, *but* that won't be reported.

In example 5.22, the media coverage of stay-home women in China and the US has been compared. According to the author, the fact that China's lower percentage of stay-home women should have been reported by the US media, however, the US media chose not to report that. This contrastive conjunction *but* created a contrasting picture of between the fact the report, which could indicate the selective coverage of reports by the US media. In that case, what has been reported by the US media on China's peaceful rise could be partial and incomplete as well.

Among the eight common syntactic triggers of oppositions listed by Jeffries (2010:

55), replacive opposition trigger *instead of* could be found in the following examples:

5.23 As an emerging power, China will acquire capital, technology and resources for its modernization drive through peaceful means, such as opening up to the rest of the world - namely, integrating itself into, *instead of* detaching itself from, economic globalization.

The basic meaning from example 5.23 was that China chose to establish its development via peaceful means, one instance proposed by the author was to build close relationship with the world. When discussing the option suggested by the author, two contrasting options were listed: integrating itself into economic globalisation and detaching itself from economic globalisation. The application of replacive opposition trigger *instead of* has clearly told the reader which option China took. The selection was made by China and that should be what China wanted to achieve. In example 5.23, there also was the application of apposition, *opening up to the rest of the world* and *integrating itself into, instead of detaching itself from, economic globalization* were seen as equivalent, which may suggest the way the author considered for China's development was close connection between China and the world.

5.24 "What China should do is to carry out more active communications, co-ordination and co-operation with other nations to reach a win-win result, which will make the 'China threat' theory lack the needed ground and prove China's development should be seen as an opportunity *instead of* a challenge," Yu said.

Example 5.24 informed the reader what China needed to do to counter the 'China threat' theory, and consequences of doing as being suggested. The replacive opposition trigger *instead of* was used in the result part to show what China's development meant: it is an opportunity, and not a challenge. The contrast between different opinions on China's development have been set, and the intention of supporting China's rise and viewing China's development as an opportunity to the world could be clearly felt. In the beginning of example 5.24, three nouns *communications*, *co-ordination* and *co-operation* were used to introduce actions suggested to China by the speaker. All three nouns emphasised on two or more parties' participation, and results from these actions could be seen as positive and

encouraging. In this kind of context, the positive consequences leading from those promising actions could be achieved. Meanwhile, in the end of this sentence, the speaker used the word *challenge* instead of, for example, *threat*. The degree of potential harm from China has been seriously mitigated.

The next opposition trigger analysed in the *China Daily* database was *in contrast*, which could help create explicit opposition in articles.

5.25 “China has been doing a good job of this. By emphasizing Chinese culture and policies which are peaceful, China has a reassuring effect on Americans as well as on other countries,” Nye said. *In contrast*, “I think the United States is paying too much attention to its hard power, as you see in the case of Iraq. It is not paying enough attention to its soft power. It’s important to pay attention to both,” he added.

The text used *in contrast* to put in front of readers the different routes in promoting images in the world chosen by the two countries from the scholar’s point of view: China has done well ‘by emphasizing Chinese culture and policies which are peaceful’, however, the US has paid ‘too much attention to its hard power’. The use of *in contrast* helps created a clear picture to show the explicit opposition of the routes taken by the two nations. The feelings of like and dislike could be clearly felt via this explicit opposition.

5.26 China was one of the most powerful countries in the world through much of civilized history, with its prosperity and international influence reaching the zenith during the Tang Dynasty (618-907). After that, Chinese society, however, remained static. There was little real social progress to speak of. *In contrast*, the Western world underwent profound changes-the Renaissance, the Industrial Revolution, fabulous scientific advances and so on.

Example 5.26 presented a contrasting picture between China and the West. China lagged behind the West because of the social progress China lacked. With the use of *in contrast*, this example explicitly showed two results of social development: a backward China and a progressing West. This clear contrast seemed to inform its readers that it was vital for China to develop itself and carry out social progress, otherwise China might lag behind the time again. The necessity of development for China could be felt via this opposition.

In addition to previously mentioned opposition triggers, antonyms were used as well in the *China Daily* database to help create opposition.

5.27 The United States has signaled to China that it welcomes the rise of a *confident*, *peaceful* and *prosperous* China, the Bush administration's top envoy to China said on Tuesday. "A *weak* and *insecure* China is not in America's economic or security interests," Ambassador Alan Holmer said in a speech delivered to the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

In example 5.27, words *confident*, *peaceful* and *prosperous* in the first part were used to modify the image of China in America's expectation. In this second sentence, *weak* and *insecure* were used to depict a China out of imagination. *Weak* and *insecure* could be seen as antonyms for *confident* and *peaceful*. These sets of antonyms drew pictures about China from both positive and negative perspectives, and the preference of which kind of China was preferred could be easily felt. The stance of American government towards China's development has been presented via these pairs of antonyms. From contrast shaped by antonyms, readers could read out the message that the US welcomed a peaceful and wealthy China. In this example, both direct and indirect speech were also noticed. Ambassador Alan Holmer's words were directly quoted from the negative aspect with *weak* and *insecure* to welcome China's rise, while in the indirect quotation part, Holmer's comments were modified by positive words *confident*, *peaceful* and *prosperous*. This could be explained that these positive words were added by the author of this article in the way he/she interpreted Holmer's words. Instead of using negative words in the indirect speech, the author from *China Daily* seemed to prefer connecting words containing bright and promising ideas directly with China's development rather than this American politician's way of constructing positive ideas with negative words.

5.1.4 Prioritizing

To study how *China Daily* used the English language to prioritise elements of its structure, I explored the topic from three aspects: exploit the information structure of

the English language via the cleft structure, study the transformational possibilities through passive structure and explore the subordination possibilities from studying the structure of the sentence to find out its priorities.

The cleft structure comes in the form of '*It is...*' or '*It was...*', which shifts one of the clause elements from the basic sentence and places it into focal position after either '*It is...*' or '*It was...*' (2010: 83). In the following examples, they showed what the focal position information these sentences wanted to send out to readers:

5.28 *It is* only through co-operation *that* we can gradually redress the imbalance in global development, effectively ward off economic and financial risks, and enable countries to seize the opportunities brought by globalization to realize common development.

Here, all content after *It is* was the focus of the sentence. The path for China and the world to fight against the financial difficulties and bring common development was considered by the author as *through co-operation*. The use of *only* helped emphasise the uniqueness and tell readers that there were no other options except for cooperation to achieve all those aims. The cleft sentence prioritised cooperation and indicated the great importance of focusing on cooperation between China and the rest of the world.

5.29 China's period of strategic opportunities is nothing but an international environment and evolutionary process where world peace is maintained and common development promoted. *It is* only under this strategic premise *that* we can achieve the grand goal of building a moderately prosperous society in an all-round way.

The first sentence in example 5.29 served as the *strategic premise* for China's development mentioned in the second sentence. By focusing on this premise, readers could read out positive consequences and the peaceful intention of China's rise. Similar to example 5.28, the use of *only* implied that China's development could not be built on other premises. This only feasible option put the development of China in a peace and clam environment.

5.30 It is China's policy to never seek hegemony.

This cleft sentence put China's own will of not seeking hegemony into focus and reinforced the idea of "China's peaceful rise". This was a strong voice from China and this road was chosen by Chinese people themselves. If China itself decided not to seek hegemony, how could China challenge and pose a threat to the other nations? By this cleft structure, the author powerfully fought against the 'China threat' theory and provided positive evidence for China's peaceful development.

Passive transformation is another way used under Prioritizing. From the passive structure, the insight of the sentences could be more easily spotted than the active sentences.

5.31 With the improvement of national strength and international status, China *is increasingly welcomed* by major powers, neighbouring nations and the Third World to play a more active global role, which builds a positive image for the country.

In example 5.31, the Actor was clearly shown after *by: major powers, neighbouring nations and the Third World*, in other words, most parts of the world. This sentence placed China as the focus to tell readers that China has become more popular around the world. If I disposed the Actor here, it may still be helpful in showing a popular image of China, but the reader would not be able to know how widely China has been accepted. The comparative structure in this sentence was also noticeable. The use of *more* and *increasingly* helped to present a picture of change in a positive context for China, the implication that China has been accepted by more nations and has greater influence in the world was not difficult for the reader to notice.

5.32 The economic and geopolitical landscape of the 21st century *will be greatly influenced by* the way in which the United States and China work together.

This example presented 'The economic and geopolitical landscape of the 21st century' in the focal position and drove the reader's focus to the future. The Actor of this passive structure discussed the way in which the two nations: China and the US work together. The Actor was placed as part of an optional adverbial grammatically. However, the author chose to keep the Actor in this sentence, which led us to find

that the author has attached importance to the way the two nations work together in promoting the future landscape. Both the important roles the two nations played could be felt from this passive structure.

5.33 How many other host countries, in the past, *had been protested and scrutinized this much by* Western media this far away from the opening ceremony?

Example 5.33 was used in the context of stating the fact that China has been unfairly treated by the West in its holding of the Olympic Games. The author did not talk about China directly, but used the *other host countries* to compare with China to indicate the unfair treatment China received. The Actor of *to protest and scrutinize* China has been clearly shown to the reader as *Western media*, the obvious dissatisfaction China had towards Western media's report on China could be felt here, also the blame China put on the West could be felt.

As mentioned earlier, in addition to cleft structure and passive structure, studying of the subordination possibilities can also reveal priorities the author puts in the sentence.

5.34 By opting for such a path of development, China has committed itself to equality, friendship, mutual benefit and win-win co-operation with all countries of the world in keeping with the tide of history, and to self-reliance, reform, innovation and scientific approach to development while transcending the traditional models, so as to achieve comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development and build a harmonious socialist society.

This is a complex sentence. I have studied this sentence in the Equating section from the point of parallel structure. Here, I put the focus on exploiting the structure of the sentence. The Subject of this clause was *China*, the Predicate was *has committed to*, all contents after the first *to* served as the supplement of the Object *itself* in the sentence, and the part before the Subject starting with *by* serves as the Adverbial. When knowing the main structure of the sentence and understanding the basic meaning from the main structure, readers could generate a simple idea about what this complex sentence wanted to talk about first. Together with the other supplements of this sentence, readers could understand the topic of China's commitment and

possible outcomes from the commitment even further. Although this was a very complex sentence syntactically, the meaning of the sentence was not hard for the reader to follow.

5.35 The fact that the United States has consistently allowed its domestic politics, its ideological prejudice against China, its own idea of values and the deep-set political desire to dominate international affairs to supersede fairness is what prevents a speedy solution to the trade frictions.

The main structure of example 5.35 was SPO. *The fact* served as the Subject of the whole sentence, and the part starting from *that* to *fairness* was the supplement of the Subject, while in this supplement, there was another subordinate clause with *the United States* as its Subject, *has consistently allowed* as the Predicate, and the rest part as the Object. Back to the main clause, *is* serves as the Predicate of the main structure and the *what* clause as the Object of the main structure. Inside the *what* clause, there was another SPO structure, with *what* playing the function of Subject, *prevents* as the Predicate and the rest as the Object. In order to understand the Subject of the main clause, readers had to read the very long *that* clause until reaching its end to be able to find what the author wanted to express. The main clause's structure was in the form of *X is Y*, which created an equivalence effect. In addition, the parallel structure in *that* clause, three *its* and contents followed, listed the wrong the US has done to China. Together with the parallel structure in the sentence, and the equation formed from the main structure, readers were able to find that the sentence was criticising the US for what the US has done and it was the US' actions that blocked the solution to problems in bilateral trade.

