CHINA DAILY AS A COMPETING AND HYBRIDIZED DISCOURSE: A DISCOURSE-ANALYTIC APPROACH

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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

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Abstract

The present study aims to contribute to an integrated analytic framework for the analysis of the competing and hybridized nature of Chinese English media in a globalizing context. *China Daily* (hereafter CD), the epitome of Chinese English media in China's media systems, is selected for a close investigation and understanding of how the competing and hybridized nature is reflected in its representations of contentious issues of international significances. The dispute over the Renminbi (or Chinese yuan) exchange rate between China and the US at the beginning of this century is taken as a case study, and the representations of the same issue in CD and the *New York Times* (hereafter NYT) are compared to illuminate to what extent CD represents a competing and hybridized discourse.

A discourse-analytic framework is established by integrating the socio-cognitive approach of critical discourse analysis (e.g., van Dijk, 1998a), the notion of discourse system by Scollon and Scollon (1995/2001), and the holistic concept of stance by Du Bois (2007) to provide a socio-cognitive understanding of the relations between media systems, stancetaking, and discourse features as well as a tripartite analysis of stancetaking in terms of attitudinal stance, positioning and alignment. It is postulated that a critical analysis of particular ways of stancetaking can reveal not only the particular stance towards a certain issue but also the particular professional persona of a certain newspaper.

Two corpora—CD and NYT—have been built by collecting all the news reports related to the currency dispute from 2001 to 2011 in each newspaper. The method of corpus-assisted discourse study serves as the major analytical tool for analyzing the particular ways of stancetaking in the present study. A combined method of starting from both forms and meanings is adopted for the tripartite analysis of stancetaking, with attitudinal stance analysis focusing on semantic categories and conceptual metaphors, positioning analysis on several grammatical patterns which can indicate

the particular ways of writers' positioning in respect of their putative readers, and alignment analysis on the ways of engaging and recontextualizing different groups of voices by the two newspapers.

The findings suggest that while two newspapers represent the currency dispute in line with their respective dominant national interest, CD features a typical competing and hybridized discourse. On the one hand, it still represents a typical authoritarian newspaper and aligns with the interests of the Chinese government by always defending the Chinese government's stance towards the issue, featuring a positive and authoritarian reporting style and a high power distance between writers and readers, and preferring the use of direct represented discourses. On the other hand, CD also shows the influences of liberal journalism as well as globalism. While refusing the request for Renminbi appreciation, CD also acknowledges the necessity for change and reform in Renminbi exchange rate policies. Besides, it also incorporates the reporting styles of the orthodox liberal journalism in order to construct an impartial and rational image, such as the dominant use of expert voices, the choice of neutral speech verbs, the relatively balanced treatment of the voices from China and those voices from other origins, and genericized and individualized representations of these voices. It is argued in the present study that this hybridized trend does not mean that CD is moving towards liberal journalism, since the appropriation of liberal reporting styles and practices is only strategic and superficial, which takes place only to better serve the communication objectives of the Chinese government.

The significance of this research resides in its development from a simplistic dichotomy of media practice between China and the West to uncovering the complex intertwinement between the Chinese and the global discourse systems in contemporary Chinese media practice. It is also one of the few studies that have manifested the significance of integrating linguistic features that characterize different discourse systems into a critical analysis of media discourses in a globalizing context. The integrated analytic framework established in this study for the critical analysis of the particular way of stancetaking by each newspaper is significant and can be applied to further comparative analysis of the representations of the same issue by newspapers from different as well as the same socio-cultural contexts. Adopting a socio-cognitive understanding of the relations between discourse, stancetaking and ideologies, the study has explicated the intricate relations between stylistic variations and ideological (in)consistencies, thus offering a more comprehensive view of why newspapers from different or the same socio-cultural contexts can represent the same issue differently.

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List of Abbreviations

BNC: British National Corpus

CADS: corpus-assisted discourse study

CD: *China Daily*

CDA: Critical discourse analysis

CL: Corpus linguistics

CMA: critical metaphor analysis

ESL: English as a second language

LL: log-likelihood

NYT: *New York Times*

OED: Oxford English Dictionary

SFL: Systemic functional linguistics

SMC: semantic category

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Chinese media in a globalizing context

This research addresses one key issue that has drawn increasing attention from scholars in the field of communication studies (e.g., Lee, 2003a; Guo & Huang, 2002) but still remains relatively unexplored in discourse analysis, i.e., changing Chinese media in a globalizing context. As a result of their historical origins as well as the unique socio-political context in which they are situated, Chinese news media have been known for their unique functions and typical authoritarian style, which make them far different from the dominant liberal Anglo-American journalism. However, since the late 1980s, a series of "journalism reforms", characterized by a wave of commercialization and marketization, began to take place in China (Chan, 1993; He, 2000). As He (2000: 112) notes, "the Chinese Communist Party Press is experiencing a tug-of-war, pulled in different directions by the forces of politics and those of an emerging market economy". The consequence is that Chinese news media, instead of being a monolithic system, feature a dissonant mixture of a number of discourses, such as neo-conservatism, old and new leftism, liberalism, professionalism, and other intellectual discourses (Misra, 2003; Wang, 2003; Tong, 2007; Wu & Liu, 2011).

The internal motivation for change is also coupled with external challenges of globalization. With the rise of China as an economic power, China has felt the pressing need to expand its presence in the international arena and vie for influence that is commensurate with its global stature. The urgent need is also reflected in Chinese media, which have been regarded as a primary channel for enhancing China's "soft power" in the international society. As Lee (2003a: 1) has observed, China's media have been caught in the "cross-currents of nationalism and globalism". On the one hand, in order to maintain its legitimacy as the biggest country of socialism, China's media still have to serve their propaganda functions through peddling nationalism. On the other hand, China has to embrace global capitalism in order to elevate its international status in the new world order. Nationalism and globalism thus compete with and struggle against each other in China's media, contributing to "a unity of contradictions". This is especially evident in their representations of major confrontations, skirmishes, and crises with foreign powers, especially the US (He, 2003; Huang & Lee, 2002; Lee, 2003a). Previous communication studies have demonstrated that the double forces of globalism and nationalism compete to shape China's media discourses and ideology, especially in the representations of big events like China's entry into WTO, the 2008 Olympics, and the presidential summits (e.g., Zhao, 2003; Polumbaum, 2003; Ng et al., 2011).

This trend is even more evident in Chinese English media, which, since their very birth, are known for their role in "external propaganda/communication" and thus at the forefront of China's globalization. Politically oriented in nature, they are under the direct scrutiny of the government and shoulder the responsibility of ideological indoctrination and enhancing the communication between China and the rest of the world (Guo & Huang, 2002). Unlike their Chinese-language counterparts, they are often at the margin of China's media systems due to their special target of persuasion, thus enjoying a relatively high level of editorial flexibility (Yu, Chu & Guo, 2001). This endows China's English media with the rights to adopt the "pseudo-Western content style" and "reader-friendly narrative strategies unfamiliar to journalists of Chinese-language media" (Guo & Huang, 2002). Besides, using a language (i.e., English) unfamiliar to most of the power holders also frees them from rigid scrutiny and control (Mody, 2010; Guo & Huang, 2002). Chinese English media are thus believed to serve several distinct functions simultaneously (Guo & Huang, 2002; Guo, 2009, 2010a). While they still serve primarily the propaganda function with a view to establishing political consensus and enhancing Chinese image, they also entertain "cosmopolitan worldviews, pluralistic opinions, and occasionally alternative voices" (Guo & Huang, 2002: 217). Employing the global language of English, they also serve as a useful tool for domestic English-language learners as well as a valuable source of information for foreigners. These seemingly contradictory functions contribute to the unique identities of Chinese English media, which Guo and Huang (2002) identify as a "hybridized" discourse.

This research starts with the basic assumption that this competing and hybridized nature of China's English media is most revealing in their representations of contentious issues. In order to confirm this assumption, It focuses exclusively on *China Daily* (hereafter CD), the largest and also, for a long time, the only national English newspaper before the appearance of the English version of *Global Times* in 2009. Several reasons contribute to this choice. First, the launching of CD in 1981 ushered in a new stage of China's external communication. It was a product of China's opening up, and its birth signified China's willingness to integrate itself with the world (Guo, 2010a), so it enjoyed a unique status in China's international communication. Besides, even in this web-dominated era, the influence of CD is still unparalleled. Compared with other media forms such as radio, TV, and the internet, newspapers in China still enjoy an elite status, often serving as the main information definers for all other information sources (Guo, 2010b: 43). With a claimed daily circulation of 800, 000 copies around the world, it is the major information provider for those English readers who want to know information about China's political, economic and social development (Mody, 2010: 114). It is the only newspaper that has effectively entered into mainstream Western society, and also the newspaper that is most frequently quoted by Western media when they seek to cite sources from China. More importantly, after thirty years' development, CD has also grown up to be the most mature media in China's external communication. It has now developed 12 publications, including the mainland, the US, European, Asian and Hong Kong editions, and the 21st Century English Education Media. In a bid to enhance its message appeal, CD, with the support of the central government, has gone through several significant changes in both formats and reporting practices in the last three decades. The recent and also the biggest makeover took place in 2010 when it was authorized to revamp its "vapid broadsheet" style to compete more effectively with dominant western journalism in the domain of news and opinion (Banyan, 2010; see also Mody, 2010). Therefore, it has acquired the fame of being a newspaper most similar to western newspapers in China. This is also supported by a few studies which compared the representations of the same issue between CD and some other Chinese-language newspapers like *People's Daily* (e.g., Mody, 2010).

Considering the unique role and special functions of CD in China's media systems, this research aims to establish an integrated analytic framework which can be applied to the comparative study of media from different discourse systems and capture the competing and hybridized nature of CD. While comparative media studies in China and Western countries have repeatedly highlighted the uniqueness of China's media systems and argued for understanding Chinese media system from its own origins as well as the current socio-political context (Zhao, 2012), the uniqueness of these media from different discourse systems have not been fairly addressed from a critical discourse analysis (hereafter CDA) perspective. Since its very birth, CDA has set its primary concern on social problems in dominant Western capitalism (Fairclough, 1992), and this results in its confinement of its focus of analysis to the discourse from "highly integrated, Late Modern, and post-industrial, densely semiotised First-World societies" (Blommaert, 2005: 35). As Blommaert (2005: 35) cautions, "there is even less reason to assume that descriptions of such societies can usefully serve as a model for understanding discourse in world today". Even more questionable is the cultural-appropriateness of CDA (Shi-xu, 2009, 2013). An integrated analytic framework is thus required to address both the hybridized nature of CD as well as the uniqueness of newspapers from different discourse systems.

Based on the assumption that the competing and hybridized nature of CD is most revealing in its representations of major confrontations, skirmishes, and crises with foreign powers, especially the US (He, 2003; Huang & Lee, 2003; Lee, 2003a), this research takes the debate over the Renminbi (or Chinese yuan) exchange rate as an example in view of the complicated nature of the issue in Sino-US relations. In the following part, I will introduce in turn the background of the Renminbi issue, the broad genre of news reports and the concept of stance, the significance of a comparative perspective, the aims and objectives of this thesis as well as its organization.

1.2 The issue of Renminbi exchange rate

If the entry into WTO and the hosting of 2008 Olympics as well as 2010 World Expo can be lauded as landmarks of China's increasing integration with the world and acceptance of the neo-liberal globalization in the 21st century, the issue of Renminbi exchange rate is certainly the unexpected side effect of China's globalization. While previous studies have revealed that the neo-liberal logic of globalization was vehemently praised and normalized in China's media, which signifies the Chinese government's desire for being assimilated into the world market system and elevating its international status (e.g., Zhao, 2003; Polumbaum, 2003; Lee, 2003a), the Renminbi issue certainly dampens the fire in view of its potential damages to China's interests. However, it has become one of the primary concerns between China and some Western countries, especially the US. After entering the 21st century, it has been frequently mentioned and utilized by the US to exert influences on China. It represents a typical issue in which nationalism clashes with globalism, and its particular ways of representation in China's English media are thus worthy of a close examination.

The history of the Renminbi issue can be traced back to 1994 when China first adopted the floating exchange rate policy and pegged the yuan to the US dollar. Since then, the Renminbi has been confronted with increasing pressure for appreciation, but thanks to the Asian financial crisis, it failed to develop into a top issue. After entering the new millennium, the pressure for Renminbi appreciation became increasingly high with China's entry into the WTO and the world economic slump. The intensity of the conflict can be perceived in the three rounds of attack on Renminbi exchange rate in the last ten years, which occurred between 2002-2003, 2005-2006 and 2009-2010 respectively (Lu, 2011). The mounting international pressure, especially the pressure from the US government, contributed to the exchange rate reform on 21 July 2005 by the Chinese government, which led to the exchange rate of Renminbi to dollar rising by 2.1% and allowed the exchange rate of Renminbi to be determined more flexibly with reference to a basket of currencies (Zhou, 2009: 1). The following several years saw the gradual appreciation of the Renminbi, with the exchange rate of Renminbi to dollar reaching 6.8: 1 in 2008, a rise by 21% compared with the rate in 1994 (Ji, 2010). However, the ensuing global economic crisis and the side effects of Renminbi appreciation to its economy made the Chinese government refuse to let the Renminbi to further appreciate but let it fluctuate on that rate, which caused growing dissatisfaction from the US government. The US Congress, on 24 September 2010, even passed the *Currency Reform for Fair Trade Act*, which was meant to impose tariffs on goods from those countries whose currency was verified to be undervalued. However, China's government stands firm on this issue, so the debate is still going on and shows no sign of cooling down. Similar to other contentious issues like human rights, it has grown to be one of the top grievances between China and the US.

However, no matter how fierce the debate appears to be, there is no hope of immediate settlement. With the time moving on, the issue has become even more complicated. Although the US government pushed the Renminbi to appreciate on the excuse that the "undervalued" yuan is the main cause of the US's huge trade deficit to China, some argue that this is not the complete picture, and that the whole issue is increasingly politically-driven (Luo, 2011; Lu, 2011; Cheng, 2011; Zhou, 2011). Some even question on the very existence of the issue, claiming that it is no more than a political "game" played by the US government (Li, 2003). Besides, there is no common agreement on the necessity for Renminbi appreciation in both China and the US (see Goldstein & Lardy, 2008; Hu, 2005; China Development Research foundation, 2011). Even for the US government, disputes remain as to whether to punish China for its exchange rate policy. The whole issue thus turns out to be more like a “verbal war” rather than a real “currency war”, and behind the scenes are essentially interest conflicts. The media thus play an even more important role in this issue, because the loss of the debate means the loss of legitimacy on the issue, thus resulting in real economic losses. More importantly, China and the US, as two super economies in the world, get increasingly entangled in a wide range of fields in this globalizing world, so no side can afford a blunt confrontation with the other side. The contentious and subtle nature of this issue makes it an ideal case for the present study.