5.1.5 Negating

In this section, I developed the topic from three directions: negative particle, negative pronouns and inherently negative words with negation built into the semantics of the words.

The short form of negative particle *not* -- *n't* has been studied in the corpus analysis

chapter and I looked at the use of *not* here.

5.36 How can such an *irresponsible* political figure *not* be detested by all the Chinese people?

In example 5.36, the political figure mentioned was Ms Nancy Pelosi. Both the inherently negative word *irresponsible* and the negative particle *not* presented Pelosi as a person having no sense of responsibility in front of the reader. The use of passive structure prioritised Pelosi in the focus and the Actor of hatred was clearly shown as the Chinese people. The strong certainty of choosing to detest Pelosi by the Chinese people could be felt from words containing negation and also the passive structure.

5.37 But China's path of future development *will not* be smooth. There are still many problems to deal with, participants agreed.

The modal *will* and negative particle *not* described the certainty of meeting problems in China's development in the future. Challenges and difficulties seemed to be unavoidable. If China needed to deal with its own problem in the process of development, it would be impossible for China to pose threats or challenges to the other nations.

5.38 Regarding China's huge population and growing involvement in the process of globalization, it would *not* be in the interests of the world if China did *not* rise.

Negative particle *not* were used in a hypothesis (discussion on Hypothesizing was covered in the following section). The hypothetical version of reality was China did not rise. The consequent conclusion could be the world would not benefit from that because of China's huge population and closer contact with the world. The two negative particles emphasised the necessity of China's rise and the implied meaning from the author was if China rose, the world would benefit.

In addition to the negative particle, pronouns and 'inherently negative' (Jeffries, 2010: 108) words were also used to help contribute to the topic on negation.

5.39 Of the negative developments, *none* is more prominent than the trade disputes, which are really caused by “unequal” political relations *rather than* by trade “disparity.”

According to *China Daily*, there have already been many kinds of negative developments, but the most serious one was considered to be the trade disputes. The use of negative pronoun *none* in this case indicated that the trade dispute was the most important issue between the two nations and helped increase the prominence of this issue. The word *none* was used in the comparative structure with *more...than*, this negative pronoun has changed the meaning from comparative degree to the superlative degree and made the *trade disputes* the most prominent issue. The latter half of this sentence 5.39 shaped replacive opposition with the use of *rather than*. The element after *rather than* was the one disagreed by the author. To shape the contrast, the author was able to present the wrong explanation of the reason behind the bilateral trade disputes and emphasise on the one the author agreed.

5.40 *Nobody* in the world hopes more than the Chinese that the Taiwan question can be solved in a peaceful way.

In example 5.40, the negative pronoun *nobody* placed the Chinese in the unique and utmost important position in dealing with the Taiwan question. Chinese people’s eagerness and determination of solving the Taiwan question in a peaceful way were presented in a very positive light.

5.41 Even so, it is *wrong* to believe that China’s rise is made possible by US *inability* to mind the east.

The word *wrong* presented an incorrect statement in front of the reader, and word *inability* showed the fact of not being able to do things. In this sentence, it was the US that was not able to check things happening in the East because of anti-terrorism war in the other parts of the world. This sentence presented the US’s inability of minding the east at the moment as a fact. However, the author did not consider that as the reason for China’s development, in other words, China did not become strong by chance and did not take advantage of the anti-terrorism war in the time when the

US had no ability to look over China. I may be able to rewrite this sentence as follows: China's rise is still possible even when the US has the ability to mind the east. When comparing to the sentence in the article, the one used in the article was able to send out stronger argumentation. And the two inherently negative words helped strengthen that kind of argument.

5.42 An important reason behind this is these major powers followed a path of aggressive war and external expansion, which is doomed to *failure*, he says.

The use of *failure* in this sentence has shown a negative image to the previous powers' way of becoming powerful in history. The author stood in a clear position to be against that old way and used the strong word *doom* to indicate the certainty of failure of that path. From the context of this sentence, I could see that the author was against the old path and that was not the way China rose. In other words, this sentence 5.42 may suggest that the author was in favour of the way China rose since that was a different way from the old path and was without aggression and expansion. This inherently negative word was used here to present the result of the old path to the reader, and also to show contrasts between the old way and the way China follows--"China's peaceful rise", in other words, the author may imply that China's path could be a success.

5.1.6 Hypothesizing

In hypothetical situations, modality could influence the reader ideologically. From the hypothetical situations, I may find the ideology of texts and the authors' view of the world. When studying modality, I looked from two aspects: modal auxiliary verbs and some common modal items but not auxiliary verbs.

Modal auxiliary verbs either directly make statements with certainty, or tone them down to express possibility and they are all words indicating the authors' perspective of how the world is and how they wish the world is.

As a modal auxiliary verb, *will* is used to describe something that is very certain to

be true to happen in the future.

5.43 This goal alone *will* keep several generations of Chinese people quite busy.

5.44 ...its [China's] development *will* in turn reinforce world peace.

5.45 As well, the rise of China *will* bring other nations sizable gains instead of hurting them, he says.

Example 5.43 showed the certainty of taking a long time for China to really become powerful; Example 5.44 presented it was certain for the world to enjoy the benefits brought by China's development. The use of *in turn* emphasised the sequence, which was to say that China needed to develop first, and then the benefit would be enjoyed by the world. The future benefit was built on the basis of China's development; similar to example 5.44, example 5.45 also showed the very likely advantage the other nations were able to take from China's rise. In this example, the replacement *instead of* was used to compare two different results from China's development: *bring other nations sizable gains* and *hurting them*. To the author, the answer was clear and gains to other nations from China's rise would certainly happen in the future. All examples put China's development in the future and emphasised on the certainty of benefits brought by China's rise.

For the word *should*, it can express obligations and duties,

5.46 China *should* also make great efforts to develop and improve relations with the world's leading powers.

5.47 China *should* also work harder to reduce the growing disagreements among Western countries on environmental protection.

In example 5.46, the use of *should* made the sentence as an obligation for China, and China was expected to do as what was suggested by the author. The sentence helped construct a promising image of cooperation. The close relationship between China and the others has been depicted here.

In example 5.47, the obligation of helping to reduce the growing disagreements among Western countries on environmental protection has become one responsibility

for China. China has been expected to become a responsible nation to help to promote cooperation and reduce disagreement in the world. In that case, there was no reason for the world to dislike a nation showing so much responsibility.

Modal auxiliary verb *can* is able to indicate the ability to commit the action:

5.48 The country [China] *can* address its own issues in the course of development by depending on its own strength.

5.49 This market [Chinese market] for the international community *can* only become broader.

Example 5.48 showed that China had the competence to deal with its problems with great confidence. China was presented as an independent nation and the ability of resolving difficulties was from its development. And in example 5.49, to have a bigger and wider Chinese market for the world seems to be the only logical option in the future. These were confident and unmodalised statements of ability and intention.

Must sends out very strong message and implies that something is necessary and very important.

5.50 Zheng, a key theorist behind the peaceful rise strategy, explains that heping jueqi implies that “China **must** seek a peaceful global environment to develop its economy even as it tries to safeguard world peace through development.”

5.51 First, China **must** unswervingly advance economic and political reform centred on the promotion of the socialist market economy and socialist democracy to ensure institutional guarantees for a peaceful rise.

Both examples told readers the important and necessary things that China had to do. All of them were necessary for China’s peaceful development and were seen as very important elements. 5.50 presented the great importance of having a peaceful global environment for China’s economic development; 5.51 informed the reader the necessity for China to develop its economic and political reform to provide guarantees for “China’s peaceful rise”. These requirements seemed to be uncompromising, and they could guarantee the peaceful outcome of China’s

development.

5.52 Peaceful reunification between the mainland and the island **must** be achieved. The country **should** spare no effort to achieve this goal, but it **will** at the same time not stand any moves for “Taiwan independence” or interference by other nations.

The importance and necessity of achieving the peaceful reunification could be felt from the word *must*, and *should* showed that the achievement of the peaceful reunification has become an obligation for China, while at the same time, the word *will* put the reader in the future context to indicate the certainty of China’s intolerance to “Taiwan independence”. Combinations of various modal auxiliary verbs helped put a picture of China in front of the reader.

The next modal verb to be discussed is *could*, which expresses likelihood and tentativeness.

5.53 Any small difficulty...multiplied by this figure [China’s 1.3 billion population], *could* become a huge problem.

The huge problem would not necessarily happen if it has been handled properly. By this kind of precautionary warning, readers could notice China’s development was not an easy task at all. At the same time, modal verb *could* played down problems China was facing and brought confidence to readers regarding the Chinese government’s competence for solving various problems.

5.54 China *could* turn to American or European countries *if* it loses Japanese investment and technology. However, *if* Japan loses China’s market, it *would* be difficult to compensate for the loss because the world’s other major markets are either saturated or not yet developed.

From example 5.54, I was able to feel that there was the possibility for China to work with America or the EU in the hypothesised situation of Japan did not provide investment and technology to China, which meant that Japan was not the only market for China. In the second half of 5.54, starting with *however* to shape a contrasting image with the previous sentence, another hypothesis was created to imagine Japan

lost China's market. The hypothesised result turned out to be very damaging to Japan. Two imagined situations put China and Japan in imbalanced positions. China seemed to be more flexible than Japan and Japan could not suffer from losing China's market. The implication of asking Japan to attach more importance to China could be felt from this sentence.

May expresses the idea that something is possible, and similar to *may*, *might* also expresses the meaning of possibility.

5.55 Shi said Cheney's remarks on China's military threat *may* receive support from a few countries, *but* the global influence *would* not be substantial.

Cheney's remarks on China could have some audience and that was possible according to the word *may* in example 5.55. However, in the second half of the sentence, modal auxiliary verb *would* revealed the author's imagination that the result was not substantial. It seemed that both segments were based on personal imagination, but the preference of these possibilities could still be traced. The use of *but* helped create opposition between two possible outcomes: support for Cheney's comments from a few countries and the global reaction to Cheney's comments. The negative particle *not* used after *would* helped send a message of insignificance of the influence of Cheney's remarks on the world. With the application of *may*, *but*, *would* and *not*, the author was more likely to play down supports received on Cheney's remarks on China's military threat, and emphasised that the majority of the world did not agree with Cheney's comments.

5.56 However, the word "rejuvenation" can also make neighbouring countries suspicious that China *might* attempt to restore the imperial system. In fact, regarding the regional environment prior to China's growth, the approach during its rise and the impact after its rise, the ascent of China is not only reasonable but also legitimate and peaceful.

In this example, the possibility for the other nations' understanding of China was presented via this modal verb *might*. Unlike modal word *will* containing strong certainty, *might* reduced certainty to possibility. Together with the sentence starting with *In fact* following afterwards, they helped remove China's neighbouring

countries' suspicions and told the reader that China's rise was reasonable, legitimate and peaceful.

In addition to the above mentioned modal auxiliary verbs, some common modal items but not auxiliary verbs were noticed as well, for instance *if* and *suppose* used to present modality.

5.57 *Suppose* the US had not been mired in the tremendous aftermath of cross-national terrorism and the war in Iraq. It *would* still have been faced with China's impressive development, which started nearly 30 years ago.

5.58 *Even if* the US had not suffered from such containment, it *would* have been impossible to prevent China's rapid rise.

Both examples put the context out of imagination with words *suppose*, *even if*, and *would*. The author imagined that the US was not troubled in the war and not suffered from containment. The imaginary outcome to the author was China's growth was still unstoppable. In the real world, the fact was that China was developing very fast, and the imaginary result turned out to be the same as the truth happening in the real world, so the author implied that China's development could not be prevented no matter in real or imaginary world. These hypotheses were put forward to support the fact that a developing China did not pose threats to the US and its rise relied on soft power. China and the US did not necessarily have to challenge each other.

5.1.7 Presenting Others' Speech and Thoughts

Both direct and indirect speech can be used to help present others' thoughts. Sometimes they are used separately, and sometimes they appear together in one sentence. In either direct speech or the indirect speech, words appearing in these articles from *China Daily* were quoted from well-known figures, like academics from the institution, instead of lay persons. I observed from the analyses that *China Daily* preferred to quote directly from authorities to enhance the credibility of its arguments, especially positive Western comments were at length and in direct quotation. By quoting directly from the source, it helped produce authenticity effects

for the reader; by quoting indirectly, the original words could have been altered to fit the authors' viewpoint and serve the function the article plays.

5.59 "I think it is a wise policy for China to increase its soft power. For example, the recent poll taken by the BBC has shown that a number of countries are saying they are finding China more attractive," Nye said. "China's successful economy makes it attractive, and Chinese traditional culture is attractive. And China has pursued a series of policies which have been attractive to other countries, particularly in Southeast Asia," he added.

Example 5.59 directly quoted a large number of Nye's words — 'the creator of the political notion of "soft power" and a leading professor for international relations at Harvard University', to enhance the authority of this text. Because the reputation of a well-known academic is established by the series of his/her serious and influential achievements, which may define these academics' serious, seeking-for-truth and reliable characters. By this way it seemed to make this piece of news report sound more objective and trustworthy to readers from the West and more easily accepted by the West as well. This kind of approving ideas towards China's development were expressed through a well-known academic instead of a lay person, and it was not difficult for readers to imagine the effect this article could produce on readers than a similar one delivered by a lay person.

In the meantime, the indirect speech also helped contribute to the argument articles try to make to support the idea of "China's peaceful rise".

5.60 Christopher J. Flint, senior sales director of the Boeing company, *said* that China is a good example for developing countries in terms of elimination of poverty and improving people's lives.

In example 5.60, the indirect speech about a high level executive in a prominent international company on China showed the obvious favour this person had on China's development. This sentence was not the original sentence Flint said, but has been reproduced by *China Daily* as a supporting evidence for China. Also the apposition structure found in this example, using the title 'senior sales director of the Boeing company' to further introduce the speaker, helped present the influence he

had and as a result, his comments on China might have influence over the society. I should be aware that there were not the original words delivered by Flint, and they might have been altered to fit for *China Daily's* purpose of praising China on its development. Selective indirect quotation has been applied here to support the argument of *China daily*.

5.61 The scholar *said* he does not think most Americans will consider China's increasing "soft power" as a threat, "because it is possible for Chinese soft power and American soft power both to increase. They do not necessarily have to oppose each other."

In this example, mixture of direct and indirect speech could be found. Readers could only trust the newspaper on the indirect quotation since the original words were not available in this case. Even for the direct quotation, selections were made to pick up the most suitable parts to support the viewpoints of the author. Both direct and indirect quotations in this example helped convey the message that a growing China did not pose a threat to the US. Once again, this sentence helped to support China's development.

5.1.8 Representing Time, Space and Society

Deixis of person (personal pronoun) and social deixis (titles and address forms) are studied in this section to find out how people's acts are constructed by 'some of the parameters of the social world' (2010:146).

In the corpus analysis chapter, I have already seen that the *China Daily* database has used a higher percentage of pronouns like *you*, *I*, *we*, and *us* than *The Times* database, and detailed analysis on those words was not repeated in this chapter.

5.62 *We* are Chinese and *we* are moderate. As *you Western folks* know *we* grew up under the propaganda of the Culture Revolution.

5.63 Living in the *West*, if *your* appearance remotely looks like that of a Chinese, it will be difficult for *you* to truly have freedom.

5.64 As Chinese citizens *we* feel the progress our nation has made and the shortcomings it has..., and *we* know only too well that *we* will never reach the top unless *we* keep climbing

step by step. 5.65 ...*we* need to remind ourselves of what would happen if *we* lost control.

Van Dijk (1993) has pointed to the different functions of *us* and *them* in his racism discourse analysis. In texts from the *China Daily* database, examples of division between *us* and *them* were easily noticed. It was clearly separated between Chinese and the Westerners by words *we* and *you*. Example 5.62 showed the transparent contrast between *we*—the Chinese and *you*—Western folks; in example 5.63 *We* stands for the West, and *you* for the Chinese/East. In example 5.64, the idea of issues about China should be dealt with by Chinese people and not interfered by others was clearly expressed. Example 5.65 was used in the context of warning Chinese people of lessons about overblown prices in history. The reader learned from this example that this was a matter concerning all Chinese people, including the author, and the consequence was serious if this issue was not properly handled by us Chinese people, since they Westerners did not care whether the Chinese lose control or not. From all these examples, personal pronouns were widely used in constructing identity linguistically, which showed a strong feeling of independence for China and Chinese people and drew a clear line between China and the other nations.

Besides those personal nouns, the ways people were addressed also revealed the authors' viewpoint.

From the *China Daily* database, in both Keyword Cloud 1 and 2 from the corpus analysis, *Pelosi*, *Cheney*, *Wen* and *Hu* were used to indicate persons' names. Pelosi (Nancy Pelosi) was former Speaker of the House Representatives of America; Cheney (Dick Cheney) was former US Vice-President; Wen (Wen Jiabao) was the then Chinese Premier, and Hu (Hu Jintao) was the then President of China. These four names stood for four figures with extensive influence in China and the US. However, these four people were addressed in different ways in *China Daily*. Political figures from the US were addressed by their names without title in most of the time: *Pelosi* appeared 17 times in the database, there was only one time that the title Ms was used in front of Pelosi, one time the full name Nancy Pelosi was shown, and the rest 15 occurrences were all 'Pelosi' which was used directly to call this person in a statement; *Cheney* had 29 occurrences in the *China Daily* database, in one instance *Cheney* was used in the form of 'US Vice-President Dick Cheney', and

the rest were the same as with Pelosi, to call the person directly. The context in which *Cheney* was used has been discussed in my previous corpus analysis chapter. However, when introducing political figures from China, out of the 17 occurrences of *Hu*, nine were accompanied by ‘President’, one was used in the context of ‘his Chinese counterpart Hu’, and the rest were found in the beginning or the end of the sentence to start or end the quotations, for instance, ‘said Hu’, ‘Hu said’. Otherwise, *Hu* has never been addressed directly by *China Daily*; the Chinese Premier *Wen* appeared 25 times in the database, and five *Premier* has been used to introduce this figure, and the rest occurrences happened in similar contexts as *Hu* in the form of ‘Wen said’ (15 occurrences) or ‘said Wen’ (2 occurrences) to start or end the quotations. This kind of difference in identifying and framing people may imply the different attitudes or level of respects *China Daily* held towards China and the US.

5.2 Critical Discourse Analysis of *The Times* database

In this section, I followed the same sequence as that in Section 5.1 to study articles in *The Times* database under the eight topics: Naming and Describing, Representing Actions/Events/States, Equating and Contrasting, Prioritizing, Negation, Hypothesizing, Presenting Others’ Speech and Thoughts, and Representing Time, Space and Society, to develop my analysis.

5.2.1 Naming and Describing

In *The Times*, nouns were used to construct a different image of China from that of *China Daily*. Selection of nouns and their modifications was able to reveal the ideology behind these articles from *The Times*. By reading *The Times* articles, it was noticed that *The Times* mentioned several times the Communist Party of China (CPC) leadership in organising China and *The Times* always expressed concerns from the West with China’s military growth and the threat idea was depicted. The following examples covered these frequently discussed topics in *The Times*.

5.66 *Political showcases* that ordain the new party leadership, they set out its strategy for the next five years. Yet, by *meticulous design*, they are *political nonevents*.

In example 5.66 from *The Times*, the author defined the 17th National Congress of Communist Party of China (CPC) as *political showcase*. We understand that *showcase* means an event that presents somebody's abilities or the good qualities of something in an attractive way, so the reader could generate the ideological implication from this word that this conference held in China may not present all the truth since it was intended to present the positive quality in an attractive way. Also the appearance of *meticulous design* and *nonevent* labeled the showcase more clearly. The word *design* corresponded to *showcase* since they both expressed the idea of carefully planning, and the use of *meticulous* as the modification further defined that very careful attention has been paid in great detail. Thinking in the normal logic order, the consequence for *meticulous design* should be very positive and successful. But in this text, it turned out to be *nonevent* which meant 'an event that was expected to be interesting, exciting and popular but is in fact very disappointing' according to OALD, which was really out of the readers' expectation. At the same time, it is known that democratic debate happening in political party conference should not be designed in advance, and the use of *meticulous design* highlighted that the CPC's National Congress was only a *political showcase* according to the author. Readers may feel that although the CPC tried to present a nice picture in front of the world, the result turned out to be the opposite. An ironic or suspicious tone towards China and CPC has been pitched via these nouns and their modification. If the author was not in a favourable position to CPC, it may be hard for him/her to agree with the principle of "China's peaceful rise" proposed and advocated by CPC.

5.67 A country halfway between **militarism** and **democracy**

Example 5.67 appeared as the subtitle of an article from *The Times* database. The country discussed in this case was China. The option for China to choose from was either *militarism* or *democracy*, and the situation was that China was standing in the middle of the way and China needed to make a wise selection in order to avoid *militarism*. The critical moment China was in has been shown to the readers. China has declared its growth as peaceful, but from example 5.67, readers may not agree

with the peaceful statement since there was still the possibility of becoming a militaristic country. The two nouns presented two vitally different results, of which China could become either one according to this subtitle, which may suggest that China's development did not necessarily be peaceful.

5.68 The *trick* for Beijing is to keep enough benefits trickling down from the first to the second to keep the country's still giant peasant population happy.

Even though it is common for poverty to exist everywhere in the world, a negative label was easily stuck on China by readers after realising how noticeable gaps were from example 5.68. In this example, the author used *trick* (Line 20) to stand for the method the Chinese government applied to reduce the disparity and fill gaps between the 'two Chinas'. A *trick* is of cheating somebody. This noun was possibly able to inform readers that the Chinese government did not work out carefully and responsibly methods to solve existing problems, to enhance people's living standards, to change the status quo, but perfunctorily acts to cheat the public. An irresponsible government was depicted in readers' minds after seeing this noun.

5.69 China is finding that its "go out" policy in Africa, driven by an **insatiable appetite** for raw materials, particularly oil to fuel the fastest-growing economy in the world, carries a rising price.