1.3 News reports and stance

The analysis of media discourse usually begins with the selection of a specific genre (Bell, 1991). One problem concerning media discourse analysis is the presence of a variety of different genres in newspapers, such as news, letters to the editor, commentary, opinions, display adverting, classified advertising, etc. While different ways of classification have been proposed (e.g., Bell, 1991; Martin & White, 2005; Ungerer, 2000), this research follows the Anglo-Saxon typologies which make a distinction between two general genres of news discourse: news reports and comments (Bell, 1991: 13). News reports are believed to serve the function of presenting “facts”, while news comments are viewed as communicating opinions (Arrese & Perucha, 2006). The distinction is often realized by the low degree of personal involvement in the former and the high degree of subjectivity in the latter. This distinction, however, is not clear-cut and becoming increasingly vague, as news reports are found increasingly carrying the personalized style (Pounds, 2010). Pounds even claims that “journalism is ultimately opinion journalism in that it is always possible to detect signs of authorial stance even in so-called ‘hard news reporting’ which is clearly marked as such” (2010: 107). This distinction still has to be maintained in the present study, based on the belief that it is the reporting practices and styles of these news reports that can essentially characterize a newspaper from a particular discourse system. Besides, the requirement for comparable data in comparative studies also makes it more accurate and practical to confine the present analysis to one genre rather than all the genres of news texts (Scollon et al., 2000; Partington, 2003). Therefore, only these news reports about the Renminbi issue are selected for the present study, and other types of news texts such as editorials, commentaries and letters to the editor are all excluded.

One of the primary concerns of investigating news reports on contentious issues is their particular ways of stance construction in view of the fact that news reporting, especially about contentious issues, can never be so “objective” as to be free of prejudice, bias, and manipulation (Gitlin, 1980; Louw, 2001; Meade, 2008; Couldry, 2009). The idea of non-biased reporting has long been recognized as unrealistic and untenable (Hackett, 1984; Vallone et al., 1985; Zelier et al., 2002). The primary interest of communication studies in stance/stancetaking is in the ways it affects news reports, its potential effects on public opinions, as well as the organizational, social, cultural, and political factors behind it. Researches of this kind are believed to be of great significance, especially for the coverage of contentious issues or international conflicts. As Nord and Strömbäck (2006) suggest, “international conflicts of our time are usually not only a battle of weapons but also a battle of opinions”. The significance of stance/stancetaking in media can never be overestimated, because media is the primary channel through which the public get information (Bennett and Paletz, 1994). Even though it may not directly determine public opinions, it can at least “restrict the parameters within which opinions and attitudes are formulated” (Meade, 2008).

Communication studies usually seek to reveal stance in news reports about a specific issue from framing analysis or content analysis. According to Entman (2003), a news frame “entails selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution” (p. 417), so how the content in news reports are crafted to frame a particular stance on an issue has great appeals to communication researchers (e.g. Snow & Benford, 1988; Klein, 2009; Phelan, 2009; Meade, 2008). For example, Nord and Strömbäck's (2006) study addresses three factors: sources in the news, the occurrence of speculations, and the use of rhetorical figures. Zelier et al. (2002) observe that bias can occur in both the form and content of news reports. It can be identified through the different forms used (e.g., news reports, headlines, photographs, editorials and columns, cartoons and graphics) and the different attributes attached to these forms, including structure, authorship, size, placement, sourcing, language, tone , and other signifying features. Zelier et al. (2002) argue that no feature of print news is free of values and preferences and that the stance in news reporting should be looked at "not in one isolated feature of presentation but in the interstices across features, across time and across the repeated patterns of coverage". Linguistic features are also mentioned in some studies for the identification of different stances or ideologies (e.g., Phelan, 2009; Klein, 2009), but they are examined only for illustrative purposes, so no systematic studies on the role of language in stance construction can be found in communication studies. As Entman (1991) suggests, even news frames can be identified through the repeated use of keywords, metaphors, and other elements. This suggests the potential contribution of discourse analysis to the study of stance/stancetaking in communication studies.

In contrast, linguistic studies have been devoted to the examination of linguistic details which can be employed for the expression of stance meanings (e.g., Martin & White, 2005; P. R. White, 2003; Biber et al., 1999; Thompson & Hunston, 2000; Jaffe, 2009; Arrese & Perucha, 2006; Du Bois, 2007). These studies have contributed to multiple ways of defining, classifying and analyzing stance, as a result of their different understandings of the concept of stance, different perspectives and purposes as well as different terminology choices. It is argued in this research that an integrated analytic framework of stance/stancetaking can reveal not only the particular way of stancetaking by a newspaper towards a certain issue, but also the underlying ideologies as well as the particular professional persona of that newspaper (cf. Haarman & Lombardo, 2009). Besides, the concept of stance/stancetaking also answers Hackett's (1984) call to go beyond the traditional argument on the "bias" and "objectivity" of news reports to the examination of how news reports (re)produce subjectivities and align with the relevant parties, such as the perceived audience or the government. This research thus proposes to expose the hybridized nature of CD by critically examining its particular way of stancetaking.

1.4 A comparative perspective

This research is primarily a comparative study. A comparative perspective is adopted for several reasons. First, it is crucial to the exposure of critical linguistic and textual choices which may "remain submerged in an undifferentiated text" (Entman, 1991: 6; cited in Haarman & Lombardo, 2009: 2). This can be witnessed in a large wealth of studies which examine stance and evaluation (e.g., Haarman & Lombardo, 2009; Morley & Bayley, 2009; Hunston, 2004, 2007). Besides, the distinction between newspapers from different discourse systems is not so rigid that there is a clear-cut distinction between them. Instead, it is more accurate to say that they differ only at different positions of a continuum. In order to show the special functions and the "hybridized" nature of CD, a comparative perspective can help to show in what way and to what extent it differs from typical liberal newspapers as well as traditional Chinese Chinese-language newspapers. Furthermore, the "dialogical" nature of stancetaking, which is highly valued in the present study, also entails a comparative perspective. A comparative perspective can reveal not only the differences between two newspapers in stancetaking, but, more importantly, the inconsistencies, contradictions, and compromises in a newspaper's stancetaking. It can thus contribute to a dynamic view of the relationships between linguistic forms, stance and the underlying ideologies. Finally, a comparative perspective is also key to the understanding of the development of Chinese media, because as Zhao (2012) argues, Chinese media should be understood in terms of not only the authoritarian control of the Chinese government but also "an antithetical to capitalistic developments" (p. 150).

For the present study, representations of the same issue by the *New York Times* (hereafter NYT) are selected for comparison. As “a newspaper of record” (Cotter, 2003: 416), NYT is known for its liberal stance, and serves as a typical newspaper from liberal journalism, a media system which is in contrast to traditional authoritarian media system. Previous studies have revealed that NYT also tends to represent issues, especially issues of international significances, in line with dominant national interests (e.g., Lee et al., 2002; van Dijk, 1995a). It is often regarded as a representative newspaper of the US and a preferential choice for the study of news reporting in the US (e.g., Li, 2009, 2010; Amer, 2009; Lee, 2003b). A comparison of the representations of the same issue by CD and NYT can reveal how and to what extent CD deviates from a typical liberal newspaper. Furthermore, as a newspaper situated in the US, NYT also represents a newspaper with a competing stance. A comparative perspective can thus reveal how CD recontextualizes, appropriates, and manipulates competing discourses from the opposite side. Third, it is especially noted for its coverage of international news and the influence it has on the content of other mass media (Gitlin, 1980; cited in Li, 2010). This suggests that a contentious issue like the Renminbi exchange rate must be given extensive coverage in this newspaper. This also makes it an ideal newspaper for comparison.

While the present study focuses only on the comparative analysis of news texts from CD and NYT, the whole analysis is not confined to the “here-and-now of communication” (Blommaert, 2005: 37). Both the history of Chinese journalism and the findings of previous comparative media studies (i.e., the differences between Chinese and Western journalism discourse) as well as contrastive rhetoric studies (i.e., the differences between Chinese Chinese-language and English-language news discourse) are taken into account to interpret the findings of the present study, to distinguish the conventional from the new and the systemic from the accidental, and, finally, to expose in what way and to what extent CD is a “hybridized” product of the traditional Chinese authoritarian journalism and the liberal Western journalism and penetrate into the causes behind the symptoms (Blommaert, 2005: 37). As Hyatt

(2005: 520) cautions:

> To ensure that act of textual analysis is valuable as a disclosing device rather than itself an act of ideological cloaking and masquerade, it is necessary for the analyst to be open about his/her positionality, to attempt to offer a reflexive account of the interpretation, to be aware that textual encodings are polysemic, and to emphasize the centrality of the context of the production and reception of texts.

The significance of a comparative perspective to the present study resides in not only textual analysis but also the interpretation and explanation of the findings. It can help to reduce researcher bias and highlight the role of context in the understanding of the particular way of stancetaking in each newspaper.

1.5 Aims and objectives of this study

To sum up, starting with the assumption that CD represents a competing and hybridized discourse, this research conducts a critical comparative analysis of the representations of the Sino-US debate over the Renminbi exchange rate in CD and NYT in order to reveal the dynamics between news discourse, stancetaking, and ideologies and the particular professional persona of each newspaper. It is motivated by two general aims and several specific objectives.

Two general aims are:

(1) To highlight the unique role and functions of CD in Chinese media system and to expose in what way and to what extent it is a competing and hybridized discourse; and

(2) To establish an integrated theoretical and analytic framework which can address the dynamics between news discourse, stancetaking and ideologies

as well as the particular professional persona of each newspaper and which can be used to examine and compare newspapers from the same or different socio-cultural contexts.

They are realized in several specific objectives for the present study:

(a) To introduce a holistic approach to stancetaking and an integrated way of investigating stance;
(b) To demonstrate how a stancetaking approach can contribute to the critical examination of news media from different socio-cultural contexts;
(c) To explicate the dynamics of news discourse, stancetaking, and ideologies as well as the particular professional persona of each newspaper;
(d) To compare the particular ways of stancetaking of CD and NYT in their representations of the Renminbi issue;
(e) To explain their particular ways of stancetaking in terms of underlying ideologies as well as the particular professional persona of each newspaper; and
(f) To evaluate in what way and to what extent CD is "hybridized", and to make predictions for its further development.

In other words, this research aims to achieve both theoretical and methodological innovations. On the one hand, it argues that an integrated theoretical framework which incorporates the concept of discourse system and the theory of stancetaking into CDA can better address news media from different socio-cultural contexts. Based on a dynamic view of the relations between discourse, stancetaking and ideologies, it argues that particular ways of stancetaking can expose not only particular styles but also the distinct identities of different newspapers as well as the underlying ideologies.

On the other hand, it aims to contribute to a corpus-assisted study of stancetaking.

Adopting a holistic concept of stancetaking, it analyzes stancetaking respectively from three interrelated aspects: attitude, positioning, and alignment/disalignment. Based on the understanding that stance can be approached from both forms and meanings, it argues for the examination of stancetaking from multiple ends, thus contributing to a more complete picture of the particular types of meanings involved in stancetaking as well as the forms employed to realize these meanings. A corpus-assisted study is thus strongly recommendable, because it allows for much flexibility in realizing this aim.

1.6 Outline of the thesis

This thesis is organized into all together 8 Chapters. Chapter one, the current chapter, gives a brief introduction of the research background and aims of this thesis and the significance of the concept of stance and a comparative perspective to the present study. Chapter 2 gives a general review of several branches of studies which are closely related to the present study: comparative media studies, contrastive rhetoric, critical discourse analysis (CDA), stance, corpus-based discourse analysis and corpus-assisted discourse study (hereafter CADS) in particular, as well as critical metaphor analysis (hereafter CMA). They either provide the insights for the understanding of Chinese media or contribute to the methodological development of this thesis. Chapter 3 starts with the establishment of an integrated analytic framework which incorporates the notion of stancetaking and the concept of discourse system into the socio-cognitive approach in CDA. Then it specifies the primary analytic methods and procedures for this thesis.

The following four chapters introduce the main findings of the thesis. Chapter 4 gives a semantic analysis of the discursive construction of attitudinal stance in each newspaper. With the help of the online corpus-analytic tool Wmatrix 3.0, it addresses both the explicit and implicit construction of attitudinal stance. Chapter 5 examines the particular way of positioning of each newspaper in respect of their putative readers. Of particular concern is the power distance established between news reports and readers. Chapter 6 compares their particular ways of alignment/alignment with different voices in their representations of the issue. It combines a corpus-assisted analysis of discourse representation in the whole corpora with a detailed manual analysis of 20 sample news texts from each newspaper. Chapter 7 compares the metaphorical construction of the currency dispute in two newspapers, with a particular attention to both the cognitive bases as well as the roles of these metaphors in constructing their respective attitudinal stance towards the issue. The whole thesis is brought an end in Chapter 8, which summarizes the main research findings in terms of the research questions raised and discusses the practical and theoretical implications of this research.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to a general review of several strands of studies which are closely related to this research. It begins with an introduction of some critical insights from communication studies concerning the differences between Chinese and Western media (Section 2.2). Then it dwells on a particular branch of studies (i.e., contrastive rhetoric), which focuses on the comparison of stylistic differences between China's Chinese-language and English-language news discourse (Section 2.3). Section 2.4 gives a critical review of previous studies on media discourse in CDA and explains why a stancetaking perspective is required for the understanding of media discourse from different discourse systems. Section 2.5 gives a detailed review of four approaches to stance/stancetaking and evaluates their strengths and weaknesses. Section 2.6 discusses the role of corpus and CADS in both CDA and the analysis of stance/stancetaking. Section 2.7 introduces the role of metaphor in the construction of ideological stance. The whole chapter ends with a brief summary of the main points of this chapter.

2.2 Insights from comparative media studies

One of the primary concerns of media studies is to provide social, cultural and political explanation for media from different countries, and this has given rise to the development of comparative media studies, particularly since the 1970s (e.g., Siebert et al., 1956, Hallin & Mancini, 2004, 2012). The key question it seeks to answer is "why is the press as it is?" The basic assumption is that a comparative analysis can expose the uniqueness of each media system and draw attention to those aspects of media system which used to be taken for granted, thus reducing the risks of false generalizations or overgeneralization. For example, Hallin and Mancini (2004) identify three media systems in North America and West Europe: (1) the north Atlantic or liberal model; (2) the north/central European or democratic corporatist model; and (3) the Mediterranean or polarized pluralist model. The liberal model, also known as the "Anglo-American model", is represented by countries like the USA, Britain, Canada and Ireland. It is distinguished for a strong development of the newspaper press, journalistic professionalism, very limited political parallelism, and weak government intervention. Due to global influences of the US and the Britain, the "Anglo-American model" has also been taken as an ideal media system which has been influencing and shaping the development of other media systems.

Zhao (2012) argues that China's media system is the "most dissimilar system" to the Western media systems. Instead of being assimilated into the liberal model as Hallin and Mancini (2004) claim, China's media system has become as entrenched as Western media systems as a result of its adaptive and resilient nature (Brady, 2008). The analysis of them in mere comparative terms tends to neglect the asymmetric power relations between these systems. It is also necessary to analyze them in their structural relationships, in view of the fact that the distinctive features of Western media systems are inseparable from the history of Western imperialism and American hegemony within the history of global media development. China's media system, like many non-Western media systems, was a result of Western imposition in its origin. Zhao (2012: 146) further points out that "even today, the penetration and influence of Western media and the imperative to build a strong domestic resistance against them…continue to figure as a dominant issue in the development of non-Western media system". This is especially true to China's media system, which has been characterized by its historical struggles over different "universals" and "truth regimes" in the world's media systems (Zhao, 2012: 146). A comparative analysis of Chinese and Western media systems thus requires the understanding of China's media system in terms of "its Leninist and Maoist legacies in relation to the worldwide struggles against capitalism and Western imperialism" as well as the "ongoing struggles between different universalisms and different regimes of truth" (Zhao, 2012:

150). Besides, in terms of the role of Chinese state in China's media systems, Zhao (2012: 150) argues that we should "not only start with the Chinese state's highly authoritarian regime of control" but also "understand it as an antithetical to capitalistic developments".