The real purpose for China to invest in Africa, from the author's point of view, was 'insatiable appetite for raw materials, particularly oil to fuel the fastest-growing economy in the world'. The use of *insatiable appetite* showed that China could not be satisfied, and the greedy image was once again presented. Natural resources have become the first concern for China's 'go out' policy in this case. As shown in the semantic analysis when analysing the two newspapers' databases in corpus analysis chapter, both concepts on Substances and material: Solid and Substances and material: Liquid appeared to be significant to *The Times* database and a large portion of its reports have put the focus on natural resources which China was eager to obtain. When exploiting the structure of this sentence, it is learnt that the main structure of the sentence was SPO, the Object was a long clause and could be further analysed. The main structure of the Object became 'its "go out" policy in

Africa...carries a rising price' (SPO), the part starting from driven to world served as Adverbial of the Subject "its "go out" policy in Africa' of this object clause. From this adverbial, the reader could see the nature of China's investment policy in Africa as analysed earlier, and the outcome of this policy was considered by the author as 'carries a rising price', which may suggest that African countries started to change their attitudes to China so that the changes could be possible indicated by *a rising price*.

5.70 To judge by the news it would appear they are now to blame for everything, as revived fears of the "*yellow peril*" spread faster than *Made in China labels*.

The fear of Japan's rise decades ago was known as *yellow peril*. From example 5.70, it fears have come back, but substituted by China's rise, and the fear became a widely recognised idea accepted by many people. *Made in China* is normally used to stand for goods produced in China and they can be found in nearly every corner of the world. If fears of China's rise spread faster than China's products as the author wrote, readers were likely to ask how widely influential the fear towards China was.

5.2.2 Representing Actions/Events/States

In *The Times*, verb selections were also obvious in developing the topic about China's development. They helped construct an aggressive China and a China lacking democracy:

5.71 Political showcases that *ordain* the new party leadership, they set out its strategy for the next five years.

The use of *ordain* has very strong religious colour. When searching in BYU-BNC, it was easy to find that most of the items containing *ordain* were connected with church and religion, for example 'This is part of the International Evangelists Crusade, which is legally authorised to ordain ministers'. In this text, the author compared the National Congress of Communist Party of China (CPC) to a kind of religious ceremony and the leadership was appointed but not elected, so it seemed from this

word that the CPC was not organised under democratic principles. In addition, the procedures of religious ceremonies are normally made a long time ago and passed on. People just need to follow what have been done before. The use of *ordain* presented that the CPC was reluctant to change and also put China out of the democratic context.

5.72 In theory, this is *party democracy* in action, *but* the *handpicked audience* is in no doubt that its role is to *applaud, not to probe* what is on the minds of China's leaders, *let alone* display *unseemly curiosity* about the *jockeying* for position and arguments over policy.

In example 5.72, two pairs of contrast created by the context were found: *party democracy* and *handpicked audience*, *applaud* and *not to probe*. This sentence started with *in theory* to show the readers an imaginary world. Things happening in theory are normally hard to be true in practice. Example 5.72 first presented the party democracy from the theoretical perspective and the use of *but* signaled the change of meaning in the following parts. The noun *audience* was modified by *handpicked*. The author used *handpicked audience* instead of for example 'elected delegates' to stand for delegates to the National Congress of CPC. *Handpicked* conveyed an idea of selecting from personal likes and dislikes and that cannot guarantee impartiality. Also *audience* does not take as many responsibilities as *delegate*. *Audience* could just sit and listen and need not think or express different opinions, which established passively receiving relationship with the information promulgators and that was not supposed to be happening in democratic environment. And this analysis seemed to be in accordance with the author's description about these audiences' responsibilities—to *applaud, to not to probe*. This pair of verbs shaped another contrasting image of the delegates. Delegations to the Congress were expected to express different opinions and find out truth. But according to the report, the delegates here were only to applaud as the carefully-selected audience, which meant that they would only agree with the party's decision, but not to ask questions in order to find out hidden information about the decisions having been made in the congress. Following the previous sentences, the article continued with the phrase *let alone* to further show things which the reader would not see in the congress. The phrase *let alone* is normally used after one statement to emphasise that because the first statement is not

true, the next statement cannot be true either. I have already seen *not to probe* in the previous statement, the impossibility of *display unseemly curiosity* were to be expected by the reader. There is another verb in example 5.72, *jockey*. *Jockey* contains the idea of trying all possible ways of gaining an advantage over other people. The word *Jockey* was used here to describe China's provincial leaders according to the context and it is easy for readers to generate the idea that China's future was not bright since these Chinese top officials were not responsible for their own jobs and people's interests, but only thought about promotion for themselves. The CPC seemed not to work for Chinese people, but for top officials' own interests. After analysing the whole sentence, the author's implied ideas behind them may be suggested as everything has been determined before the National Congress of CPC, so there was not enough party democracy in China and delegates had no real influence and rights.

5.73 Booming China *heads for* collision with West

This is one article title from *The Times* database. The use of verb phrase *heads for* showed to the reader that the direction of the threat was from China, and put China in the position of Subject to actively perform the challenging action to the West. It was China itself who made the decision of confronting the West and the idea that China wanted to become a trouble-maker and combat with the West could be felt in this sentence via the use of *head for*.

5.74 Chinese diplomats have also *frustrated* any UN sanctions against either Sudan or Zimbabwe.

In this example, the verb *frustrate* was used to describe Chinese diplomats' reactions to UN decisions on Sudan or Zimbabwe. The word *frustrate* has the meaning of 'prevent something from happening or succeeding' (OALD), connecting with disasters happening in Sudan and Zimbabwe and also context in which 5.74 appeared, the implication suggested by the author became clear that in order to satisfy China's own demand for natural resources, China did not care about sufferings and problems in Africa. China was presented as an irresponsible nation and Africa could not benefit peace from China.

5.75 But they may have no choice as African country after country *succumbs to* Chinese advances.

The use of *succumb to* implied power relationship between African countries and China. African countries were in the obvious weak position and relationship with China was clearly imbalanced from the author's description.

When analysing articles published in the *China Daily* and *The Times* databases, I found that some of the articles talked to each other directly, which provided a good example of competing discourses to show how different newspapers developed the topic "China's peaceful rise" in its own way and from which angle different papers defended its arguments with varied selections of verbs. The two articles compared in this case are: *The Times* article entitled *Cheney warns China over military build-up* published on 23 February, 2007 and the *China Daily* article published on 24 February, 2007 with the title *Academic counters "threat" remarks*. *The Times'* article was published one day before the *China Daily's* article. In other words, the *China Daily* article was one response to the previous day's article from *The Times*. I studied them from the point of verb selections:

From the two article titles,

5.76 Cheney *warns* China over military build-up

5.77 Academic *counters* "threat" remarks

The reader could read out different messages from verbs in different examples. Example 5.76 used *warn* to present the idea that the former US Vice-President Dick Cheney has strongly advised China about China's military development issue, and the verb *warn* implied that something dangerous or unpleasant might happen if China's military became strong, and also had the implication of punishments if China failed to listen to the advice from the US. In example 5.77, the verb *counter* was used. The word *counter* has the meaning of 'to reply to somebody by trying to prove that what they said is not true' according to OALD. This *China Daily* article served as a response to Cheney's comments on China's military growth published on the

previous day by *The Times* and argued for China. The use of *counter* clearly implied that what *The Times* reported was not true and Cheney's statements on China were not true. The two verbs in the two titles have already told their readers some information from the articles. Inside the two articles, there was competing discourse:

5.78 Dick Cheney, the US Vice-President, has expressed unease over China's growing military might, *warning* that its recent testing of anti-satellite weapons *clashed with* the country's *professed peaceful intentions*.

In example 5.78 from *The Times*, the verb *warn* appeared again, which has been studied in example 5.76 to express concerns from the US. The verb phrase *clash with* in 5.78 showed that China's military development seriously disagreed with its own principle of "China's peaceful rise". The author has also used *profess* to modify the peaceful intention from China. The word *profess* has the meaning that someone claims that something is true or correct, especially when it is not, which implied that "China's peaceful rise" was only what China claimed by itself, but the others may not agree and did not think China's rise was peaceful. All these verbs analysed in 5.78 helped present a China as a potential threat to the world because of its military development.

In the example from the corresponding *China Daily* article,

5.79 China *is committed to* its goal of peaceful development, a Beijing academic said in response to Friday's remarks on the country's "military threat" by US Vice-President Dick Cheney.

In contrast to *clash with* in example 5.78, the verb phrase *be committed to* in example 5.79 was used to modify *peaceful development*. After consulting the OALD, I learnt that this phrase *be committed to* means that 'to promise sincerely that you will definitely do something, keep to an agreement or arrangement'. China's strong will and determination toward peaceful development has been clearly shown to the article's readers here. The same concept—China's peaceful development, being used with different verbs, presented two sharply contrasting and 'competing' images about China, and it was not hard for the reader to find out stances of these two newspapers

about “China’s peaceful rise” principle.

5.2.3 Equating and Contrasting

5.2.3.1 Equating

In *The Times* database, examples using *X is Y* structure could be found such as:

5.80 China’s overriding motivation *is* raw materials.

5.81 The Communist Party *is* a fossilized anachronism in an increasingly affluent, sophisticated and cynical society.

5.82 The prime source of tension *is* China’s refusal to revalue its fixed exchange rate, which pegs the yuan to the dollar.

In example 5.80, it is noticed that motivation for China’s investment in Africa has been equated to the demand for raw materials. In other words, if there were no raw materials in Africa, China would not go and invest there. The proposed slogan of peaceful rise by China has been challenged here, and China’s greed for natural resources was communicated. In 5.81, the Communist Party was used to stand for Chinese government, and the party/government was seen as *a fossilized anachronism* by the author. Both the noun *anachronism* and its modification *fossilized* indicated the old-fashioned existence of the Communist Party in China and suggested that the Communist Party did not belong to the present, which shaped a contrast in meaning with the latter *increasingly affluent, sophisticated and cynical society*. A message that Chinese government was reluctant to change and that has led to China’s lagging behind the time. How could a nation behind the time bring benefits to the world? Readers have to think about that carefully before agreeing with the peaceful rise slogan proposed by China. Example 5.82 presented that China was refusing to change its fixed rate, which caused tension to the world. The major reason of tension was clearly constructed as coming from China. In the meantime, *fixed exchange rate* revealed the tight control China had over its economy because the exchange rate was not market-based but fixed, which was against the value of the market economy.

In *The Times* database, parallel structure could be found in examples like:

5.83 The heroism of the Burmese, the shame of China

This was an article title from *The Times* database. As the title is normally able to reveal the major content of the article, the parallel structure in 5.83 seemed to present the Burmese people's great courage and the shame of China on the same position. The first part talked about praise, while the second part was definitely put in a negative environment. The parallel structure here helped shape a contrast in the meaning, which set Burmese people against China, praised Burmese people's heroic behaviour and criticised China for the disgrace China has made to itself.

5.84 Trade unionists, human rights activists, separatists and the numerous anti-government rebel factions view China increasingly as an ally of their enemy and, consequently, a fair target.

In example 5.84, a list of people and organisations which hold similar ideas to China's role in Africa were provided. The author paralleled them in one group to serve as the long Subject of the whole sentence to show the wide range of people and organisations which hold unfavourable opinions to China. China's unpopularity in Africa was presented via this parallel structure.

In the category of apposition structure, there was:

5.85 Africa, China's new frontier

This was an article title from *The Times* database. The two parts, *Africa* and *China's new frontier* were placed in an equal position. The author seemed to tell readers that Africa has already become a part of China or China has territorial ambitions over Africa. Readers with basic geographical knowledge about locations of China and Africa would be puzzled or alarmed about this title, how can Africa become China's frontier? Questions and concerns arose from this title.