Comparative media studies have also shed light on the complexities of each media system. Even the media system in a single country is beyond a simple and monolithic description. Moreover, the media in most countries "do not constitute any single 'system' with a single purpose or philosophy, but are composed of many separate, overlapping, often inconsistent elements with appropriate differences of normative expectation and actual regulation"(McQuail, 1994: 133; cited in Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 12). China's media system, Zhao argues (2012), should be understood in terms of "the dynamic and creative tensions among political instrumentalization, commercial instrumentalization, professionalization, and pressures for popular participation in the era of digitalized and socialized communication". This is coupled with the Chinese government's desire to project China's "soft power" globally, which can be evidenced in the launching of a series of English channels at the local, provincial and national levels. Zhao suggests that "it will be illuminating not only to compare national media systems within the relative confines of national political economies and cultures but also to study the dynamics of hybridization and contestation between different media systems and political cultures" (2012: 173). For example, Peri (2012) argues that the Israel media system might have converged toward the liberal model if without the disturbance of war and the constraint of the culture of national security. After giving an overview of the historical development of Polish media system, Dobek-Ostrowska (2012) also states that the Polish media system should be understood as "a hybrid of the Polarized Pluralist and Liberal Models, with a few elements of the Democratic Corporatist model and the country's postcommunist legacy" (p. 49). Chinese English media also represent such a hybridized product (Guo & Huang, 2002), which can be understood in terms of the competing forces of internal authoritarian control and their special audience design.

Previous communication studies also seek to describe and explicate the differences between Chinese and Western journalism writing from different perspectives, such as culture (e.g., Li, 1996; Zhang, 2001; Gao, 2006), thinking mode (e.g., Xiong, 2009), value (e.g., Dong, 2006; Jiang, 2008), functions (e.g., Zhang, 2006), and style (e.g., Zhou, 2006). The basic finding is that Chinese and Western journalism differs in a wide range of aspects (Yao, 2002). In terms of function, Chinese media serve the primary function of propaganda, that is, to serve as the "party-organ". In contrast, Western media function primarily to serve the information needs of the public. This functional difference contributes to their different values. While Western journalism views high of the public's responses towards the news, the Chinese media value the role of news in guiding public opinions. These differences are also reflected in their different reporting styles. Western journalism emphasizes vivid and detailed "representation" of facts, but Chinese journalism prefers grand and general "presentation". Representation features a personalized reporting style, so Western journalism tends to be more reader-friendly and engaging than the latter. Besides, Western journalism values structural variations in news organizations, while Chinese journalism prefers structural norms. Chinese journalism privileges the forms of news reports, but Western journalism values their content. These differences have also been explained in terms of their different thinking modes (cf. Dou & Dong, 2006). Chinese journalists are known for their abstract thinking, while Western journalists are distinguished for their imaginative thinking. Imaginative thinking values description, but abstract thinking favors generalization.

While these studies have exposed multifarious features that characterize Chinese and Western journalism, the majority of these studies rely on subjective description or content analysis at the macro-level. Although they contribute to a general understanding of the differences between Chinese and Western journalism, they do not demonstrate how they are practiced at linguistic levels, especially in the representations of a particular issue. This research seeks to expose how these different features are utilized by CD in its representations of issues of international significances like the currency dispute to construct the unique identity as a competing and hybridized discourse (see Guo & Huang, 2002).

2.3 Contrastive rhetoric

Initiated in applied linguistics by Robert Kaplan (1966), contrastive rhetoric used to address differences and similarities in writing across cultures, based on the understanding that language and writing are cultural phenomena and that different cultures should have their own rhetoric practices (Connor, 2002). It used to focus on English as a second language (hereafter ESL) in order to expose the interference of the linguistic patterns and rhetoric conventions in first language in writing in ESL. It is thus taken as an effective means for understanding why ESL writing looks different from the writing of native speakers (Atkinson, 2000). Recent years have witnessed significant changes in contrastive rhetoric as it has gradually shifted its primary focus on students' essay writing to many other professional discourses such as sales letters (e.g., Zhu, 1997) and news writing. Despite their different analytic methods, they share the general aim of exploring the relations between linguistic, discursive and rhetoric choices and the languages used as well as the cultures of these writers.

Over the last several decades, a number of scholars have been devoted to the examination of the influence of Chinese culture on its writing as well as foreign language (especially English) learning and writing, in view of the great differences between Chinese and Western culture. For example, Scollon et al. (2000) started with the basic assumption that writing is to express self, and drew attention to the different senses of "self" in Chinese and Western cultures. The Chinese self, influenced by Chinese traditional culture (especially Confucianism), emphasizes human relationships, while the Western self, especially in North America, is characterized by the individualist sense of self. These different understandings of "self" have resulted in different communication styles in Chinese and English, including topic selection as well as structure. Taking academic writing as an example, Scollon et al.(2000: 148-149) found that Chinese students learn academic writing for the purpose of integrating themselves with the academic community rather than to express himself/herself, so they tend to respond to the requirements of writing process rather than take on their own roles.

In a similar vein, contrastive rhetoric analyses have also been performed on Chinese and English news texts (e.g., Scollon, 1997, 2000; Scollon & Scollon, 1993, 1997; Scollon et al., 2000; Li et al., 1993), and significant differences have been identified between them. In a study of six versions of the same news story in Hong Kong, including newspaper, radio, and television versions in both Cantonese and English (Li et al., 1993; Scollon & Scollon, 1993), they found that there were medium-specific and language-specific differences and similarities. One significant finding is that the inverted pyramid structure assumed in Western journalism, in which the key point is put first and other points follow in descending importance, and the classical Chinese text structure *qi-cheng-zhuan-he* can both be found in Cantonese newspaper story, so the choice of the two structures is not inherent in the choice of languages. Scollon and Scollon (1997) also found that Chinese-language news texts are distinguished for the overwhelming use of neutral verbal verbs, while CD demonstrates greater variety in the choice of neutral verbs even though not many evaluative verbs can be found. This lends support to Li et al's (1993) finding that one important distinction between news stories in Chinese and those in English is that the former tend to use neutral verbs in reporting speeches. Besides, English newspapers emphasize attribution of texts to sources, while Chinese newspapers prefer the use of direct quotes for rhetorical purposes rather than for attributions (Yung, 1995). In other words, Chinese newspapers demonstrate ambiguous use of quotation, while English newspapers present a face of clear and unambiguous quotation. As regards news value, Chinese news stories tend to present more elements of the setting, but these elements are more deeply embedded in English news stories. Scollon and Scollon (1997) argue that while great differences can be found between English and Chinese news texts, especially in text structures and quotation, they cannot be simply explained in terms of the language and culture of the writers of these stories, because intermediate versions and contrasting examples can always be identified. For example, inverted pyramid structures can also be found in Chinese news texts, while inductive ordering of its main topic, which is typical of Chinese news texts, can also be identified in English texts. For them, these differences in structures should be understood in terms of these newspapers' different expectations of readers, i.e., "forms of rhetorical strategizing".

While these studies contribute to a deep understanding of the structural and formal differences between Chinese and English news texts, they often fail to provide a sound explanation for their findings, because they usually seek to explain these differences in terms of cultural, cognitive or rhetorical motives inherent in a language. However, as Scollon and Scollon (1997) acknowledge, none of these differences can be directly attributed to the language or culture of the writers of these stories. They may have something to do with their intentions to reach different audiences. For example, Scollon (2000) found that even in the same story bylined by the same journalist, significant differences can be identified between English-language and Chinese-language news reports in both headlines and stories. The pursuit of exploring these differences in terms of the languages of Chinese and English and the cultures of those who use these languages is often at the expense of the dynamics and struggles involved in these linguistic, discursive and rhetoric choices, thus often resulting in incomplete or false explanations. Besides, while restricted to the examination of mainly macro-variations such as placement, textual frame, and typography, they often neglect lexical and grammatical choices or dismiss them as minor variations, such as syntactic choices, deletions and substitutions, verb of saying, punctuation, numbers, names and stylistic choices. This means that their analyses still stop at the macro level without going into the micro level. More importantly, the analysis of only a small sample of texts often fails to generate statistically significant findings. Although contrastive rhetoric studies yield important findings on textual differences between

Chinese-language and English-language news texts, what they lack are a more dynamic perspective and a more detailed discourse analysis. This poses the request for a new perspective for the comparative analysis of Chinese and English newspapers. Although the present research does not mean to compare CD and China's Chinese-language newspapers, it still needs to bear in mind these lexico-grammatical and textual features of these Chinese-language newspapers, which can be counted as the background information for the understanding and explanation of the competing and hybridized nature of CD.

2.4 Critical discourse analysis

This section first gives a general introduction to the main features that characterize CDA as a separate discipline. Then it discusses the necessity for a new approach for the examination of CD and its competing and hybridized nature after giving a critical evaluation of two strands of CDA studies on media discourse.

2.4.1 CDA as a distinct discipline

As an influential and well-established approach to discourse analysis, CDA finds its origin in critical linguistics, a social approach to linguistics developed at the University of East Anglia during the 1970s by some important figures such as Kress, Hodge, and Trew (e.g., Fowler et al., 1979; Hodge & Kress, 1979). Unlike traditional approaches to discourse analysis, CDA draws insights from both textual analysis and social theory and tries to develop an approach which can bring together two fields. CDA, therefore, is multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary in nature (van Dijk, 2001a; Fairclough, 2003a), and what a CDA approach contributes is the theorization of the relationship between the social and linguistic aspects of language use (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). As regards whether CDA can be counted as a theory, an approach, or a method, it is now widely acknowledged that CDA can be better viewed as "an approach which draws on various theories and methods" (Flowerdew, 2008: 197-198).

CDA is not a homogeneous theory but "a research program with many facts and numerous different theoretical and methodological approaches" (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999: 11; see also Van Dijk, 2001a).

Unlike many other approaches to discourse analysis, CDA is distinctive for its overt socio-political stance (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). In van Dijk's words, it is "discourse analysis with an attitude" (2001a: 96). CDA not only emphasizes the close analysis of texts but also addresses "broader issues such as the social context of discourse, the role of discourse in social practices, the function of specific texts" (Bloor & Bloor, 2007: 2). It focuses on "social problems, and especially the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination" (van Dijk, 2001a: 96, cited in Richardson, 2007: 1), and aims to expose "the opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in the language" (Risigel & Wodak, 2001). This distinguishes CDA from previous linguistic analysis, whose main concern is the way language and discourse work. CDA analysts are "interested in the way in which language and discourse are used to achieve social goals and in the part this use plays in social maintenance and change" (Bloor & Bloor, 2007: 2).

CDA is thus characterized by a *critical* perspective, but being "critical" does not mean criticism or exposing the negative side of evaluation (Wodak, 2001; Bloor & Bloor, 2007). Chilton et al. (2010) identify three interrelated meanings of being "critical". First, it means making explicit the implicit relationships between discourse, power and ideology (see also Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258; Fairclough, 1989/2001: 4). Second, it is critical in the sense that it highlights putting theory into action. In other words, CDA does not set the aim of analysis on language itself, but on its power to change. It views discourse analysis as a form of social action, which can lead to potential impact on social reality. It is the obligation of critical discourse analysts to be both "politically committed" and "able to apply practical results of analysis to communication problems" (Chilton et al., 2010: 492). Third, being critical also means being “reflexively self-critical”. CDA does not aim at the “objectivity” of analysis, for which it used to be unfairly attacked (e.g. Widdowson, 2004; Stubbs, 1997; Billig, 2003, 2008; Blommaert, 2005). It takes the analysis itself as a kind of social practice which can be equally criticized. Therefore, CDA emphasizes the need to be “reflexive and self-critical about its own institutional position and all that goes with it” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 9). As Wodak and Ludwig (1999: 12) summarize, being critical does not mean “detecting only the negative sides of social interaction and processes and painting a black and white picture of societies”, but means “making contradictions apparent” and the emphasis on “self-reflection”.

Despite this shared *critical* concern, CDA does not presuppose a unified analytic framework or a ready-made method for doing CDA due to its interdisciplinary endeavor. Van Dijk argues that CDA is “at most a shared perspective on doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse analysis” (1993a: 131, cited in Wodak, 2001: 2). It embraces the incorporation of any method or theory that can help to combine linguistic and social analyses and realize its research agenda (Baker et al., 2008; van Dijk, 2001a; Woods & Kroger, 2000). This might lead to the impression of lacking methodological consistency, but it does contribute to methodological resilience and innovation in CDA. While CDA, under the influence of critical linguistics, used to lay its linguistic foundation on systemic functional linguistics (hereafter SFL), other linguistic theories like pragmatics, corpus linguistics (hereafter CL), and cognitive linguistics, and even argumentation theory have also been incorporated into CDA studies to yield illuminating findings. Philosophically, CDA has been influenced by social theories of Herbarmas, Foucualt and others (see Fairclough, 2001: 232; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Important concepts in socio-political theories such as power, ideology, manipulation, hegemony, and legitimacy have been borrowed and further developed in CDA (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). This results in a number of sub-disciplines which propose different analytic frameworks to combine linguistic and social analyses. The most influential of them are the dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough, 2003b, 2009; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999), the discourse-historical approach (Wodak, 2001; Wodak et al., 1999), and the social-cognitive approach (van Dijk, 1998a, 2006a). As a result of this extensive and multifarious application of CDA to different fields, it is very hard to pin down the exact aims of CDA (Bloor & Bloor, 2007: 12), but three general main objectives and theoretical claims can be identified for these studies in CDA:

Three main objectives:

- To analyze discourse practices that reflect or construct social problems
- To investigate how ideologies can become frozen in language and find ways to break the ice
- To increase awareness of how to apply these objectives to specific cases of injustice, prejudice, and misuse of power

Three theoretical aims:

- To demonstrate the significance of language in the social relation of power
- To investigate how meaning is created in the context
- To investigate the role of speaker/writer *purpose* and authorial *stance* in the construction of discourse

(Bloor & Bloor, 2007: 12)

2.4.2 Media discourse and ideology

CDA is particularly concerned about the study of discourse in its socio-political context and explicating "the relationships between texts, authors, and the social institutions which produce them, of which they are a part and which they help to reproduce" (Partington, 2003: 5). This is based on the understanding of discourse as a social practice and the dialectical view of the relationships between discourse and society—discourse is socially shaped but also socially constitutive (Fairclough, 1992, 1993, 1995a). Richardson (2007: 1) argues that it is "a theory and method analyzing the way that individuals and institutions use language". Given the significant role of media in modern life, CDA has shown particular preference for the study of media discourse, especially news, and the last three decades have witnessed a large wealth of such studies (e.g., Fairclough, 1995a; Bell & Garret, 1998; Fowler et al., 1979; Fowler, 1991; Richardson, 2007; van Dijk, 1991). It has now been widely acknowledged that no news media is totally objective or neutral: "the world of the Press is not the real world, but a world skewed and judged" (Fowler, 1991:11). CDA is particularly interested in the reproduction of power and ideology in news, because they "may have an effect on each of the contextual levels of production, consumption and understanding of discourse" (Titscher et al., 2000: 151). Recent years have witnessed a growing number of researches in CDA which address the role of mass communication in the (re) production of racism, nationalism, identity, democracy and politics (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002).

However, it still has to be pointed out that the majority of these studies are confined to media discourse from "First-World societies" (Blommaert, 2005: 36). These studies on media discourse from China are still relatively few compared with the large wealth of studies on media discourse from the Western world (Liu, 2012). Recent years have witnessed a growing interest in CDA studies on media from China as well as those from other parts of the world, most of which are issue-focused (e.g., Kuo, 2007; Oktar, 2001; Fang, 2001; Kuo & Nakamura, 2005; Li, 2009, 2010; Wang, 1993; Wang, 2009; Teo, 2000; Yin, 2007). For example, Wang (1993) compared and contrasted the coverage of the failed Soviet coup in 1991 in *Renmin Ribao* and the NYT. Li (2010) compared the representations of the NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Yogoslavia in May 1999 by CD and NYT. The findings always suggest competing ways of representing the same issue(s), which are explained in terms of the different ideologies of the same or different newspapers.

While these studies are useful in revealing the relations between ideology and language use, they are not without problems (see Stubbs, 1996, 1997; Widdowson, 1995, 1996, 2004; Blommaert, 2005 among others). Despite their different analytic frameworks, they often start with the identification of some typical lexico-grammatical features and interpret the differences in their uses in two cases or two (or more) newspapers in terms of underlying ideologies. This kind of interpretation is often subjective, based on the understanding of how it was produced by the writer and received by the audience as well as the wider context (Holborow, 2012: 24). Due to their well-manipulated research designs, they can always identify distinct linguistic differences which can be readily assigned to different ideologies. However, few of them discuss the existence of contradictory and resistant discourses in the media, which might be attributed to either their small sample of texts or their deliberate negligence. Besides, few studies seek to compare how different reports of the same event can be produced by ideologically similar newspapers (exceptions including Phelan, 2007; Wu & Liu, 2011). It is not because there are no typical linguistic differences but because these differences cannot be readily assigned to presupposed ideological contrasts and polarization. This is a pity, considering the fact that there are more newspapers in and across different socio-political contexts with ideological similarities or congruity than those with ideological conflicts or clashes. Phelan's (2007) study can serve as a good example, which demonstrates how the same ideology can be appropriated by six different newspapers to construct their respective stances towards the same issue. This suggests the limitation of this kind of language-ideology analysis, which still does not suffice to provide a sound analysis of the intricate relations between language use and ideology in news reporting. It is argued in this thesis that different newspapers in the same or different socio-cultural contexts, more often than not, may vary not so much that there is a polarization of pro- and anti- ideological stances towards the same issue. The majority of them may locate at the cline from those which are relatively more supportive of to those which are comparatively more against a certain issue.

Besides, as Bell (1998: 64) argues, "media 'discourse' is important both for what it reveals about a society and because it also self contributes to the character of society", but many of these studies are too rush to do ideology detective work, often at the expense of sound discourse analysis. Their choice of the Chinese-language *People's Daily* or the English-language CD is usually out of their analytic convenience rather than the special characteristics or functions of the two newspapers. This neglect can be attributed to their ignorance of the significance of the "discursive process" or "agency" which has been repeatedly highlighted in Fairclough (1995a, 2003a), so these studies often fail to do justice to the special functions of China's Chinese-language and English-language newspapers in Chinese authoritarian media system.

Another problem with these studies resides in their ignorance of the unequal power relations in the international arena between media from different socio-political contexts, especially between Western and non-Western news media, as well as the interaction between them. They usually approach these media from different systems in the same way by analyzing their use of similar linguistic features and detecting their ideological implications. Analyses of this kind can create the false impression that these media can compete on an equal par in the struggle over discourse, to the neglect of the power struggle behind discourse as well as the dynamics and mutual influences between power relations and language use (cf. Yao, 2002). A notable exception is Hakam (2009), which addresses the resistance or challenge from non-Western newspapers towards the power and dominance of Western newspapers. He identifies several discourse strategies adopted by English-language Arabian newspapers in their representations of a controversial issue, namely, "Prophet Muhammad cartoons controversy", to show their particular ways of ideological resistance and alignment when editing news texts generated by the big-four Western news agencies as well as those generated by Arabian news agencies.

Finally, even though this approach does have been adopted by some researchers to study the discourses from the non-Western world, its appropriateness in other non-Western contexts is still questionable (see Chilton et al., 2010; Shi-xu, 2005, 2007, 2009). As Shi-xu points out, practitioners of CDA, whether from the East or

West, used to apply the concepts of CDA to analyzing discourses in different contexts without critically examining the appropriateness of these concepts in non-Western contexts. One important point made by Shi-xu (2009: 35) is that Western discourse is self/speaker centered while Chinese discourse is other/listener-centered. Compared with the Western ethos of individualism and individual self, Chinese discourse is keen on maintaining a harmonious relationship with the Other. The analysis of Chinese discourse in the way as that of Western discourse will lose sight of "the essential characteristics of Chinese discourse caring for others in speech" (Shi-xu, 2009: 35). This question of cultural appropriateness and adaptability has also been noticed and discussed in Chiton et al. (2010). As Richardson (2007: 78) cautions, any attempt to adopt a "one size fits all" linguistic analysis will only lead to injustice to the unique property of each genre. News discourse is distinguished by its particular functions, production techniques, specific institutional settings, its particular relationships between other agencies of political, judicial and economic power, and specific ways of consumption (Richardson, 2007: 76-77). So an accurate account of mass communication must address the economics and politics of mass media, such as the nature of the market, their relationships to the state, the wider socio-cultural context and so on (Fairclough, 1995a: 36). Blommaert (2005: 37) argues for the necessity of "transcend[ing] the present and address history in and through language". Murata (2007) also suggests the importance of a cross-cultural perspective in understanding media discourse from different cultural contexts. Therefore, an integrated analytic framework should be established for CDA, which can address both ideological differences and similarities between media discourses in the same or different socio-cultural contexts as well as the mutual influences and dynamics between these media in this globalizing world.

2.4.3 Media discourse change and social change

Another strand of CDA studies addresses changing media practices with social change. Starting with the basic assumption that "changes in language use are an important part of wider social and cultural changes”, Fairclough (1992: 5) emphasizes the analysis of language use as a useful means of studying social and discursive changes. Three general tendencies of discursive change in contemporary society have been identified: democratization, commodification, and technologization. Fairclough (1992) argues that at the core of these three tendencies are changing social relations and the growing importance of communication in this globalizing world. The significance of these tendencies resides in their influence on the constitution of subjectivity or “selfhood” by discourse at a deeper level. They all suggest the shifts towards “a more autonomous, self-motivating self” or a “self-steering self”. In other words, the addressees are not treated as passive recipients, but as autonomous individuals who have the rights and will to choose. For example, the commodification of educational discourse constitutes students as consumers who are “autonomous learners” (Fairclough, 1993).

This has inspired growing interest in diachronic investigation of discursive changes in media discourse in China as well as other parts of the world (e.g., Lu & Lv, 2001; Feng, 2008; Feng & Wu, 2009; Huang, 2007; Huang & Cheng, 2009). For example, in a diachronic analysis of some linguistic features in three newspapers of Taiwan, Kuo (2007) identified a conversationalization trend in Taiwan, which is attributed to both the substantive democratization and marketization of Taiwanese society and the change and development of modern written Chinese. Similar studies have also been conducted on media discourse in Mainland China. Lu and Lv (2001) also found both frequency and semantic changes in a study on the variation of mainstream words in editorials and commentators’ articles in the *People’s Daily* over a decade from 1986 to 1995. Based on a diachronic analysis of New Year editorials (1949-2006), Huang (2007) and Huang and Cheng (2009) also identified the trend of discursive democratization in Chinese news discourse. Feng (2008) and Feng and Wu (2009) examined social change in terms of discursive change by comparing value appeals and language use in advertising discourses in a typical communist party newspaper *Nanfang Daily* between two different time periods (1980 and 2002). All these studies have demonstrated that apparent changes have happened to discourses in both China and other parts of the world as a result of the overwhelming globalizing trend. However, no such studies have been conducted on CD, which can be explained in terms of the relatively short history of this newspaper as well as the English language used. It suggests that a diachronic investigation of Chinese English media like CD might not lead to significant findings.

One consequence of these discursive changes in contemporary world is the burgeoning of "hybridized" discourses as a result of the demolishing and/or blurring of the boundaries between traditional orders of discourse such as public vs. personal discourses, and institutional vs. promotional discourses, and global vs. local discourses. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 59) argue that "hybridity is an irreducible characteristic of complex modern discourse". Some other studies seek to approach changing discursive practices through synchronic analysis of discursive "hybridity" (Lemke, 1995; Swales & Rogers, 1995; Flowerdew, 1997; Graham, 2002; Myers, 2003; Pearce, 2004; Askehave, 2004, Stamou & Raraskevopoulos, 2004; Erjavec, 2004, 2005; Phelan, 2007; Campbell & Roberts, 2007; Osman, 2008; Neyazi, 2010; Tian, 2010; Wu & Chung, 2011; Xiong, 2012; Ramakrishnan, 2012). They often set their primary focuses on the presence and functioning of different types of discourses in a particular field. For example, Askehave (2004) notes a new trend in modern society which favors softer values such as emotion and intuition over rationalistic and scientific thinking, and demonstrates how this new type of discourse that characterizes the New Age movement manifests itself in self-help books. The results show a hybridization of bureaucratic/authorless and promotional discourses. Campbell and Roberts (2007) examined the synthesis of institutional and personal discourses in competence-based interviews as well as its role in constructing an "authentic self". Stamou and Raraskevopoulos (2004) investigated the influence of the hybridization of tourism and environmentalist discourses in visitors books. Neyazi (2010) examined the emergence and popularity of Hindi newspapers in India which provide hybrid content through appropriating the Western modernity and indigenous form to cater to the vernacular realm of Hindi publics. Wu and Chung (2011) also identified a hybridization of traditional and modern values in both mainland China and Hong Kong TV advertisements. Xiong (2012) investigated the marketization of Chinese higher education by conducting a genre-based analysis of advertisements for academic posts in a leading Chinese newspaper—*People's Daily Overseas Edition*.

While these studies have well captured the "hybridized" nature of discourses in different fields, their analytic methods cannot be equally applied to the present study, because they usually presume some ready-made parameters and/or discursive features which are believed to characterize particular types of discourse or the "traces" of production process. Although communication studies have demonstrated through content analysis that CD features a "hybridized" nature (Guo & Huang, 2002), it is very hard and inappropriate to identify some pre-set discursive features which are believed to be exclusive to Chinese and Western journalism, because more often than not, they differ not so much in the exclusive choice of some linguistic features as in the extent of using them as well as the meanings expressed. For this research, this problem can be remedied by incorporating the concept and analytic methods of stancetaking. It is argued that newspapers from different discourse systems can be characterized by their particular ways of stancetaking towards a certain issue, which can in turn reveal the underlying ideologies behind them.

2.5 Previous studies on Stance/stancetaking

The last two decades have witnessed a growing interest in the linguistic marking of stance in different schools of linguistics, such as CL, sociolinguistics, functional linguistics, linguistic anthropology, etc. (Haddington, 2004; Engelbretson, 2007; Jaffe, 2009). In fact, it has ignited such a wide interest that it can be regarded as a "convergence" or "intersection" of these sub-disciplines (Engelbretson, 2007: 1). However, although they all share the common interest in stance, their studies vary with their different focuses, methodologies, and even terminology choices. For some researchers, stance is their central concern (e.g. Biber & Finegan, 1988, 1989; Conrad & Biber, 2000), while for others, stance is used in association with such concepts as "evaluation" (Hunston, 1994; Thompson & Hunston, 2000), "appraisal" (Martin, 2000; Martin & White, 2005), "evidentiality" (Chafe, 1986; Chafe & Nichols, 1986). The consequence is, as Haddington (2007) acknowledges, that the same phenomenon may be denoted with different terminologies by different researchers, while the same terminology may refer to different phenomena. Therefore, stance is by no means a "monolithic" concept (Haddington, 2004), and this poses great challenges to a complete review of related studies. This section will address four influential approaches to stance/stancetaking: the concept of **"stance**" by Douglas Biber (Biber & Finegan, 1988, 1989; Biber et al.,1999; Biber, 2006a, 2006b; Conrad & Biber, 2000), the "**Appraisal**" theory by Jim Martin (Martin, 2000; Martin & Rose, 2003; Martin & White, 2005; P. R. White, 2003), "**evaluation**" studies by Geoff Thompson and Susan Hunston (see Thompson & Hunston, 2000; Hunston, 1994, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2011), as well as a sociolinguistic approach to stance, i.e., "**positionality**" (Jaffe, 2009).

2.5.1 Stance

Biber and Finegan (1989: 24) define stance as "the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message". Their primary concern is the statistical distribution of linguistic markers of stance across different registers or "stance style" (Biber, 1995, 2006a, 2006b; Biber et al., 1999). For the distinction of different types of stance markers, they distinguish three types of stance meanings: epistemic, attitudinal, and style of speaking. Epistemic stance concerns the speaker/writer's level of commitment to or certainty of a proposition, such as certainty, actuality, precision, source of knowledge or the perspective from which the information is given. Attitudinal stance refers to the expression of personal attitudes or feelings. Style of speaking stance (or style stance) addresses "speaker/writer comments on the communication itself" (Biber et al., 1999: 978).

In their analyses, they usually start from the identification of stance markers by analyzing particular linguistic forms, and then examine the distribution of these stance markers and patterns of stance meaning across different genres and registers. A wide range of lexico-grammatical features have been generated for stance analyses, such as modal and semi-modal verbs (e.g., *can*, *could*, *have to*), stance adverbs (e.g., *actually*, *apparently*), complement clauses (*that*-clause and *to*-clause) controlled by stance verbs, adjectives, or nouns (e.g., *clear* + *that*-clause, *important* + *to*-clause, *proposal* + *that*-clause) (Biber, 2006b: 101-102). For example, Biber et al. (1999) investigated the distribution of stance markers by three major grammatical categories (i.e., complements, adverbials, and modal verbs) across four registers: conversation, fiction, news, and academic prose. It is found that modals and complement constructions are the most common grammatical categories of stance markers, and that adverbial stance markers are generally less frequently used than other grammatical categories. Biber (2006b) also compared and contrasted the use of these lexico-grammatical resources for the expression of stance in spoken and written university registers.

It is not difficult to perceive the advantages of this approach. With certain lexico-grammatical features as their starting point, this approach allows for a fast examination of the distribution of stance markers in large corpora. It can present a general picture of authentic language practices in different registers and genres (Biber et al., 1999). However, its limitations are also apparent. Stopping at the level of genre and register, it does not take into account specific contexts of communication, thus failing to address the fact that that the same stance marker may serve a number of functions in different contexts (see Kärkkäinen, 2003, 2006; Haddington, 2004, 2007). Besides, stance is often encoded in expressions in an implicit way, usually involving various parameters (Hunston, 2000). Stubbs (1996: 19) even argues that "whenever speakers (or writers) say anything, they encode their point of view towards it". This can be witnessed in a number of studies in CL which have investigated the various means evaluative meanings can be decided according to specific contexts of language use (Channell, 2000; Hunston, 2007). Hunston (2007: 35) also cautions that it is unlikely to be successful to "quantify stance, especially evaluative stance, by counting particular words", in view of the fact that there is no one-to-one correspondence between form and function. The mere focus on some lexico-grammatical features certainly fails to do justice to the multifarious ways stance can be encoded in actual language use.