5.86 But it has also created a new political imperative for the Communist Party — to sustain that economic growth at all costs.

In example 5.86, the *new political imperative for the Communist Party* was explained as *to sustain that economic growth at all costs*. This equating relation put the political imperative same as economic growth. The word *imperative* sent out a message of command, peremptory or even dictatorship under this context. Economic growth has become politicised in China according to the author's depiction. It seemed that economic growth in China was not necessarily or primarily for people's benefits, but for accomplishing political goals.

5.2.3.2 Contrasting

In studying the basic contrasting structure *X, not Y* used in *The Times* database, for instance:

5.87 You still cannot do anything in China without the PLA, and swelling domestic discontent over extreme social inequality and rampant official corruption has made the military more, *not* less, critical, to the survival of the party leadership.

Example 5.87 used the basic contrasting structure *X, not Y* to present a China with many serious problems. The use of *more, not less* presented the significance of having a strong military power in China when facing more internal problems, which was seen as to guarantee the survival of Communist Party of China, rather than keeping safety of the country. The series of nouns and their modifications in example 5.87 *swelling domestic discontent, extreme social inequality* and *rampant official corruption* put the extremely serious situation China was in. The Chinese party leadership was not considering dealing with these problems, but relied more on its military power, the danger China posed to itself and to the world could be read out from this example. Also, a China with a large number of problems could not experience its growth in a peaceful way.

5.88 China's discomfort and irritation with the Burmese regime concern methods, *not*

objectives.

In this example, the basic contrasting structure *methods, not objectives* presented that China did not care about whether the Burma regime really wanted to deal with problems there, China cared about the way it showed to the world. From the context of this example, China was felt to be forced to put pressure on Burma's human rights issue, but China did not really want to address that issue to its ally. A gesture from China has been made, but that seemed not to be able to really solve problems in Burma since the ultimate aim for China was resources in Burma as told by the author from the context but not the Burmese people's interests. A cunning and wily image of China could be seen from this sentence.

5.89 What is clear is that we should seek to work with, *not* against, China.

Example 5.89 presented the suggestion from the author in dealing with China: to work with, instead of going against China. And this was from the few articles which reported the topic of China's development from a positive perspective in *The Times* database. Two contrasting options were provided, and the author picked the non-confrontational way, a willing of cooperating with China could be felt from this example.

In the next category, using contrastive conjunction *but* to create contrasting structure in *The Times* database:

5.90 Beijing has previously insisted that its firing of a ballistic missile at one of its own weather satellites on January 11 was for scientific purposes, *but* the test was widely criticised as a provocative demonstration of the nation's growing military clout.

In the first half of example 5.90, the author described what Beijing has done to claim for its peaceful intention, while in the second part of this sentence, the author used the contrastive conjunction *but* followed by reactions of the world on China's anti-satellite test—'widely criticised as a provocative demonstration' to shape the contrast. Beijing's inconsistent words and deeds attracted other countries' reactions, and this created a problem of distrust. The word *but* showed the contrasting opinions

held by the two parties, China and the international world. Effects created here were to exaggerate differences: from a scientific test to ‘a provocative demonstration of the nation’s growing military clout’, sharp contrast has been left in the reader’s minds.

5.91 In an address to prominent US and Australian figures, the Vice-President praised China for its crucial role in six-party talks that led to the North Korea pact, under which Pyongyang agreed to disable its main nuclear reactor in exchange for heavy fuel oil. *But* he went on to openly chide Beijing for its action on its own defence matters, saying that its military build-up and testing last month of anti-satellite weapons were “less constructive and are not consistent with China’s stated goal of a peaceful rise”.

In example 5.91, the author retailed Cheney’s praise towards China’s active part in six-party talks first, then *but* was used to shift meaning from very positive to negative with the help of *openly chide* in the second sentence. The author chose *openly chide* to criticise or blame China on its anti-satellite weapon test in public. To Cheney, or at least in the author’s opinion, China’s anti-satellite weapon testing was wrong. But interestingly, following *chide*, the author wrote *on its [China’s] own defence matters*, which seemed that the author positioned himself or herself in an impartial stance and sounded like criticising Cheney that he should not interfere with China’s internal affairs.

5.92 Western leaders may fear the Chinese, but they also need the wealth produced by China’s dynamic economy.

In example 5.92, the use of *but* helped present a feeling of struggle: possible fears from the West on China, and the West’s dependency on China’s economy. This showed an image of having got no alternative options from the West to readers. The idea of ambivalence could be felt. China’s huge influence over the West has been presented to the reader, which may also strengthen the fear from the West of China.

In *The Times* database, no appearance of the replacive opposition trigger *instead of* was found, but for the explicit opposition trigger *in contrast*, there was one occurrence:

5.93 Mugabe's remarks came in an "exclusive interview" with the Chinese state news agency Xinhua, which rarely boasts of its exclusives but was eager to publicise his appreciation of China's friendship *in contrast* to "western hostility".

In this example, a competing discourse about China and the West was presented here via the explicit opposition trigger *in contrast*: China was friendly to Africa, and the West was hostile, according to Mugabe. To the author, the aim of this interview was to present this kind of contrast, and the verb *eager* expressed that kind of excitement of publishing Mugabe's remarks to construct the competing image. Mugabe was not a popular African politician in the West, for instance, in article *Africa, China's new frontier* from *The Times*, Mugabe was depicted as one of the 'repressive African leaders', and in *Beijing makes play for Africa* as 'an international pariah'. Thus his favourable comments on China may not be considered trustworthy by the West. In addition, the news agency Mugabe had for exclusive interview was the Chinese state news agency, and it would be hard for the state-controlled news agency to really say something against the government. In that case, the contrasting image may not be that seriously treated, also the Western readers may not consider these comments trustworthy.

5.2.4 Prioritizing

Similar to the *China Daily* articles, in *The Times*, articles used the cleft structure to help prioritise elements to the focal position to present the authors' viewpoint on issues and to achieve ideological effects via these usages.

5.94 It is Beijing's economic muscle that underpins its clout on the international stage.

In this example, the author put the strength of China's economic development as the basis for China's capability of exerting power in the world. The author positioned economic growth as the vital thing for China, which may explain why China has attached great importance to its economic development from the author's perspective.

5.95 Mr Cheney made a point of playing down expectations of the agreement. “Pyongyang,” he said, “has much to prove.” **But it was** his remarks on China **that** were most interesting.

In this example, both contrastive conjunction *but* and the cleft structure were used to construct the contrasting image. The first part of this example discussed the former US Vice-President Cheney’s comments on the Six Party Talks. As known, this talk was aimed to solve nuclear problems in North Korea. However, to the author, the most interesting point was on Cheney’s comments on China, which could be achieved via the conjunction *but* to find the change in meaning, and also via the cleft structure to find the focus this sentence placed on. The significance China enjoyed over the nuclear issue in North Korea was clearly presented.

5.96 **It is** China, remember, **which** hosted and brokered last week’s talks on Korea, “the first hopeful step towards a better future”, as Mr Cheney put it. **But** rather than grateful thanks, the emphasis of his remarks was on the threat which China is beginning to represent.

The author reported Cheney’s praise for the Six Party Talks by directly quoting from Cheney praising these talks as ‘the first hopeful step towards a better future’. The cleft structure has been used to emphasise the unique role China played in making those talks possible. Following normal logic, China might be further praised by Cheney. However, instead of expressing thanks to China for the organisation, the author considered that Cheney put up “China threat” remarks as the central topic in his speech. Threat from North Korea moved to China. This sharp move and the focal position the author have put China in via the cleft structure helped shape an extremely contrasting picture of China. To Cheney, threat from China was more imminent than the nuclear threat from Korea, the reader could image how dangerous China’s growth might be to the world.

Besides cleft structure, passive structure was also used to construct prioritization in *The Times* database.

5.97 But Chinese **are still being denied** an opportunity to make intelligent choices about their leaders...

The passive verb form *are still being denied* was used by the author in example 5.97, and the Actor was lost in this case, so who denied the opportunity to make political change in China was unclear. There were many possibilities for the author to do so. The author might not know the agent; the author might not want to speak the agent out in order to avoid consequent troubles; or the author wanted to lead readers to think for themselves. But the implication from this passive form was that it was not Chinese who did not want to have this opportunity, but Chinese were not able to enjoy that right. The tense of this sentence was present continuous tense, which implied that the fact of Chinese lacking of political rights was happening at the time of writing, which could make the tension more urgent and desperate. The whole sentence led the reader to a pessimistic picture of China's political future.

5.98. Internally, the Party *is rocked by* furious controversy over the sustainability of China's headlong rush to get rich; and that is precisely why open debate on China's problems is deemed unaffordable.

In this example, the reader could see that the Communist Party of China was feeling disturbed by conflicting opinions on whether China's development could be sustained or not, the adverb *internally* in the beginning indicated that these talks were held inside the party, and the general public may not get involved or even know this *furious controversy*. Things which shocked the party were listed by the author via this passive structure *is rocked by*, and *furious controversy* showed how serious conflictions seemed to be inside the party. In the second half of example 5.98, the previously discussed sentence was considered by the author as a reason for not allowing Chinese people to present debate on China's problems publicly, and the consequence for allowing people to openly debate China's problem was considered as *unaffordable*. But whether who considered that as unaffordable was left unknown to the reader. From example 5.98, the tight control in China, lack of transparency in party politics and serious problems China was having were all presented to the reader. At the same time, the control the Party held over China could not be ignored either.

In the next example, the angle was changed to explore the subordination possibilities

from studying the structure of the sentence to find out its priorities.

5.99 The issue of Taiwan lies at the heart of Sino-American relations since Beijing has said that it will retake the island, which it sees as a renegade province, by force if necessary while the United States is committed by treaty obligations to the island's defence.

In example 5.99, the Subject of the main sentence the issue of Taiwan stated the topic. Its position in the Sino-US relations has been described as *at the heart of* to indicate the utmost importance the two parties attach to the Taiwan problem. Reasons for its unique position in the bilateral relations were explained by the clause starting with *since*. The adverbial clause explained cause had its own SPO structure, from which mainland China and the US were put in a conflicting position. By emphasising through presenting China as the actor of *retake the island...by force if necessary*, the author showed that there was potentially a serious threat from China's military growth to Taiwan, and to the US. Inside this clause starting with *since*, the use of connection *while* helped present two pictures. The way the author showed the author's view to the Taiwan problem: China may finally end up with actively taking military actions to take over Taiwan, which was a deliberate choice by the Chinese government. If that kind of situation became true, the US government would have no choice but to help Taiwan defend attacks from mainland China because that was regulated according to the treaty Taiwan and the US signed. The passive structure *be committed by treaty obligations* presented that it was out of moral duty but not what the US actively wanted to do. Although it sounded like that the US could not choose to avoid being dragged into the war by obligations, it was still a choice for the US to sign the treaty to obey the obligations in the very beginning. However, these considerations were left unsaid by the author in this article.

5.2.5 Negating

As in the *China Daily* analysis, I developed this section from three aspects: negative particle, negative pronouns and inherently negative words, to study what kind of China has been presented to the reader by negating in *The Times*.

5.100 China does *not* now face a direct threat from another nation. Yet it continues to invest heavily in its military, particularly in programmes designed to improve power projection, the report said.