2.5.2 Appraisal

Set in systemic-functional linguistics, the appraisal framework proposed by Martin and his associates (Martin, 2000; Martin & Rose, 2003; Martin & White, 2005) addresses the above problems by focusing on semantic resources. Martin (2000: 145) uses the term Appraisal to refer to "the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgments, and evaluations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with evaluations". Therefore, Appraisal theory is characterized by a separate approach to stance (see Figure 2.1).

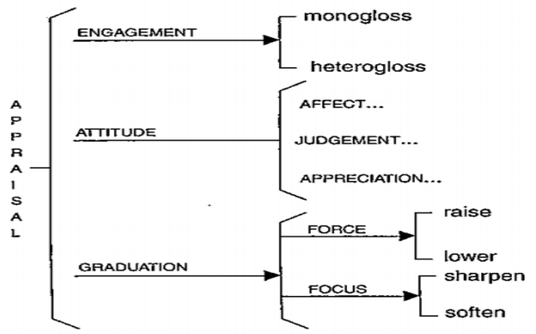

Figure 2.1 An overview of appraisal resources (Martin & White, 2005: 38)

The appraisal system consists of three subsystems: attitude, engagement, and graduation. The attitude system communicates ways of feeling, and it consists of three sub-systems: affect, appreciation, and judgment. Affect deals with the expression of emotion (e.g., *happiness, sadness*, etc.); appreciation involves aesthetical assessment (e.g., *remarkable*, *harmonious*, etc.); and judgment is concerned with moral evaluations of behavior (e.g., *ethical, deceptive*, etc.) (Martin & White, 2005: 145). The engagement system is the resources for intersubjective stance, which deals with "devices for construing audience, alignment/disalignment and solidarity with socially constituted communities" (Haarman & Lombardo, 2009: 4). Each of these sub-systems can be further divided, thus resulting in the distinction of stance meanings at multiple levels.

The appraisal framework has provided an analytic framework for a wide range of studies (e.g., Arrese & Perucha, 2006; Kaltenbacher, 2009; Miller, 2004a, 2004b; Gales, 2011). Based on P. White's (2003) model, Arrese and Perucha (2006) exposed the presence and patterning of various linguistic resources for engagement in texts of journalistic commentary and news reportage and compared the patterning of these resources across these subgenres of news discourse and across languages. Kaltenbacher (2009) addressed the differences in culture style through examining the use of modal expressions in tourist websites. The findings show that Austrian and American websites reveal considerable stylistic differences in the use of modal verbs of obligation. Miller (2004b) used engagement resources to demonstrate how the strategies of alignment and alienation were employed in a speech delivered by President Bush to the UN. They demonstrate that the appraisal theory can present a sound analysis of texts which cannot be achieved otherwise. These different semantic resources identified provide useful tools for the analysis and explanation of stance differences in texts.

It has to be noted, however, that while Martin (2000) makes the important distinction between "inscribed" and "evoked" appraisal, the analysis of appraisal is still based on the identification of linguistic means of expressing evaluative meanings, usually the lexis. Besides, it is uncertain how evaluative meanings are evoked in a text, because it can be evoked in different units of language, e.g., clause, sentence, paragraph, or a whole text. Miller (2004a) suggests that "the 'meaning categories' involved may need to be expanded to adequately accommodate all apparent resources for speaker evaluation". He demonstrates that not only relational processes, but also the hypotactic causal relation, construed with *because*, and even thematic progression, are all important appraisal resources. Other resources including humor, irony, and sarcasm are also culture-specific meanings which construe evaluation (Miller, 2004a: 292; Martin, 2000: 164). Therefore, the "tokens" of appraisal should not be seen as being realized exclusively in lexis; appraisal is realized in global patterns stretching across texts, and involves linguistic systems and structures at all levels of analysis. As Hunston (2004: 158) argues, "what counts as evoked Appraisal is even broader question than what counts as inscribed Appraisal". However, as Martin himself (2003) acknowledges, the evoked nature of evaluation has created "a coding nightmare". This poses great challenges to the quantitative analysis of appraisal in a large sample of texts.

2.5.3 Evaluation

While sharing the same concern about the meaning of stance, Thompson and Hunston (2000), unlike Martin, propose a combined approach to the analysis of stance meanings. They choose the term "evaluation", which is defined as "the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about" (p. 5). The benefit of using this term is "its syntactic and morphological flexibility: not only does it express a user-orientation…but it also allows us to talk about *values* ascribed to the entities and propositions which are *evaluated* [Emphasized in original]" (Thompson & Hunston, 2000: 5). Their primary concern is "evaluation in action", i.e., "why, when, how and what speakers and writers evaluate" (Thompson & Hunston, 2000: 5-6).

Influenced by the functional view of language in systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1994), Thompson and Hunston (2000) identify three functions for evaluation: expressing opinion, maintaining relations, and organizing the discourse. They further argue that the examination of evaluation can contribute to the exposure of ideologies behind, because particular ways of evaluation can reveal the communal value system, which is in turn a component of ideology. Evaluation can be taken as a key linguistic concept in the study of ideologies, considering that "ideologies are essentially sets of values" (Thompson & Hunston, 2000: 8). Besides, while maintaining the relations between speaker/writer and addressee/reader, evaluation can be used to manipulate the addressee/reader and persuade him to take a certain view of a problem.

They further point out that evaluation can be realized at lexical, grammatical and textual levels (see also Hunston, 1994, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2011). However, they do not stipulate what can be counted as evaluation. According to Thompson and Hunston (2000: 14), "the advantage of looking at evaluation conceptually is that it does not restrict what can be counted as evaluation". Evaluation is value-laden, and what can be counted as good or bad can only be judged in terms of certain criteria like goal-achievement. Besides, some words can be used both negatively and positively depending on the words that co-occur with them. Taking the word *help* for example, while it is generally understood as a positive word, it can also be judged as negative when it is followed by words like *interfere* and *meddle*. More importantly, some lexico-grammatical patterns may carry "hidden" evaluative meanings without our awareness (Hunston, 2004, 2011; Louw, 1993; Stubbs, 1996; Channell, 2000). For example, Hunston (2004) has revealed that the seemingly neutral phrase *to the point of* actually carries negative implicature, because it frequently follows expressions with negative meanings.

In view of the complicated nature of evaluation, they argue for the use of corpus-linguistic methods in both qualitative and quantitative investigation of evaluation (see Hunston, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2011; Thompson & Hunston, 2000). CL can contribute to the investigation of evaluation in two complementary aspects. On the one hand, it allows for fast and accurate quantification of linguistic forms. On the other hand, it can also contribute to detailed qualitative analyses of the multiple uses of a word or phrase in its context. More importantly, detailed qualitative analysis of a word or phrase in a corpus can help to reveal "hidden" evaluative meanings which may not be obvious to intuition, thus contributing to the identification of implicit stance markers (see Hunston, 2004, 2007, Channell, 2000). The quantification of stance markers can be complemented and further enhanced by qualitative work, and context plays an important role in this kind of analysis. Therefore, Hunston (2007: 28) concludes that "although a comprehensive account of stance cannot be wholly quantitative, the availability of quantitative data in a corpus can assist the investigation of stance in texts in both qualitative and quantitative ways". However, while this approach is distinguished for its qualitative and quantitative investigation of evaluation, it still does not seem to show much interest in the social significances of evaluation, and the analysis still stops at the level of identification of stance markers and qualitative and quantitative investigations of stance meanings.

2.5.4 Positionality: a sociolinguistic approach to stance

A sociolinguistic approach to stance/stancetaking goes beyond the construction of stance in interaction to the socio-cultural context of stancetaking. From a sociolinguistic perspective, there is no utterance without a stance (Jaffe, 2009: 3). Even for the so-called "neutral" utterances, stance is also built in them, since neutrality itself is a stance, which is taken in contrast to other options. In other words, stancetaking is no longer confined to explicit linguistic forms: "As an emergent property of interaction, stance is not transparent in either the linguistic or the sociolinguistic, but must be inferred from the empirical study of interactions in social and historical context" (Jaffe, 2009: 4). A sociolinguistic approach is believed to be able to offer much to the study of stancetaking, because stancetaking is socially situated and socially consequential. In order to distinguish a sociolinguistic approach to stance from other approaches, Jaffe (2009: 4) sets two primary goals for it: (1) to explore the relations between stance and subject positions (i.e., social roles, identities, and personhood) as well as its role in maintaining interpersonal and social relationships; and (2) to theorize the relations between stancetaking and the socio-cultural field, in particular, the role stance plays in social reproduction and social change. They characterize what Jaffe (2009: 4) calls "positionality", which is defined as:

> how speakers and writers are necessarily engaged in positioning themselves vis-à-vis their words and texts (which are embedded in histories of linguistic and textual production), their interlocutors and audiences (both actual and virtual/projected/imagined), and with respect to a context that they simultaneously respond to construct linguistically.

Therefore, these more sociolinguistic studies link stancetaking to social identities and wider features of context, and are concerned about the wide range of ways that participants can do with stancetaking, including accents, gestures, turn-taking styles, and even silences (e.g., Johnstone, 2009; Irvine, 2009; Shoaps, 2009; Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009).

A sociolinguistic approach highlights a few properties of stancetaking: **dialogic, consequential, cumulative, ideological** and **cultural** (Jaffe, 2009). It regards stance as "jointly constructed, negotiated, and realized in and through interaction" (Engelbretson, 2007: 19), thus emphasizing the **"dialogic"** dimension of stancetaking: "stance is taken in alignment with or in opposition to other possible stances and other people who hold them" (Coupland & Coupland, 2009: 228). As Du Bois (2007) suggests, any stancetaking act consists of a stancetaker, stance object, and a co-participant. The uptake of a stance may take the form of alignment, realignment, and disalignment. Besides, personal stance is "always achieved with comparison and contrast with other relevant persons and categories" (Jaffe, 2009: 9). For example, an elitist stance in Jaworski and Thurlow's (2009) study is constructed through discursive opposition to common tourists, and Lempert's (2009) study also demonstrates that the stance of "conviction" can be taken in contrast to the established image of being "flip-flopping". This dialogic nature of stancetaking also sheds light on "a range of orientations and motivations in the production of speech and writing", and explains why "speakers use and shift styles to align with various kinds of audiences…as well as absent reference groups" (Jaffe, 2009: 11).

Stancetaking is also **consequential**. Previous studies have showed that stancetaking can contribute to identity construction, stylization, and membership categorization (Kiesling, 2009). Recent studies in sociolinguistics challenge the traditional view that there is a direct and fixed relationship between social categories or identity and the use of linguistic forms. Ochs (1992, 1996) argues that few features directly index social identity categories and that the relations between them are mediated by stancetaking. In other words, "linguistic features index social stances, acts, activities in interaction, which in turn help constitute higher level social meaning" (Snell, 2010, see also Ochs, 1993). Jaffe (2009) argues that the very notion of sociolinguistic stance is inherently "performative" based on the constructed rather than fixed view of social identities. Lempert (2009) demonstrates that epistemic stance expressions can be used by Democratic candidate John Kerry to display the characterogical attribute of "conviction" and rejoin the critics who branded him as a "flip-flopper".

Stance is also **cumulative**. It is not confined to the temporary construction in a particular interaction. As Johnstone (2009) shows, stancetaking can work across time, situation, genre, audience, and interlocutors. Individual speakers' histories of usage and repertoires are critical resources for the interpretation of stance choices in discrete speech events. As Du Bois (2007: 147) points out, interpreting an act of stance requires knowledge of individual histories of stances both taken and not taken. Lempert's study (2009) also draws attention to the significances of "interdiscursivity" in stancetaking. He suggests that "we must look beyond the close quarters of the proximal speech-event" (Lempert, 2009). It means that the interpretation of a particular way of stancetaking should go "beyond" the immediate, here-and-now speech event.

Issues of **ideology** and **power** are also critical to the sociolinguistic approach to stance (Jaffe, 2009: 20). The issue of power suggests the conflict between individual agency and institutional constraints in stancetaking. Like all acts of communication, stancetaking can be simultaneously individually creative and socially constrained (Blommaert, 2005: 125; Jaffe, 2009: 20). While individuals' access to particular linguistic stances are always constrained and governed by "culturally and historically specific social, institutional, and political formations", dominant powers and authorities and conventions can also be challenged and toppled through particular ways of stancetaking by individuals in specific contexts. Stancetaking is also ideologically significant, as it often naturalizes itself and is taken for granted. It is not equivalent to ideology, but "instances of activating or actualizing particular aspects of ideology" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009: 221). The relationships between ideology and stancetaking are dialectical. Following linguists in CDA (e.g., van Dijk, 1998a), Jaworski and Thurlow (2009) regard ideology as "a general and abstract set of social representations shared by members of a group and used by them to accomplish everyday social practices: acting and communicating" (p. 221). These general and abstract representations are crucial to the understanding of how the society works, and the actual instances of deployment of such representations are taken as stancetaking. Meanwhile, the popularization and conventionalization of particular stances over time can also turn them into ideology. Jaworski and Thurlow's study (2009) exposes the reproduction of the ideology of class contrast through the reiterative and affective processes of stancetaking in newspapers travelogues. Therefore, stancetaking can be understood as both an index of "individual or community value systems" and "a site of political struggle and ideological contestation" (Jaffe, 2009: 5).

The sociolinguistic approach to stance also highlights the roles of **cultural context** in the interpretation and understanding of stancetaking (Jaffe, 2009: 21). First of all, each culture may have their preferred and privileged ways of stancetaking. For example, while a dichotomization of “inner” life of the person and their “outer” or social expressive behavior is favored in Western culture, it may be dismissed by other cultures, in which social and political stances are privileged over individual and private stances. Besides, each culture may have its own repertoires of spoken and written genres and discourses. These genres “that are heavily scripted/conventionalized and obligatory” can “shape the variables that speakers deploy in stancetaking as well as the variables interlocutors attend to and the nature of their interpretation” (Jaffe, 2009: 21). Culture discourses are often ideologically loaded, which can serve as ready-made objects of stancetaking. Therefore, culture variability should be taken into account in the investigation of stancetaking from different socio-cultural contexts.

To sum up, despite their varied purposes and methods in stance study, each of the above four approaches has generated significant insights for the investigation of the so-called phenomenon of stancetaking in communication. However, as a result of the complicated nature of stancetaking, each approach also has its own limitations and cannot perfectly suit the needs of the present research. While sharing the same concerns with the sociolinguistic approach to stancetaking, the present research argues for an integrated approach to the investigation of stancetaking in news reporting, which approaches it from both forms and meanings and values the corpus-linguistic analytic methods. The following chapter will further dwell on how this integrated approach can be practiced in the present research.

2.6 CADS

While traditional discourse analysis used to rely on the qualitative analysis of a small sample of texts, the last two decades have witnessed a growing body of literature which is devoted to the application of CL methods in discourse analysis. Now corpus has become a default resource for doing discourse analysis, especially CDA. This part first discusses the potential contributions of CL methods to (critical) discourse analysis and then gives a detailed review of the CADS approach and its application in studies on evaluation and stance.