The negative particle *not* clearly moved China from direct threat. In other words, the situation for China was safe. In that case, the next sentence starting with *yet* would sound inexplicable to the reader since there was no reason for China to strengthen its military power in a peaceful environment as the author suggested unless China has aggressive or militaristic intentions. A feeling of threat and unease caused by China could be felt from this example.

5.101 China's leaders have *not* the remotest interest in an outcome that might encourage China's own democracy activists, above all in the run-up to the Olympics.

China's relations to promoting democracy was presented in a negative environment with the negative particle *not* and also the superlative degree *remotest*. Together, *not the remotest* might suggest that China had very little or no interest at all in encouraging democracy activists in China. At the same time, the modal auxiliary verb *might* suggesting possibility rather than certainty of something to happen, further showed that China planned to offer no possibility at all to those democracy activists and the most important focus has been put on holding the Olympics. Example 5.101 may suggest that holding a successful Olympics was more important than promoting democracy in China. A nation without democracy could not be a responsible and trustworthy nation from a western perspective.

5.102 China's emergence as the world's factory has generally been beneficial, but that does *not* mean that its decade-long drive to develop a world-class military should be viewed with complacency.

In example 5.102, the author presented two contrasting images of China. One was a China beneficial to the world, and the other one was a military powerful China. The author held different opinions of the two Chinas and the contrastive conjunction *but* showed that kind of difference. The first China was labeled with *generally been beneficial*; when discussing the second China, negative particle *not* altered the

positive presentation to the one with alarming, warning that *complacency* was not the proper treatment to China's military growth. This noun *complacency* means 'a feeling of satisfaction with yourself or with a situation, so that you do not think any change is necessary' (OALD). To put this noun in a negative situation, it indicated that the world should not be satisfied with the current situation of China's military growth and suggested that something may need to be done. Threat from China's military growth was shown to the reader.

5.103 Its relentless hunt for raw materials moves oil and commodity markets and increasingly roils international diplomacy, because Beijing has *no* compunction about doing business with repugnant but resource-rich regimes.

In example 5.103, the first half showed to the reader that China's appetite for natural resources have caused troubles to the world, and *relentless hunt for raw materials* presented a greedy China whose appetite could never be satisfied. The second half explained reasons behind troubles caused by China. China was presented in the context of lacking any guilty feeling for what it did. Collaboration partners working with China were described as *repugnant but resource-rich regimes*. These countries were *regimes* in the eyes of the author which implied the disapproval of those nations, in addition, they were modified by *repugnant*, which contained strong connotation of dislike, and *resource-rich*, which put the focus back to raw materials which had been mentioned in the earlier part of this sentence. The negative presentation of China in this example presented to the reader that China only cared about obtaining natural resources and China could do business with any nation as long as China could find resources there. This was not what a responsible power was supposed to do according to the author and the reader would find it difficult for them not to agree with the author.

5.104 However, where the Chinese have done this - oil-rich Angola and mineral-rich Zambia come to mind - resentment has often arisen because of their *unwillingness* to employ indigenous workers.

The word *unwillingness* showed to the reader that the Chinese did not want to employ local workers in Africa. China told the world that its investment in Africa

was to help promote local economy and improve local people's living standard. But the fact that local workers were unfairly treated and were not recruited by Chinese companies could indicate that what China said was not supported by what China did. As a result, the feeling of anger or unhappiness from people in Africa became significant according to the author, which could be seen from *resentment has often arisen*. The idea that China's investment in Africa may not really bring benefits to local people could be felt from this sentence.

5.2.6 Hypothesizing

In this section, analysis started from modal auxiliary verbs.

5.105 Whether a threat or a boon, the China effect *will* transform the world economy.

5.106 China is gradually displacing America as Asia's leading economic power and this *will* have geopolitical consequences throughout the world.

5.107 If the unbelievable bravery of the Burmese gets them nowhere yet again, China *will* take the blame. It *will* underscore China's denial of freedoms to its own people.

Both examples 5.105 and 5.106 helped establish the idea that China's growth and influence exerted were inevitable. Readers may agree that collision between China and the West, especially the US is also unavoidable. The picture of a growing, booming and challenging China has been depicted after reading these articles, and the decline of a once great empire, the US, predicted by the author in example 5.106. Example 5.107 was constructed as a hypothesis with conjunction *if*. This example imagined that the Burmese fought against the military junta in Burma again, the first *will* in the sentence showed that the author was feeling certain that China would be blamed for continuously supporting the junta and ignoring the Burmese democratic needs. The second *will* in example 5.107 continued the previous hypothesis and informed the reader that if that happened, *China's denial of freedoms to its own people* would become more obviously shown in front of the world. Both *will* helped present to the reader a China not caring about international justice and its own people's freedom.

5.108 What is clear is that we *should* seek to work with, not against, China.

5.109 There is hardly a world problem that *can* be solved unless China is involved.

Example 5.108 listed two contrasting options in terms of dealing with China, and the author picked the non-confrontational way, a willing of cooperating with China could be felt from this example. The use of modal auxiliary verb *should* presented that option as an obligation from the author's perspective: to work with, rather than going against China. In example 5.109, the ability of solving problems without the participation of China was seen as impossible by the author. The use of modal *can* in negative context indicated by *hardly* highlighted the importance of China in dealing with today's international issues. Both examples reported the topic of China's development from a relatively positive perspective, but the number of articles with positive ideas like these two examples was smaller compared to the ones reporting mainly from the unfavourable perspective in *The Times* database.

5.110 In Angola, the government has agreed that 70% of tendered public works *must* go to Chinese firms, most of which do not employ Angolans.

5.111 These countries *must* stop covering China's back.

The use of *must* in example 5.110 indicated the strong message sent from the Angola government to please China. This sentence made 70% of tendered public works in Angola done by Chinese firms a necessary requirement, which seemed to be illogical to the reader since this poor country needed more jobs to support its people's survival, and the fact that *most of which do not employ Angolans* made the situation even more complex. How could a country favour a foreign nation's interest by ignoring its own citizens' rights? But this example just showed the reader that Angola was a country like that. At the same time, the image of an aggressive and greedy China is also implied. Example 5.111 appeared in the context of praising the Burmese bravery of fighting against dictatorship in the country and accusing China of not caring about democracy and freedom. The use of *must* clearly told the other countries to no longer help China hide mistakes it has made from the public, which implied that China has committed wrongs before. This message was clear and firm from the author.

5.112 The Pentagon estimates that China *might* be spending up to \$90 billion (£52 billion) a year on its military, three times the officially acknowledged budget, a figure that *would* make it the world's third-biggest defence spender after the United States and Russia.

This example used words *estimates*, *might* and *would* when describing China's military status quo in the fourth paragraph. The three words all conveyed the idea of uncertainty and lack of definite knowledge about things being talked about. If a report was to be submitted to the US Congress, figures should be reliable and things mentioned inside should not be imagined or feigned but be facts. It seemed to be a different picture here. Even though these figures may not be reliable, a picture of a growing China with strong military power could be felt. In this example, *three times the officially acknowledged budget* was used to present that China was not honest with its military budget. This may suggest that Chinese military budget suffers from a lack of transparency, which could be the reason why these figures were estimated.

5.113 *If* democracy is good for Burma, after all, why not for China?

The hypothesis of this sentence was that democracy was good for Burma, and it was good for China as well. However, the fact was that Burma was not enjoying a good democratic situation in the time of writing, which may imply that the democratic condition in China was not good either and China was apprehensive about its own democracy records. Another hypothesis could be that if China began dealing with the Burmese issues, China would find it hard to answer this question, and that might be the reason why China was reluctant to exert its influence and put more pressure on the Burmese government to promote democratic conditions in Burma.

5.2.7 Presenting others' Speech and Thoughts

In *The Times* database, many direct speech or indirect speech instances have been found to help construct its articles.

5.114 "The Chinese understand that a nuclear North Korea would be a threat to their own security, [but] other actions by the Chinese government send a different message," he said.

“Last month’s anti-satellite test and China’s continued fast-paced military build-up are less constructive and are not consistent with China’s stated goal of a ‘peaceful rise’.”

Example 5.114 directly quoted from the Vice-President of America at that time, Dick Cheney to present his comments on China’s holding of the Six Party Talks and China’s military development. Connecting with the context, Cheney’s detailed quotation showed that he thought China hosted the talks for its own security sake since the ‘Chinese understand that a nuclear North Korea would be a threat to their own security’, in that case, there might be no need to express thanks to China for what it did in making these talks possible. To Cheney, China’s anti-satellite test and growing military strength was a more important issue, which did not agree with China’s proposed ‘goal of a “peaceful rise”’ and became the main concern to Cheney. From this example, the reader saw that China had a lot to prove its proposed peaceful rise policy. At present, China’s development was considered not peaceful by Cheney and might be so viewed by the author and reader as well.

5.115 “The Chinese don’t ask questions in Africa and we cannot ignore their growing presence,” a Western diplomat *said*. “China has no friends, only interests,” *said* an African official repeating the great British statesman Lord Palmerston’s famous remark, in commenting on a recent visit by President Hu Jintao to oil-rich Gabon.

In example 5.115, the author quoted from two people directly discussing China, although the source of the quotations has been provided: a Western diplomat and an African official, they were vague and hard for the reader to really know who these two people were. The content of the first direct quotation showed an irresponsible China ignoring problems occurring in Africa, and the second direct quotation clearly labelled China as a greedy nation having no friends in the world. One comment was from the West, and the other one was from Africa, which seemed to present a balanced picture of what the world considered about China. In addition, when introducing the place the Chinese President visited in his African trip, the author wrote as *oil-rich Gabon*, instead of *Gabon* on its own. The modification in front of *Gabon* also helped to suggest that natural resources and interests were what China aimed at, which corresponded to the African official’s comment.

5.116 Mr Aso, who has strong nationalist views, referred to the “perception that China is becoming a major threat”, and said that Beijing’s lack of transparency “fans the anxiety”. But political analysts said that his comments marked an important departure from Japan’s official line, which has always stopped short of publicly describing China as a military threat. Beijing responded with outrage. Qin Gang, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, said: “It is highly irresponsible for the Japanese Foreign Minister to make these remarks. We can’t help but ask his real purpose for expressing such a groundless sentiment.”

In this example, both direct speech and indirect speech could be found. In the first sentence, Mr Aso, the then Japanese Foreign Minister, his words were quoted partially instead of a full sentence. The possible reason may be that the author of this article only selected the segments suitable for this article rather than the whole sentence. The selections the author has made can definitely reveal the threatening ideas. In the second sentence, political analysts’ finding was reported in indirect speech. The conclusion was drawn from a group of analysts rather than a single person, so it may not be possible to quote all of their comments; on the other hand, if these political analysts’ could arrive at a similar conclusion, it may suggest that they shared similar thinking and all considered that Japan has made a big change on the way it comments China. The verb phrase used in this sentence *stop short of* indicated that Japan was unwilling to openly describe China as a military threat in the past although Japan may consider China to be. But this time, Japan changed its long-held policy to openly talk about military threat from China and that made the feeling of threat clearer and closer to readers. When describing response from China on Japan’s comments, *The Times* used the noun *outrage*, a word with strong connotation to show the strong feeling of anger, to openly condemn Japanese Foreign Minister’s remarks from China. The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman’s reaction was reported as direct speech. The exact words from the spokesman have been quoted. Inside the quotation, the inherently negative word *irresponsible*, modal auxiliary verb *can*, negative particle *not* all help contribute to great anger from China, which is in accordance with *outrage* mentioned earlier. Example 5.116 showed to readers the tension between China and Japan. Japan’s worries towards China’s growing military power and China’s outrage towards Japan’s openly challenges have been presented to readers, which seemed to imply that at least between China and Japan, their relationship was not peaceful according to this example.

5.2.8 Representing Time, Space and Society

In *The Times* database, it was interesting to notice from the previous corpus analysis that the word *Mr* has been significantly used in *The Times* but not in *China Daily*. It may suggest that when addressing a person, *The Times* preferred to address the gentlemen with the title, while *China Daily* does not care much about that. It was felt from my personal experience of reading articles from these two newspapers that it was the case for *The Times* to add title in front of a name, like *Mr Hu*, *Mr Miliband* and *Mr Cheney*, and *China Daily* normally wrote about names directly, or with persons' official titles, for instance 'Cheney said...', 'Shi said Cheney's remarks...', 'President Hu Jintao', 'Shi Yinghong, a professor at the School of International Studies at Beijing's Renmin University of China' and 'US Vice-President Dick Cheney'. This may reflect the cultural difference between ways Chinese and their British counterparts address people, which was spotted thanks to the application of corpus analysis.

In addition, the name to be included in the article could also reveal some ideological information from the author.

5.117 The red carpet has been laid out for 48 African leaders, including *Mugabe and Omar al-Bashir of Sudan*, as China revels in hosting its biggest summit with the continent since the foundation of the People's Republic in 1949.

5.118 *Mugabe and Sudan's Bashir* listened with evident approval as the Chinese leader talked of "a regular high-level political dialogue . . . to enhance mutual political trust".

Within both examples, Mugabe and Bashir were mentioned at the same time. It has been mentioned previously that Mugabe was not a popular African politician in the West. And Sudan leader Omar al-Bashir seemed to enjoy an even worse reputation in the West. Bashir was a wanted international war criminal, accused of genocide against his own people. Example 5.117 specifically listed these two figures from all those 48 participants, and it could be considered that this was a meeting with dictators; example 5.118 used *evident approval* to show the two figures' reactions to

Chinese leader's talk about bilateral cooperation. China could do business with these dictators and it suggested that China was a nation with no moral principle and no sense of responsibility, and China did not care about human rights or democracy issues in Africa.

5.3 Summary

Having analysed the two newspapers from the above angles with tools suggested by 'Critical Stylistics' (Jeffries, 2010), I discovered that both newspapers have carefully designed their articles with various intentions to help spread ideologies represented behind these articles.

China Daily preferred to use nouns with positive connotations e.g. *co-operation*, to support the idea of China's peaceful development. Verbs used by *China Daily* either clearly praised China's development process, e.g. *speak highly of*, or obviously constructed unfavourable image to those which object to China's development, e.g. *show off*, *interfere*. Different attitudes to the two ways of treating China could be felt from these verb selections. In terms of constructing equivalence, *China Daily* liked to directly present China's rise as a peaceful process in the form of *X is Y*, e.g. 'Loving peace, honouring promises and living in harmony with all others far and near is an important part of China's cultural heritage', or to parallel various elements contributing to present a positive image to China, or to add explanatory elements in the form of apposition to bring to the readers more information either criticising parties challenging "China's peaceful rise" or adding weight to support peaceful rise idea. When using opposition, various syntactic triggers were applied to construct China's peaceful rise image against challenging ideas and help enhance the peaceful intention from China. In the process of analysing Prioritizing, the author from *China Daily* made the focus of the sentences to support rather than oppose "China's peaceful rise", which could be found from examples analysed in section 5.1.4 in this chapter. When studying Negating, *China Daily* preferred to construct China's development in the negative presentation, e.g. 'it would **not** be in the interests of the world if China did **not** rise', which may be able to help emphasise the positive idea

from China's development. In Hypothesizing category, from previous analyses, by applying different modal verbs and common modal items like *if* and *suppose*, China's development was constructed in an environment positive to China. When dealing with Presenting Others' Speech and Thoughts, the most obvious feature in *China Daily* was that *China Daily* quoted a large number of positive comments from the others, normally academics and influential political figures, *China Daily* used these quotations to argue for China's development policy. In the process of studying Representing Time, Space and Society, the reader could find different people were addressed differently, which indicated the preference *China Daily* had towards those figures, and more deeply, towards those people's attitudes to "China's peaceful rise" policy. It was possible for me to argue after analysing all 45 articles from the *China Daily* database that all these articles contributed to the positive image construction of "China's peaceful rise". Ideologies behind these writings which were revealed via above-mentioned analyses through various tools could be seen as *China Daily* intended to project a rather positive and welcoming image of China on China's development in order to persuade *China Daily*'s readers that China is an active player on the world stage bringing benefits to the globe and China should be given and deserve its proposed peaceful rise.

When moving to look at *The Times* database, I did not find a completely different picture. There were four articles in *The Times* database (*America misdiagnoses 'China syndrome'*, *Nasty effects of China syndrome*, *The new Olympic sport: China bashing* and *Who's afraid of big bad China? Why?*) reporting China's rise by either directly or indirectly explaining benefits the West was going to enjoy from China's development from a pragmatic-oriented perspective, which provided a different voice on the China's rise topic for *The Times*' readers to consider and could be seen as a sign of free or less controlled media. *The Times* strived to be seen to present a relatively impartial picture on China's rise by its reports, but the fact was that four out of twenty reports were hardly possible to change the general trend *The Times* database shaped: it was the worry and fear, rather than peace and benefits, that was felt from China's rise. The overwhelming ideological hints received from *The Times* database were achieved via presentations in most of the time negative environment of various patterns as analysed in previous section and those analytical tools applied in such articles kept up a background tone of mainly worries and anxieties about the

risk the rise of China presents to *The Times*' readers. *The Times* also seemed to play a role in mediating some of the more extreme US press reports in favour of a more moderate, though certainly still Western, position. Britain not so much was presented as a direct competitor with China as the US in *The Times* articles. It could be summarised from *The Times* database that the majority of the Western nations were not holding a welcoming attitude, or at least were alerted towards China's boom. The West in general did not want to see a stronger China and was fearful of China's development.

So far, I could say that different analytical tools enabled the reader to understand the topic of "China's peaceful rise" through newspaper articles published in *China Daily* and *The Times* from different perspectives. I may say that these articles were demonstrably constructed by the authors to serve their own purposes, and of course producing the ideological impact which the newspapers or the authors desired them to do. *China Daily* and *The Times* articles have been written in different ways and varied ideological effects towards the principle of "China's peaceful rise" could be implied from the analyses.

Chapter Six Conclusion

In this chapter, I report both descriptive and theoretical findings arising out of my study and also outline areas for future research and problems raised by this study.

6.1 Findings from this study

The topic of my research is “China’s peaceful rise”. This study focuses on reporting of China’s growing overall national competence on the international platform in the Chinese English newspaper *China Daily* and British newspaper *The Times*.

In terms of corpus analysis, analyses were done from two levels, the keywords study and key concepts study. From studying concordance lines and collocations of keywords from the *China Daily* and *The Times* databases, it was recognised that words were used in contrasting contexts with *China Daily* emphasising on peace and development, while *The Times* being more interested in conflict and threat. The key concepts analyses further confirmed conclusions drawn from the keywords check, and different concepts covered in the two newspapers suggested the different angles they came from when reporting the topic of “China’s peaceful rise”.

In terms of critical discourse analysis, with the help of tools suggested by ‘Critical Stylistics’ (Jeffries, 2010), it was understood from my database that *China Daily* preferred to quote directly from authorities to enhance the credibility of its arguments, especially positive Western comments were given at length and in direct quotation. *China Daily* tended to defend China against any kind of accusations from the exterior, especially by comparing China’s justice against the West’s ‘cunning’ and ‘dishonest’ treatments of China. The repeated optimistic statements about “China’s peaceful rise” could be found from these *China Daily* articles. It was hardly possible to find criticisms of the principle of “China’s peaceful rise” from China from *China Daily*’s reports. Even if there were negative comments, they tended to be negatively

framed, reported more briefly and in summary. Criticisms from the West on “China’s peaceful rise” policy were brought into reports for the author to argue against those criticisms and prove the development of China is peaceful. Although China did not allow the West to say things unfavourable to “China’s peaceful rise” policy as shown from *China Daily*’s reports, *China Daily* referred to some problems existing in Chinese society for China to deal with, which seemed to tell *China Daily*’s readers that China did not cover up and ignore problems. From all of these *China Daily* reports, a roughly unified voice was heard, which was that China was developing peacefully without posing danger and threat to the other countries. *China Daily* helped China to insist on this view with its reports.

The Times’ articles revealed a contradictory feeling towards China. On the one hand, the West seemed to have no choice but to accept the fact of China’s rise, and on the other hand, cautions and worries about China’s rise and growth could be clearly felt from the reporting. Results from analyses showed that the majority of articles from *The Times* tended to blame China for problems caused by China’s development, e.g. environmental pollution, military threat to China’s neighbouring countries and even to the US, trade surplus because of China’s cheap products and so on. All of these complaints and issues alerted *The Times*’ readers that China’s development was not the same as what China has stated; in other words, China’s development was not peaceful and beneficial, or only beneficial to some people, not all.

This study based itself on approaches suggested by previous studies combining corpus research methods with critical discourse analysis to develop the analyses (Fairclough, 2000; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Baker, Paul et al., 2008) and this study has contributed to the relatively unexplored Chinese data with this combined research method to find out ideologies embedded in different newspapers from different cultures. Since this is a newspaper discourse study and the topic “China’s peaceful rise” is a topic on politics, by carrying out the analysis with the combination of corpus analysis and critical discourse analysis, this study is able to suggest that media studies and political social science could be studied by applying linguistic methods, or at least linguistic study could provide valuable insights for these disciplines.

The same topic about “China’s peaceful rise” has been reported very differently by the two newspapers. One is from China and the other one is from the UK. This is the charm of news reports since readers are able to find different images of China in terms of the China being depicted in different articles. But at the same time, it also creates the danger of inaccurately informing readers and helping construct an inaccurate or distorted image of the truth. It is hard to tell whose reports are right and whose are wrong, but neither of *China Daily* nor *The Times* is likely to be all right all the time. We as readers are required to be more cautious and careful when reading articles no matter what the source is and who you are for or against. Do not rely on a single source of information. Try to listen to a range of voices as well as drawing on your own wider knowledge, experience and understanding. If this thesis contributes in any small way to better intercultural understanding, it has been worthwhile.

6.2 Directions for further research

In my competing discourse analysis, I collected data from Chinese newspaper published in English language. Both *The Times* and *China Daily* are written for English language readers. Previous studies by Chen (2004, 2007) have proved the possibility of carrying out comparison between newspapers across different cultures and news systems. To expand Chen’s pioneering work, I think it might be a possible research angle to compare the same topic with articles produced with journalists’ native languages in the future research, which means using data collected from Chinese newspapers published in Chinese language to compare with data collected from e.g. the UK published in English language, which may help overcome barriers set by language differences to journalists and may be more accurate and revealing in terms of expressing their true feelings.

It was realised that my data collection was relatively small in terms of the size of word count compared with contemporary corpora with millions of words. As a result, this may limit my analyses to some extent and findings generated may not be fully representative. I notice from daily reading that the topic about “China’s peaceful rise” is keeping on developing in newspaper reports, and more articles have been

published after the ending time of my data collection (2008). How do articles develop and what are their focuses now? Have these focuses changed over time and why? This research can be done as a longitudinal study to study topics over time, at the same time the size of the database can be expanded to make findings more generalisable. A media and communication development study could be another project to be investigated.