2.6.1 Potential contributions of CL methods to (critical) discourse analysis

The possibility of combining CL and discourse analysis has become a popular topic in the last several decades, which has given rise to a large wealth of studies devoted to the application of CL methods in discourse analysis (Kaltenbacher, 2009; Thompson & Hunston, 2000; Mautner, 2005). In what they claim as the first collection of papers devoted to exploring the relations between SFL and CL, Thompson and Hunston (2006) argue that SFL and CL are the "most congruent beast" (see also Partington, 2004). Prentice (2010) even suggests that the practice of combining CDA and CL in France can be traced to Michel Pecheux's influential *Analyse automatique du discours* in 1969 even though it began more recently in the UK, in the mid to late 1990s (Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Krishnamurthy, 1996; De Beaugrande, 1997; Flowerdew, 1997). Mautner (2009: 32) argues that CDA and CL can "cooperate fruitfully and with mutual gain, building on a shared interest in how language 'works' in social rather than merely structural gains". O' Halloran and Coffin (2004) also recommend that large reference corpora are crucial for safeguarding against over- and under-interpretation.

Leech (1992) has pointed out that the corpus-based methodology has the benefits commonly ascribed to "the scientific method", such as falsibility, completeness, simplicity, strength, and objectivity (cited in Rayson, 2008). This can compensate the weaknesses of CDA, which has been frequently challenged for its representativeness, selectivity, partiality, prejudice and voice (Blommaert, 2005; Baker, 2006). For example, CDA is often criticized for its reliance on the qualitative analysis of a small sample of texts, whose results may not be able to apply to the wider contexts. The researcher may deliberately choose the texts to meet his own analytic purpose. In Mautner's (2005: 815) words, CL methods can add a sound empirical footing to the analyses in CDA, thus enhancing their credibility and counteracting the criticisms that are constantly leveled at CDA. Baker (2006) also argues that even though cognitive biases cannot be totally eliminated from our analysis and interpretation, a corpus-based analysis can at least put some constraints on our research bias with the help of a large sample of texts. Besides, it can deal with the "incremental" effect of the discourse, which requires the examination of a large sample of texts. As Fairclough (1989: 54) suggests:

> The hidden power of media discourse and the capacity of...power-holders to exercise this power depend on systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities. A single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader and so forth.
>
> (Cited in Baker, 2006: 12)

Besides, corpus-based discourse analysis allows the analysts to triangulate their analyses, i.e., "using multiple methods of analysis". This has several advantages: enhancing the check of the validity of hypotheses, providing more robust interpretations and explanations for the findings, and endowing researchers with more flexibility to respond unexpected problems and concepts (Layder, 1993: 128; cited in Baker, 2006: 16).

Efforts in this direction can be witnessed in the growing number of studies of this kind in the last two decades (e.g., Kaltenbacher, 2009; Piper, 2000; Gales, 2010; Cheng & Lam, 2010; Koller & Mautner, 2004; Partington, 2004; Stubbs & Gerbig, 1993; Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Krishnamurthy, 1996; Fairclough, 2000; Baker & McEnery, 2005; Mautner, 2005, 2007, 2009; L' Hôte, 2010). All these studies contribute to this burgeoning field with theoretical and/or practical implications. For example, Cheng and Lam (2010) suggest the application of Sinclair's abstract model of lexical description to the description of the extended meanings of lexical cohesion. As regards the analytic methods, the majority of these studies rely on the analysis of word frequencies, concordance, collocation, and keywords. However, some other studies recommend taking advantage of other corpus-analytic tools for better analysis (e.g., Baker, 2006; Rayson, 2008; Prentice, 2010). As Prentice (2010: 407) argues, "CDA has yet to take advantage of the full range of annotation and analysis tools that have been developed within the field of corpus linguistics". Rayson (2008) proposes to extend keyword analysis to the analysis of key parts-of-speech and key semantic domains, because each method may contribute to different findings. Prentice (2010) also argues for exploring the potential of automatic semantic tagging for CDA.

Despite the growing number of studies in this field, a few problems can also be identified. Baker et al. (2008) argue that most of these studies fail to give a balanced treatment of the methods and theoretical frameworks traditionally associated with CL and CDA. Corpus-based studies may adopt a critical perspective but are not well-informed by CDA theory or any particular discourse-oriented theory. Likewise, discourse analysts using CL methods often fail to give an explicit account of the methods they use. Most of their analyses are confined to concordance analysis, to the ignorance of other quantitative analyses. Other problems also exist in their analyses and corpus building. Some of the corpora the analysts build may be too small to be representative (Hakam, 2009). Some may be biased, thus lack of representativeness. In view of this, Baker et al. (2008) call for a "synergy" of two approaches, which can give a balanced treatment of them, maximizing their strengths while minimizing their weaknesses.

2.6.2 Corpus-assisted studies on stance/stancetaking

To what extent stance/stancetaking constructed in discourse can be investigated with corpus techniques has also received particular attention in the past few years (e.g., Channell, 2000; Hunston, 2004; Diani, 2004; Murphy, 2004; Lombardo, 2004; Morley, 2004; Walsh, 2004; Garzone & Santulli, 2004). As Bloor and Bloor (2007: 34) suggest, the study of stance can be very complicated. This results from both the special nature of texts and the complicated nature of stance itself. On the one hand, the texts may be prepared by one or more individuals, representing the views of not only particular individuals but also a group or an institution. On the other hand, the expression of stance can be *explicit* or *implicit*, *conscious* or *unconscious*. This poses great challenge to the identification of stance markers in texts. Besides, stance is a meaning rather than a form (Hunston, 2007: 27). It is "pervasive" in all human communication and "interwoven in the very fabric of texts" (Partington, 2004: 17). Therefore, it cannot be reduced to the simple identification of stance markers (e.g., Biber & Finegan, 1988; Biber et al., 1999); nor can it receive clear-cut distinctions between purely positive and negative judgments, moral and aesthetic judgments (e.g., Martin, 2000) in view of the continuity of evaluative meanings (Bondi, 2007: 411). The interpretation of stance, as Hunston (2007: 28) argues, requires a deep understanding of the discourse as a whole rather than the mere examination of the co-text of a lexical item. Nevertheless, this does not imply that corpus methods are inappropriate for the investigation. Instead, it suggests the significance of more sophisticated and dynamic techniques in the investigation of stance (Hunston, 2004, 2007; Partington, 2004).

First designated by Partington (2004), CADS lays its root in the seminal work by Sinclair (1991, 2004), Hoey (2005), Stubbs (1996, 2001), Hardt-Mautner (1995), and Partington (1998). It is based on the belief that a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches can expand analysts' analytic potential to a greater extent than the sum of the two methods can provide (Morley, 2009: 10). Unlike former approaches, it makes no rigid distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches as suggested by Tognini-Bonelli (2001), because it believes that the two approaches do not necessarily exclude each other. Hypotheses can be formed based on corpus analysis, but they can also be formed before they can be tested by corpus analytic methods. It is not unusual for CADS to form new hypotheses as the analysis moves on. The key feature of CADS is that it moves back and forth between the findings generated by corpus analytic tools and the specific contexts (Morley, 2009;

Haarman & Lombardo, 2009), so it permits the research to “shift between quality and quantity”, thus preserving “both depth and breadth of analysis” (Morley, 2009: 32).

CADS has demonstrated its great potential in the investigation of stance/stancetaking, as can be witnessed in the papers collected in Partington et al. (2004), but its most fruitful applications can be found in a series of studies concerning the Iraq War (see Morley & Bayley, 2009; Haarman & Lombardo, 2009). Morley and Bayley (2009) bring together several papers which are unified by their common interest in using CADS approach to examine a corpus of texts concerning the Iraq war. For example, Miller and Johnson (2009) employed CADS to investigate how Democrats and Republicans take stance towards the war in Iraq in political debate. Bayley and Bevitori (2009) demonstrated how the British government’s position on the war was justified through examining the use of cluster *people of Iraq* and *Iraqi People* and the noun group *regime change*. The collections edited by Haarman and Lombardo (2009) are exclusively devoted to a comparative study of the stance and evaluation in television news coverage of the Iraq war in four countries, i.e., “to what extent and in what manner did the data under consideration reveal implicitly or explicitly a stance with respect to the war” (p. 1). Through a comparison of different corpora, they identify linguistic or grammatical features which can be used to indicate the stance of different TV news. Their analyses range from the anchor/news presenter discourse by Lombardo, the use of *we* and *you* by Ferrarotti, the evaluative language of reporters by Clark, the final segment (“coda”) of reports by Haarman, the role of visual elements by Lipson, and the techniques and patterns of attribution by Pizza. These studies demonstrate multiple ways stance can be constructed in television news reports.

The CADS approach has also contributed to some other insightful studies on the construction of stance/stancetaking in news discourse (e.g., Garzone & Santulli, 2004; Duguid, 2007; Bondi, 2007) and other specialized genres (e.g., Gales, 2010). Garzone and Santulli’s (2004) study demonstrates not only the potential contributions of CL to

CDA but, more importantly, the particular ways of revealing stance in news reports. The findings suggest that stance can be revealed through an examination of both the frequently used words and groups of semantically-related lexical items. It argues that "patterns of lexis could help uncover ideological overtones which were present in the texts in spite of apparent neutrality of the points of view expressed in them" (Garzone & Santulli, 2004: 357). Duguid (2007) illustrates how various ways of constructing dialogistic space can be investigated through CADS. Gales (2010) presents so-far the most comprehensive study of stance in threatening discourse. Based on a multi-faceted and iterative approach, she exposes the connection between linguistic forms, language functions, and ideologically-based social-language practices in this specialized genre. The combined approach she proposes to investigate stance from both forms and functions is also adopted in the present research.

The above studies demonstrate that the CADS approach to stance/stancetaking shares the common view that stance/stancetaking can be constructed at different levels of discourse, with different lexico-grammatical units. In other words, they agree that "all utterances are in some way evaluative, stanced or attitudinal" (Haarman & Lombardo, 2009; 4; Stubbs, 1996). Therefore, they do not attempt to give an exhaustive analysis of the resources for the construction of stance, but seek to identify these features which distinguish them from others for their potential contributions to the construction of stance. These features, lexical or grammatical, are identified usually based on the frequencies generated by corpus analytic tools, but they can also be identified through qualitative analysis of the sample texts. Therefore, CADS provides a flexible and effective means for the investigation of stance/stancetaking in discourse. However, compared with the wealth of studies in applying corpus linguistic techniques to discourse analysis, the use of CADS approach in the investigation of stance/stancetaking is still a relatively new field and awaits further exploration. This research is intended to be another example of this application.

2.7 Conceptual metaphor and attitudinal stance

Another important means in the discursive construction of stance is conceptual metaphor. Since the introduction of conceptual metaphor theory by Lackoff and Johnson (1980), metaphor has been understood as a matter of both language and thought, which is pervasive in language. It is no longer regarded as just cosmetic feature of texts but as “a primary means by which people can use to construct reality, to reason about it and to evaluate it” (Tang, 2010: 52). According to Koller (2003: 6), metaphor also simultaneously serves three general meta-functions (Halliday, 1994): textual, ideational, and interpersonal. The textual function of metaphor resides in its contribution to the coherence of the text through both metaphoric expressions as well as the underlying cognitive models like scripts and frames. It is interpersonal in that it can construct social relations between discourse participants: “By using particular metaphors, text producers can thus define a topic, argue for that conceptualization and persuade recipients to share in their metaphor and thus relate to the textual producer” (Koller, 2003: 6). The ideational function of metaphor resides in its contribution to the construction of particular views of reality. Dunford and Palmer (1996: 97) point out that metaphor can “define the situation, the respective roles of the key actors and the proper procedures or even outcomes to be followed/attained”. It can be used for a range of specific purposes, such as persuasion, legitimation, creating common ground and solidarity, arousing emotions (Chilton, 1996; Straehle et al., 1999). Therefore, metaphor tends to be used more frequently in situations where competing interpretations of events and issues exist. Metaphor also plays an important role in media discourse. It can enhance the readability of text (White, 1997: 242), appeal to target readers (Prince & Ferrari, 1996: 230), and contribute to the construction and consolidation of a particular view of reality through the preferential choice of particular metaphors to convey the meanings it wants to communicate (Koller, 2003, 2005). These functions of metaphor are especially important for financial reporting, because it relies to a large extent on the use of metaphors to facilitate the understanding of specialized economic concepts, increase its reader appeals, and construct a particular view of reality (Henderson, 1994; Charteris-Black, 2000; Koller, 2003, 2005).

Despite its pervasiveness and important functions in discourse, metaphor remains the "missing link" of mainstream CDA (Chilton, 2005). Wodak (2006: 179) also acknowledges that cognitive approaches have been rejected and excluded from CDA for unjustified reasons. Traditional cognitive linguistics used to focus on cognitive semantic analysis (Steen, 2008), while those studies in CDA used to address discourse features or linguistic metaphors, even for the socio-cognitive approach in CDA (Hart, 2008). However, Koller (2005) argues critical and cognitive approaches can gain from each other, because they share certain common grounds. Wodak (2006: 179) also posits that "studies in CDA would gain significantly through integrating insights from socio-cognitive theories into their framework". Eubanks (2000: 25) states that "connection between the cognitive and the cultural is the greatest strength of cognitive metaphor theory" (cited in Koller, 2005: 201). According to Hart (2008), a cognitive approach is crucial to the analysis of meaning reproduced through any discourse property, and cognitive linguistics can contribute to CDA by helping to explain the pervasiveness and persuasiveness of metaphor. Koller (2005) views metaphor or social cognition as the interface between conceptual models and discourse, and argues that metaphorical expressions can be "a valuable starting point to study cognitive and ideological determinants of discourse" (p.206). On the one hand, they reify underlying cognitive models governing discourse, and can be used for exposing the cognitive construction of social relations. On the other hand, they can also reveal ideologically vested choices in the generation and usage of complex metaphors through their function in highlighting and hiding certain semantic features. The study of ideology should address both the social and cognitive functions of ideology.

The last few years have witnessed burgeoning interest in integrating these two disciplines (e.g., Kitis & Milapides, 1997; Meadow, 2007; White & Herrera, 2003; Zinken, 2003; Burnes, 2011; Chiang & Duann, 2007; Flowerdew & Leong, 2007; Lu & Ahrens, 2008 among others). One of the basic assumptions is that the choice of different conceptual metaphors may not be arbitrary, but out of the need to communicate different evaluative meanings and ideological stances. According to O'Halloran (2007: 2), "one focus of CDA is highlighting how metaphors can be ideologically significant—how metaphors can help to construct evaluation of the situations being described". Kitis and Milapides (1997) have demonstrated in their study that ideological meanings can be revealed not only in lexico-grammatical choices but, more importantly, in the framework of a constructed metaphor which serves as not only the conceptual framework of the whole news text but also the backbone of its argumentative structure. Meadow's (2007) study also reveals the roles of metaphors and metonymies in creating solidarity and distancing in the public statements on the Iraq conflict issued by the Bush administration during the years 2004-2005. The influence of ideological stances on the choice of metaphors is especially apparent in some comparative studies. For example, Lu and Ahrens (2008) demonstrate how the same conceptual metaphor A COUNTRY IS A BUILDING can be exploited by presidents from different parties in Taiwan to advance their competing political ideologies. Through the analysis of metaphor choices, Burnes (2011) also reveals different ideological stances in both British and French newspapers towards the February 2008 parliamentary elections in Pakistan and Barack Obama's elections. Chiang and Duann (2007) demonstrate that the same WAR metaphor can be exploited by newspapers with different ideologies in Taiwan and Mainland China to construct different images of Self and Other(s). Flowerdew and Leong (2007) also exposed how competing discourses over patriotism were realized in the use of four themes of metaphors (i.e., family, body, war and traitor) in two newspapers with opposite ideologies in post-1997 Hong Kong. Charteris-Black (2004) addressed the use of "conflict metaphors" in British party manifestos, and revealed that they were used differently by the British Labor and Conservative parties as a result of their different stances. These comparative studies have revealed that ideologically-invested choices exist not only in the choice of metaphor themes, but also in the reformulation, adaptation and discursive negation of the same dominant metaphor themes. As Steen (2008) proposes, critical metaphor analysis should address three dimensions of metaphor in discourse simultaneously, namely, language, thought, and communication.