In this competing analysis, only two newspapers were selected in the databases. If more newspapers from different regions can be studied, findings may be more generalisable, and I may be able to find more differences or similarities between reports. US newspapers like *USA Today* should perhaps be examined directly, to compare with British or European reports.

Relating to the discourse analysis, one criticism about it is the subjective conclusion generated from researcher's own perspective. Corpus analysis is used as and has been shown to be an important method to help reduce the degree of subjectivity. Furthermore, if some questionnaires can be sent to different readers or other reader reception research to find out what others think about the same article, which might also be helpful to construct an objective picture about reports to be studied rather than only limited perceptions from researcher's own viewpoint.

All in all, there is much additional work which could be done to strengthen and extend this study and they are future research directions for me to focus on.

Appendices

Appendix I

Articles collected from *China Daily*

Publication Date	Title	Source
22-12-2003	China's rise on world stage no cause for worrying in US	<i>China Daily</i>
05-01-2004	China enhances global status	<i>China Daily</i>
20-02-2004	China picks peaceful path to prosperity	<i>China Daily</i>
20-02-2004	Nation engages actively in global affairs	<i>China Daily</i>
02-03-2004	China's rise benefits world	<i>China Daily</i>
15-03-2004	Wen: Sustain balanced growth	<i>China Daily</i>
09-04-2004	China's rise promotes peace	<i>China Daily</i>
23-04-2004	What they are saying	<i>China Daily</i>
26-04-2004	Hu: Chinese growth offers opportunities for others	<i>China Daily</i>
13-05-2004	Japan must face up to history	<i>China Daily</i>
23-11-2004	Nation rising in peace	<i>China Daily</i>
28-12-2004	Strong army ensures peaceful development	<i>China Daily</i>
23-04-2005	China's rise drives region's emergency	<i>China Daily</i>
23-08-2005	Banner of diplomacy stressed	<i>China Daily</i>
21-10-2005	Nation acts to refute unfounded threat claim	<i>China Daily</i>
23-01-2006	Peaceful development remains strategic goal	<i>China Daily</i>
25-01-2006	Friendly Sino-Japanese ties essential for peace	<i>China Daily</i>
08-02-2006	US, not China, stands at strategic crossroads	<i>China Daily</i>
03-03-2006	China's rise incomplete despite steady growth	<i>China Daily</i>
17-04-2006	Sino-US co-operation shows signs of maturing	<i>China Daily</i>
09-08-2006	China increasingly attractive says US scholar	<i>China Daily</i>
17-11-2006	Hu: China to pursue peace, prosperity	<i>China Daily</i>
24-02-2007	Academic counters 'threat' remarks	<i>China Daily</i>
25-02-2007	Cheney fires long-distance shots	<i>China Daily</i>
13-06-2007	US, wake up to China's non-Cold-War geopolitics	<i>China Daily</i>
14-06-2007	China's peaceful rise is all about soft power	<i>China Daily</i>
31-08-2007	A crucial step forward	<i>China Daily</i>
24-10-2007	US to foster trade ties with China – Paulson	<i>China Daily</i>
09-11-2007	US does not fear stronger China – Paulson	<i>China Daily</i>
09-11-2007	China is committed to peaceful development	<i>China Daily</i>
12-12-2007	A bridge over the language and culture gap	<i>China Daily</i>
26-12-2007	China achieving peaceful rise	<i>China Daily</i>

25-01-2008	The world warms to China's peaceful rise	<i>China Daily</i>
27-02-2008	Ties create options for Africa	<i>China Daily</i>
14-04-2008	Reason for boycott call	<i>China Daily</i>
06-05-2008	Muse of 2008 Olympic torch relay	<i>China Daily</i>
07-05-2008	US using 'Tibet issue' to keep check on China	<i>China Daily</i>
10-10-2008	Why do they fret about China's rise?	<i>China Daily</i>
15-10-2008	Peaceful development is always our path	<i>China Daily</i>
15-10-2008	People not different	<i>China Daily</i>
09-10-2006	Brookings to launch China policy centre	<i>Financial Times</i>
28-11-2007	US welcomes rise of a peaceful, prosperous China	Xinhua News Agency
13-04-2008	Commentary: On hypocrisy of Pelosi's double standards	Xinhua News Agency
17-04-2008	West is 'waging a new Cold War against China'	Xinhua News Agency
28-10-2008	China's development crucial to world - US economist	Xinhua News Agency

Appendix II

Articles collected from *The Times*

Publication Date	Title	Source
16-02-2004	Enter the dragon, breathing fire into economy	<i>The Times</i>
21-07-2005	China arms budget has tripled, says Pentagon	<i>The Times</i>
23-12-2005	Military secrecy alarms Japan	<i>The Times</i>
10-04-2006	America misdiagnoses 'China syndrome'	<i>The Times</i>
31-07-2006	China builds vast bunker complex 'in case of attack'	<i>The Times</i>
22-01-2007	What now for China's ambitions? Watch this space	<i>The Times</i>
25-04-2007	From favoured patron to target of dissenters	<i>The Times</i>
07-09-2007	Nasty effects of China syndrome	<i>The Times</i>
01-10-2007	The heroism of the Burmese, the shame of China	<i>The Times</i>
15-10-2007	The Party's Party	<i>The Times</i>
30-01-2008	Black smoke over China	<i>The Times</i>
29-02-2008	Be a force for good in world, China told	<i>The Times</i>
18-04-2008	The new Olympic sport: China bashing	<i>The Times</i>
13-05-2008	Who's afraid of big bad China? Why?	<i>The Times</i>
26-12-2004	Focus: Year of the Chinese dragon	<i>The Sunday Times</i>
02-01-2005	Booming China heads for collision with West	<i>The Sunday Times</i>
05-11-2006	Beijing makes play for Africa	<i>The Sunday Times</i>
10-02-2008	Africa, China's new frontier	<i>The Sunday Times</i>
23-02-2007	Cheney warns China over military build-up	<i>Times Online</i>
23-02-2007	Comment: Asia no longer in awe of US superpower	<i>Times Online</i>

Appendix III

Nation rising in peace

Zheng Bijian

2004-11-23 05:59

China's recent boom has prompted a lot of tongue-wagging in the international community.

This makes it particularly necessary to glean a proper perception about the country's achievements and its development route in the first half of the 21st century.

Since it adopted its reform and opening-up policy in 1978, China has been one of the fastest-growing economies in the world, as evidenced by a 9.4 per cent average annual GDP growth.

China accounted for less than 1 per cent of the world economy in 1978. Its share has now grown to 4 per cent.

In 1978, China's total foreign trade volume was US\$20.6 billion. Last year, it was US\$851.2 billion, 40 times as much and ranking fourth in the world.

But economic growth alone cannot clearly show the real picture of a country's development.

China has a population of 1.3 billion. Any small difficulty in its economic and social development, multiplied by this figure, could become a huge problem. Any considerable amount of financial and material resources, divided by the 1.3 billion also makes only a tiny handful in per capita terms.

As a economic power with a tangible growth rate, China's economy in 2003, however, was still just one-seventh of that of the United States in aggregate terms, and one third of that of Japan. In per capita terms, it is still a low-income developing country ranking 100th in the world. Its impact on the world economy is still limited.

All China's efforts to resolve problems of development are mainly devoted to creating better lives for its large population and an increasingly prosperous and civilized environment suitable for development.

This goal alone will keep several generations of Chinese people quite busy.

While the country's economy is sound on the whole, its structure still needs to be improved. Major problems in agriculture, energy, environment and investment are cropping up in the course of development.

In the second half of last year, the Chinese Government adopted a series of macro-regulation measures to address the problems in the country's economic structure. The

measures have so far yielded initial results.

China's path to a peaceful rise is its route towards socialist modernization. It expects to span 70 years from the end of the 1970s, when the policy of reform and opening-up was adopted, to the mid-21st century, when modernization is expected to be basically realized. That is to say, China still needs another 45 years before it can be called a basically modernized and medium-level developed country.

As an emerging power, China will acquire capital, technology and resources for its modernization drive through peaceful means, such as opening up to the rest of the world - namely, integrating itself into, instead of detaching itself from, economic globalization.

As a result of its all-round reforms and market economy, China has attracted more than US\$500 billion investment from overseas. Domestic non-government investment has amounted to over 10 trillion yuan (US\$1.209 trillion).

The huge pool of State-owned assets has also been revitalized.

Continuous rapid development China has witnessed over the past 25 years has proved to be its success in pursuing this path to peaceful development.

As it opens up and becomes globalized, China is upholding its principle of self-reliance in building socialism with its own characteristics.

On one hand, the country needs capital, technology and resources in the world market through mutually beneficial competition on an equal footing. On the other, it must not depend too much on the world market.

The country can address its own issues in the course of development by depending on its own strength - institutional innovations, industrial restructuring, exploring the growing domestic market, transferring huge personal savings into investment, and developing human resources in greater depth and magnitude.

As China enters the 21st century, whether it can continue to stick to the path of participating in economic globalization is a big concern.

As far as development is concerned, China faces three big challenges.

The shortage of resources poses the first potential problem. Currently, China's per capita oil and natural gas reserves, water and arable land is below the world average. The second is the environment. Serious pollution, waste and a low rate of recycling all mean bottlenecks for sustainable economic development. The third challenge is a lack of co-ordination between economic and social development.

China is now at a new critical juncture. To build "a well-off society in an all-round way," the country needs to continue pressing ahead reforms in all dimensions - in all economic, political and cultural institutions.

An overall plan is needed to co-ordinate development between rural and urban areas,

between the economy and society, between man and nature, and between domestic development and opening up.

The Taiwan question poses another big challenge for the country's development. Peaceful reunification between the mainland and the island must be achieved. The country should spare no effort to achieve this goal, but it will at the same time not stand any moves for "Taiwan independence" or interference by other nations.

In other words, the use of force will by no means be ruled out. It will be used to safeguard national unity and territorial integrity against separatist activities.

In striving for a peaceful international environment and a reasonable international order, China is turning its back on old practices characterized by the model that emerging powers break up existing international systems through war and seek hegemony through bloc confrontation.

China does not seek hegemony and predominance. It advocates a new international political and economic order through reforming and democratizing international relations. China's development needs world peace, and its development will in turn reinforce world peace.

As a major emerging country, China has transcended the old path of industrialization, with rivalry and war as the main way that resources were wasted. It has also transcended the Cold War mentality, which rejects peaceful development and co-operation merely because of differences in social systems and ideologies.

In its bid to build a socialist society with Chinese characteristics, China is steadily reforming its economy ready for integration into the rest of the world's markets.

Accompanying China on its route to this destination will be international community opportunities, not threats.

Last year, the country's imports increased by more than 50 per cent from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Republic of Korea, nearly 40 per cent from Japan and the European Union, and 24.3 per cent from the United States. This market for the international community can only become broader. By 2020, when China's per capita GDP is expected to reach US\$3,000, its market will present even bigger potential.

China is not the only country that is rising peacefully. In the first half of the 21st century, a number of countries are doing the same through different means, following different models and at different paces. At the same time, the developed countries are further developing themselves. This is a new trend to be welcomed in today's world.

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