However, critical metaphor analysis used to lay its primary focus on public discourses and political discourse, which might be attributed to the contentious nature of these discourses. Those studies on economic/business discourse or financial reporting still focus on the semantic and cognitive analysis of metaphors, with only a few exceptions (e.g., Charteris-Black, 2004: 136-169; Charteris-Black and Musolff, 2003; Semino, 2002; Vaghi and Venuti, 2004; López and Llopis, 2010; Koller, 2005 among others). In a study on the metaphorical representations of the euro in British and Italian newspapers, Semino (2002) found that despite much similarity in the use of the most frequent metaphorical patterns, such as BIRTH, JOURNEYS and CONTAINERS, they demonstrate important differences in the linguistic realizations of these patterns as well as in the use of some novel metaphorical expressions to support their particular views of the monetary union. Charteris-Black (2004: 136-169) conducted a corpus-based analysis of the metaphor in financial reporting, and demonstrates how certain metaphors that characterize the particular domain communicate evaluative meanings which can indicate the underlying ideologies of that domain. López and Llopis (2010) compared conceptual metaphors of Global Systemic Crisis in Spanish and English financial reports to investigate how they serve particular political interests. They argue that "local, socio-political factors" should be taken into account in a comparative study of the conceptual metaphor in the financial field. Charteris-Black and Musolff (2003) compared the metaphorical construction of euro trading in British and German financial reporting in a period of financial crisis. The findings suggest that both newspapers use metaphors that describe euro trading in terms of up/down movement and health. However, English financial reporting also uses combat metaphors which depict euro as "an active agent that can *hit out* as well as *suffer* blows from opponents" (Charteris-Black & Musolff, 2003: 174), while German financial reporting characterizes the euro as a beneficiary of institutional actions. Vaghi and Venuti's (2004) study demonstrates how the positive and negative attitude towards the possible future adoption of the euro in the United Kingdom in the *Guardian* and *The Times* can be revealed through the examination of two structural metaphors: CONTAINER and MECHANICAL OBJECT. These studies have exposed not only those general features of metaphors that characterize business discourse or financial reporting as a particular genre but also their particular ways of constructing their respective stances towards the same issue. Both theoretical and methodological insights can be drawn for the present study, which will address one particular aspect of metaphor use in these reports—the metaphorical construction of the currency dispute. It will expose not only the particular ways of metaphorical construction of the currency dispute by two newspapers but also their respective attitudinal stances towards the issue.

2.8 Summary

This chapter has given a detailed review of several branches of studies which are closely related to the present study: communication studies, contrastive rhetoric, CDA, stance/stancetaking, CADS, and CMA. It starts from some critical insights from communication studies on Chinese media and identifies the weaknesses in previous contrastive rhetoric and CDA studies on Chinese media. The basic argument is that a stancetaking perspective should be incorporated into the critical analysis of Chinese and Western journalism. Then it gives a detailed review of four important approaches to stance analysis and the analytic method of CADS. It argues that a CADS approach is especially useful in identifying and analyzing the stance of a particular newspaper, in view of the special nature of stance. Since previous studies have revealed that conceptual metaphors are closely related to the expression of evaluative meanings, it also suggests the necessity of incorporating CMA into the analysis of stancetaking.

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of two main parts. The first part is devoted to the establishment of an integrated analytic framework based on van Dijk's (1998a) socio-cognitive approach in CDA, the notion of discourse system by Scollon and Scollon (1995/2001), and the holistic concept of stancetaking by Du Bois (2007). It is believed that this integrated analytic framework can not only explicate the relations between discourse, stancetaking and ideology but also contribute to a sound analysis of stancetaking in news reports, which can reveal both the particular stance taken in a certain newspaper and the particular ways of stancetaking that characterize the newspaper from a particular discourse system. The second part of this chapter gives a brief introduction of the data as well as the main analytic methods utilized for this research.

3.2 Towards an integrated analytic framework

This part explicates how the notion of discourse system by Scollon and Scollon (1995/2001) and the holistic concept of stancetaking by Du Bois (2007) can be incorporated into Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach in CDA to establish an integrated analytic framework for the present study.

3.2.1 van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach in CDA

While CDA is known for its primary goal of explicating the relations between language, power and ideology, they vary in their views of their relations and their proposed analytic methods (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). This research relies on the socio-cognitive approach in CDA which has been developed by van Dijk over the years (see van Dijk, 1985, 1988a, 1988b, 1991, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c, 1995a, 1995b, 1996a, 1996b, 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2001d, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b). A socio-cognitive approach argues that social structure can not be directly related to discourse structures, but mediated by social cognition (van Dijk, 2006a, 2006b), so it tries to explicate their relations via a theory of social cognition. Van Dijk (1998b: 28) argues that it runs the risk of being over simplified and reductive for any "accounts that ignore cognitive analysis of the processes involved in the development and uses of ideology". The core of CDA is "a detailed description, explanation and critique of the ways dominant discourses (indirectly) influence such socially shared knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies, namely through their role in the manufacture of concrete models" (van Dijk, 1993b: 259). The multidisciplinary approach to ideology, which is characterized by the "triangle" of discourse, cognition and society, has provided so far the most comprehensive study of the intricate relations between discourse and ideology (see Figure 3.1).

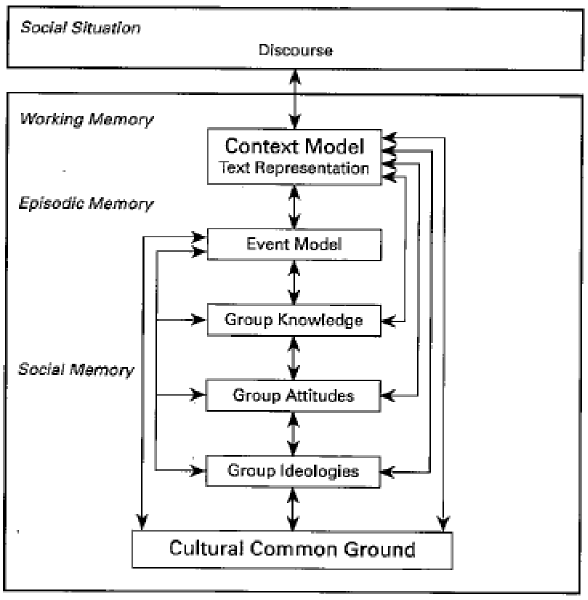

Figure 3.1 Discourse and social cognition (van Dijk, 1998a: 87)

Van Dijk defines ideologies as "the 'axiomatic' basis of mental representations shared by the members of a social group" (1998b: 24). They are crucial to the understanding of "why group members in different situations are always to act and communicate in accordance with the interests of a group" (van Dijk, 1996a: 7). Although many ideologies exist primarily to maintain or legitimate group conflicts, and the relationships of power and dominance, ideologies are not necessarily negative, because they can help both dominated and dominating groups to promote their interests. Their primary function is "the *co-ordination* of the social practices of group members for the effective realization of the goals of a social group, and the protection of its interests [Emphasized in original]" (van Dijk: 1995b: 24).

Ideologies are represented by a system of specific group beliefs. They are based on cultural common ground, which is regarded as the cultural basis of these beliefs. They also serve as the basis for group attitudes, but are different from the latter in that they are general and abstract. For example, neoliberal ideology may form the basis of socially shared beliefs of specific groups (e.g., journalists) about the freedom of exchange rate market and the intervention of the state. One particular feature in the cognitive structures of ideologies is that they are polarized, i.e., positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Ideologies can define the interest of a group and constitute their social identity. For journalists as a group, the defining categories of ideologies involve their qualifications (e.g., holding a diploma or license), "their goals" (e.g., to serve as a "watchdog" of society or as "party-organs"), "their values and norms" (e.g., neutrality, objectivity, and reliability), "their positions with the readers and authorities and their typical group resource (information)" (van Dijk, 1998b: 24). Ideologies also control the knowledge acquired and shared by a group, i.e., "group knowledge". Group knowledge contains the social beliefs which a group holds to be true, even though they may not be regarded as true by other social groups. It is the socially shared nature of ideologies rather than their individual variations that should be the focus of ideology analysis.

Ideologies are not directly related to discourse, but through the interface of mental models. Mental models refer to "a theoretical device that enables us to connect social (semantic) memory with personal (episodic) memory and their respective representations" (van Dijk, 1998a: 79). They are representations of personal memory of events. Mental models play an important role in discourse production and understanding. They serve as the starting point of discourse production as well as the goal of discourse understanding. Only with certain mental models can we be able to produce a certain representation of something, and only through constructing a mental model for a discourse can we be able to achieve a certain understanding of it. On the whole, these models are "unique, personal, and context-bound", but they are also social, because they are "mere personal 'instantiations' of socio-cultural knowledge and group opinions" (van Dijk, 1998b: 27). There are two kinds of mental models: context models and event models. Context models are concerned with specific communicative events in which speakers participate. They define the overall communicative situation, and are crucial to the production and comprehension of discourse. Event models deal with what is communicated. In other words, event models determine the focus of communication, while context models have strong influences on how this can be done. Both event and context models may be ideologically biased and feature opinions. As van Dijk (1993b: 258) points out:

> models allow us to link the personal with the social, and hence individual actions and (other) discourses, as well as their interpretations, with the social order, and personal opinions and experiences with group attitudes and group relations, including those of power and dominance.

Van Dijk (1995b, 1996a) further explicates the relations between ideologies, opinions and discourse. Opinions are defined as "evaluative beliefs", i.e., "as beliefs that feature an evaluative concept" (van Dijk, 1998a: 29), so opinions are "cognitive constructs of some kind" rather than actual "opinion statements" as traditionally assumed (van Dijk, 1996a: 17). A distinction is made between personal and social opinions. Personal opinions are context-bound and variable, while social opinions are often general and relatively stable. They are related through mental models, and personal opinions can be regarded as the "situated instantiations" of social opinions.

In this sense, "opinions are social and personal, general and particular, relatively context-free and specifically context-bound" (van Dijk, 1996a: 14). Opinions are organized by attitude, which is defined as "larger, complex structures of opinions" (van Dijk, 1996a: 15). Ideologies are not just general opinions; they also provide the basis for "the overall coherence and continuity of the evaluative system" (van Dijk, 1996a: 16). Specific opinions are subject to the ultimate control of the basic frameworks of social cognition (ideologies), even though they may be contextually and personally varied. Therefore, van Dijk summarizes the relationships between particular opinions, social opinions, attitudes and ideologies as follows:

> personal, particular opinions about specific events…are structurally several levels apart from ideologies, which are organizing the socially shared opinion complexes (attitudes), which are again generalizations with respect to specific social opinions…which are again developed by social group members, which is again a generalization from what I now think of his actions of today.
>
> (van Dijk, 1996a: 16)

Despite their cognitive nature, opinions are typically expressed in text and talk. From the perspective of cognitive discourse production, the expression of opinions is constrained not only by the event model but also by the context model (e.g., the present opinions of the speaker, the goals of the speaker, the speech acts to be performed, etc.) (see van Dijk, 1996a: 17). It is even suggested that among many properties of speaking, opinions are first selected from event models by the constraints of context models in cognitive discourse production. One distinctive feature in opinion production is that it is subject to constant changes, adaptations and repairs. Sometimes different and even contradictory opinions can be identified in the same situation. They may or may not be expressed in texts. The expression of opinions may be locally produced and contextually variable.

A socio-cognitive approach has also demonstrated multifarious discursive means opinions can be expressed in text and talk, such as opinion markers (e.g., *I think*), evaluative predicates (e.g., *beautiful*), opinion speech acts (e.g., questions, accusations, or congratulations), complex discourse structures (e.g., macro-propositions, presuppositions, local coherence), and rhetoric structures of discourse (e.g., metaphor, irony, understatement or hyperbole). Overall ideological strategies can be translated into semantic structures through a few macro moves, such as volume (the amount of information said about Us and Others), importance (i.e., the organization of the important and less important information), relevance (i.e., the utilitarian importance of the information), implicitness/explicitness (i.e., the presence or absence of modal information), attribution (i.e., the attribution of acts to actors), perspective (i.e., the description and evaluation of the events from the position, point of view or perspective of the speaker) (van Dijk, 1998a). Van Dijk's analysis of discourse thus addresses both semantic macrostructure and local meanings.

The significance of a multidisciplinary approach resides in its explication of both the socially shared nature of ideologies and their personal and contextual variations. It can "account both for the frequent observation many group members in many situations do *act* and talk more or less in the same way, while on the other hand accounting for the uniqueness of all individual actions and discourse [emphasized in original]" (van Dijk, 1998b: 88). A socio-cognitive approach can well capture the intricate relations between ideologies and discourse, by establishing a link between the individual and the social, the macro and the micro, and the social and the cognitive (Li, 2010). While it has been extensively applied to news analysis (e.g., van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b, 1991, 1998b; Li, 2010; Kuo & Nakamura, 2005), it does not address the distinct features that characterize newspapers in different socio-cultural contexts and how these features influence their ways of representation of a particular issue. While he does suggest that reading the news reports of a newspaper can generate opinions not only about what is communicated but also about the writers, and the newspaper, he does not indicate in a systematic way how this can be exposed through discourse analysis. The multifarious ways opinions can be expressed in discourse render it impossible to give a thorough analysis of the relations between discourse, opinions and ideologies, thus making the analysis often appear in a piecemeal fashion. Besides, “opinions” only refer to evaluative beliefs in van Dijk’s theoretical framework, and other issues like power distance are not properly addressed. So the notion of discourse system by Scollon and Scollon (1995/2001) is incorporated in this approach in order to highlight the distinct features of media in different socio-cultural contexts, and du Bois’ s (2007) concept of stance is adopted for a close analysis of these discursive features that characterize a particular discourse system.

3.2.2 The concept of “discourse system”

Unlike other ways of conceptualizing discourse, the concept of discourse system proposed by Scollon and Scollon (1995/2001) addresses the whole systems of communication. It means “the broad range of everything which can be said or talked about or symbolized within a particular, recognizable domain” (Scollon & Scollon, 1995/2001: 5), such as, “the discourse of medicine”, “the discourse of law”, “business discourse”, and “journalism discourse”. For Scollon and Scollon (1995/2001), each discourse system consists of four components: ideology, socialization, forms of discourse, face systems (see Figure 3.2). By ideology, they mean the “worldview” or “governing philosophy” of a discourse system. Face systems refer to the interpersonal relationships among members or between members and outsiders. Affected by face systems and interpersonal relations, each discourse system has its own preferred forms of discourse as “banners” or “symbols” of membership and identity. It is through these forms of discourse that socialization is achieved.

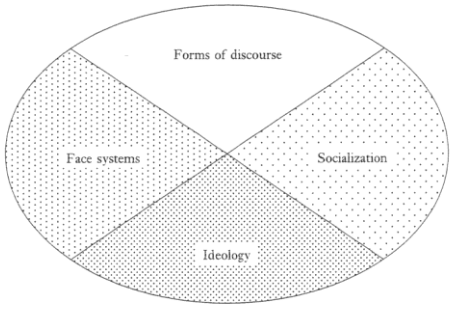

Figure 3.2 Discourse system (Scollon & Scollon, 1995/2001: 109)

This broad concept of discourse is significant to the present study in two aspects. On the one hand, this domain-based concept draws attention to several important parameters that characterize a particular discourse system. While language forms constitute one of the important parameters, it is not the sole parameter. More importantly, each discourse system involves different ways of socialization as well as different face systems. This is congruent with the understanding of different discourse systems in communication studies (cf. Hallin & Mancini, 2004, 2012). It is crucial to the understanding of the differences between authoritarian and liberal journalisms. While a comparative study of their respective news reports might reveal distinct discourse features that characterize each discourse system, it has to be born in mind that the fundamental differences between these discourse systems reside in the particular socio-political context they are situated in. On the other hand, it does delineate some general features of language use in different socio-cultural contexts, which are useful for a comparative socio-cultural study of different discourse systems. This can remedy the problems of traditional CDA studies which are often criticized for the neglect of cultural dimension in their analyses and for their cultural appropriateness (e.g., Blommaert, 2005; Shi-xu, 2005, 2009, 2013).

According to Scollon and Scollon (1995/2001: 119), the dominant utilitarian discourse system, which prevails in the US and Great Britain, is characterized by those characteristics like “anti-rhetorical”, “positivist-empirical”, “deductive”, “individualistic”, “egalitarian”, and “public”. Basically, it emphasizes egalitarian values and tends to be confrontational (Flowerdew, 1997). While Western countries are characterized by the utilitarian discourse, China is known for its Confucianism discourse, with its associated authoritarianism (Heisey, 2008; Flowerdew, 1997). Confucianism discourse, unlike utilitarian discourse, highlights hierarchy and favors the indirectness of discourse. It puts more value on silence and harmony. This is echoed in Shi-xu's (2009) distinction between Eastern and Western discourse. According to him, one crucial difference between them is that Western discourse is self/speaker-centered, while Eastern discourse is other/hearer-centered. The former emphasizes individualism and individual self, but the latter is keen on maintaining a harmonious relationship with the other. However, it has to be noted that the concept of "harmony" is not ideologically free. As Chilton et al. (2010: 499) suggest, the concept of "harmony" cannot be taken as "a benign ethical or aesthetic principle but as part of a power structure", which is closely related to ideological concept of mass "unity". What it implies is political and social conformity with a dominant ideology. This special characteristic of Chinese discourse can be attributed to the unequal social status in ancient China (Kirkpatrick, 1995).

Situated in two different discourse systems, Chinese and Western journalism discourses are bound to show different features. This is well reflected in the well-known dichotomization between authoritarian and liberal journalism. The distinction between authoritarian and liberal journalism lies not only in their practices but also in their reporting styles. This can be demonstrated in Wu and Ng's (2010) comparison of the broadcast media CCTV 4 from mainland China and the Phoenix TV from Hong Kong. As a result of different media systems, they show differences in the selection of contents, their reporting perspectives as well as the organizing structure: positive vs. negative news events; supporting vs. critical stance; and monologic vs. dialogic story-telling structure. From the perspective of discourse system, differences between authoritarian and liberal journalism can be identified in all four aspects: ideology, face system, socialization, and language forms. However, the analysis of the two media systems through the identification of particular language forms in the way Flowerdew (1997) and Heisey (2008) do is certainly impractical and less revealing, because the difference between them often lies not so much in the choice of particular linguistic forms as in the extent to which particular social relationships and ideologies are instantiated in the discourse. It can be seen from Scollon and Scollon's (1995/2001) analytic framework that what is essential to different discourse systems is their different ways of conceptualizing worldviews and social relations (i.e., ideologies, face systems, and socialization). Therefore, an analysis of different media systems should lay the primary focus on the ways of encoding social relations and ideologies rather than on the choice of particular language forms. As Lee et al. (2002: 187) suggest, even though liberal media may collaborate with the power structure in their coverage of international affairs, it is achieved not through forced coercion, but through shared concern that the coverage should be in its national interests. Therefore, it enjoys relative autonomy and plays a *hegemonic* role rather than the *instrumental* mouthpiece role played by the authoritarian media in China. Besides, due to different institutional distances to the power structure, authoritarian mouthpieces regard good news as good news, while liberal media show a special favor towards bad news. In other words, the former is harmony-driven, while the latter is conflict-driven.

It is postulated in the present research that the difference between authoritarian and liberal journalism in the representation of an issue of national interests lies mainly in three aspects: worldviews, power distance, and alignment/disalignment. Since authoritarian journalism tends to be harmony-driven, it tends to report the issue in the positive light; liberal journalism tends to be conflict-driven, so it often adopts the style of critical reporting. Authoritarian journalism tends to align with the power and serve as an *instrumental* mouthpiece, so it demonstrates a high power distance and prefers supporting voices; liberal journalism enjoys relative autonomy and plays a *hegemonic* role, so it features a low power distance and engages relatively balanced voices. The primary interest of the present study is to analyze how these different characteristics as well as the power struggles and negotiations can be revealed though the analysis of their representations of conflictual issues like the currency dispute between China and the US. However, it has to be noted that this is an ideal rather than real categorization. As Heisey (2008: 145) cautions, the distinction between Confucianism and Utilitarianism should be seen on a continuum rather than as polar opposites, but "an element of idealization is necessary if the concept of discourse is to have any value" (Flowerdew, 1997: 551; cited in Heisey, 2008: 131).

3.2.3 Stancetaking

In order to measure how different discourse systems differ from each other, Du Bois's (2007) holistic concept of stance is introduced for the present study. It defines stance as:

> *a public act* by a social actor, achieved *dialogically* through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors *simultaneously evaluate* objects, *position* subjects (themselves and others), and *align* with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of value in the *sociocultural* field. [Emphasized in the present study]
>
> (Du Bois, 2007: 163)

This concept is distinguished for the following aspects. First, it emphasizes stance as a public act, which means that stancetaking must be displayed through overt communicative means in the public arena. In other words, to understand what stance is taken, we must resort to the examination of what a communicator does rather than has. It cannot be reduced to private opinion or attitude. Besides, unlike previous approaches which used to distinguish stance for distinct types of meanings (e.g., Martin & White, 2005; Biber et al., 1999), it approaches stance as a single unified act which encompasses three interrelated aspects: evaluation, positioning, and alignment.

Stance is thus understood in terms of "the general structure of the evaluative, positioning, and aligning processes that organize the enactment of stance rather than as a catalogue of the contents of stance…or of the socio-cultural value categories that are referenced by stance" (Du Bois, 2007: 171). The examination of stancetaking thus involves the simultaneous examination of these three aspects. Moreover, it takes a dialogic view of stancetaking, emphasizing that no stance stands alone and that they must be achieved through dialogic interaction. Three constituents are crucial to the understanding of an act of stancetaking: the stancetaker, stance object, and the prior stance being responded to. Stance is regarded as an act of evaluation owned by a social actor, which "binds the stance act together with actor responsibility and sociocultural value, so that all is linked to a social actor with a name, a history, and identity" (Du Bois, 2007: 173). Stance thus always implicates presupposed systems of sociocultural values.

While this concept of stance used to be applied to the investigation of stance in talk-in-interaction (e.g. Haddington, 2004, 2007; Kärkkäinen, 2003, 2006; Rauniomaa, 2009), it is intended to present a general account of any instance of stance. It is adapted in the present study to the investigation of how each newspaper takes stance in the currency dispute. However, as has been repeatedly demonstrated in previous studies, news reporters do not just serve as loudspeakers for others' words (Richardson, 2007; Fairclough, 1995a; van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b). They make decisions at every stage of news production to make news reports meet the editorial line and dominant ideology of each newspaper. The present study takes journalism as the frame of communication, an active domain in which a group of reporters write for a particular group of target readers, under the guidance of the editorial line of each newspaper. Each newspaper is believed to take its stance in their news production, especially in representations of issues of national interests. In order to highlight stance as a public act, the term "stancetaking" is used in preference to stance for the present study. It suggests that a newspaper can only take stance through its reports, and the analysis of the particular ways of stancetaking must resort to the examination of its news reports.

However, unlike people in daily conversation who can take explicit stance with their words, news reporters, as a requirement of the special genre of news reports, are required to refrain from speaking directly for themselves and taking explicit stance. It often reports news events through the voices of others. Therefore, a newspaper shows alignment or disalignment not only with putative readers but also with different voices towards the issue through discursive practices. Based on the holistic concept of stance, it is proposed in the present study to investigate the particular ways of stancetaking of two newspapers in terms of three interrelated aspects: evaluation, positioning, and alignment. It is postulated that these three aspects can shed light on not only a newspaper's particular way of stancetaking but also its particular professional persona in a discourse system.

It suits the present analytic framework well, because stancetaking is also ideologically significant. It is not equivalent to ideology but activates and instantiates particular aspects of ideology (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009). Meanwhile, the popularization and conventionalization of particular stances over time can also turn them into ideology. This dynamic view of the relation between stancetaking and ideology is crucial to the present study, because it suggests that stancetaking can be a useful tool to CDA studies whose primary concern is the relationship between discourse, ideology and power. More importantly, the particular way of stancetaking also involves a socio-cognitive view of the relations between entities available in it. Since stancetaking can implicate presupposed socio-cultural values, it is equally suitable for the examination of newspapers from different discourse systems, and its three interrelated aspects can be employed to capture these features that characterize a particular discourse system.

3.2.5 Summary of the integrated analytic framework

An integrated analytic framework is thus established for the present study, which is based on van Dijk's (1998a) socio-cognitive approach in CDA, Scollon and Scollon's

(1995/2001) notion of discourse system, and Du Bois's (2007) concept of stancetaking. A brief summary of the integrated analytic framework for the present study is illustrated in Figure 3.3.

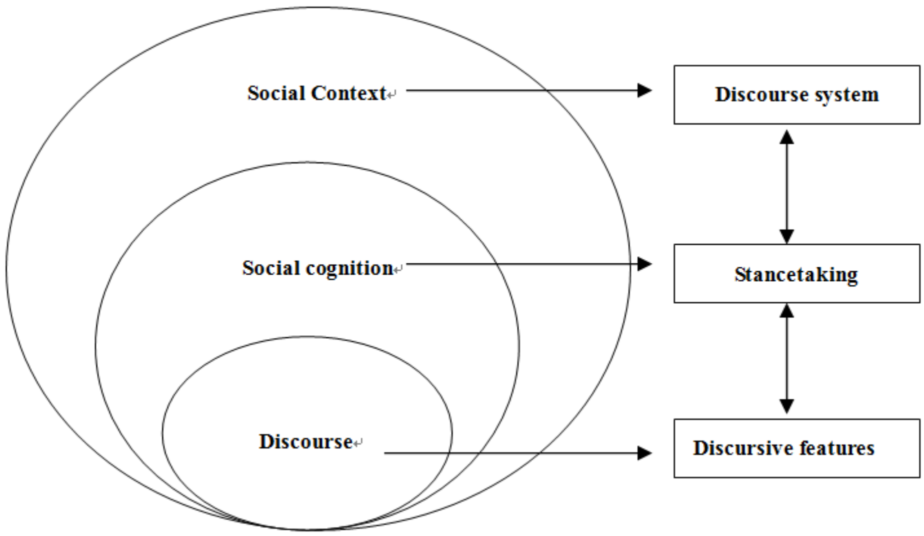

Figure 3.3 An integrated analytic framework for the present study

While sharing van Dijk's (1993b, 1998a, 2008a) socio-cognitive view of the relations between discourse and social context, this research is intended to contribute to an integrated analytic framework which can be utilized for a comparative study of newspapers from different discourse systems or in the same discourse system. Scollon and Scollon's (1995/2001) concept of discourse system and the particular features that characterize authoritarian and liberal media systems serve as the starting points for the present study. It is argued in the present study that the key differences between newspapers from different discourse systems can be revealed in their particular ways of stancetaking, i.e., particular ways of evaluation, positioning and alignment, in the representations of a particular issue. Du Bois's (2007) holistic concept of stance is thus adapted for the present study in order to triangulate the analysis of stancetaking. While taking stancetaking as a public act, I also emphasize that this act is socio-cognitive. It is realized in the use of specific discursive features and at different levels of discourse. While it is impossible to present an exclusive list of these discursive features that realize or instantiate the particular ways of stancetaking, the selective analysis of certain discursive features can shed light on the particular ways of stancetaking of a certain newspaper, which can in turn index the professional persona of that newspaper. Since each discourse system presumes prototypical and conventional ways of stancetaking, an examination of their particular ways of stancetaking can also reveal how each newspaper interacts with and shapes each other by recontextualizing, appropriating and manipulating the conventional ways of stancetaking that characterize different discourse systems to advance their own interests. Therefore, it can well suit the research purposes of the present study.

In order to reveal the particular ways of stancetaking that characterize a discourse system, the analysis of stancetaking relies on the combined analytic methods of Appraisal (Martin & White, 2005), evaluation (Thompson & Hunston, 2000), and stance (Biber et al., 1999). In other words, it examines both the types of stance meanings expressed and the particular forms utilized for expressing these meanings. A combined analysis of forms and meanings in stancetaking can expose not only what stances are taken but also how they are taken through discursive means, thus suggesting the particular professional persona of a newspaper in a particular discourse system as well as the underlying ideologies. Stancetaking analysis in the present study, therefore, starts from both forms and meanings (cf. Gales, 2010), organized by the overall aim of exposing these features that characterize a particular discourse system.

3.3 Data and Methodology

The following part introduces the research questions as well as the main analytic procedures in the present study.

3.3.1 Research Questions

In order to reveal how and to what extent CD is a "hybridized" newspaper, four research questions are raised for the present study based on the integrated analytic framework established above:

(1) How do CD and NYT construct their respective attitudinal stance towards the issue?
(2) How do they position themselves with respect to their putative readers?
(3) How do they show alignment and disalignment with certain groups of voices?
(4) How do these particular ways of evaluation, positioning, and alignment reveal CD as a competing and hybridized discourse?

3.3.2 Data

This part briefs the main principles and methods of text collection and presents an overview of the corpora constructed for the present study.

3.3.2.1 Text collection

For the present study, the retrieval and collection of all news reports concerning the currency issue are based on two electronic newspaper databases—*Wisenews* for CD and *Factiva* for NYT. All news reports concerning the currency dispute from 2001 to 2011 are collected. It starts from 2001, because it was not until 2001 that this issue started to emerge as a top issue between China and the US, and the result of text search also confirms this. It ends at the end of 2011, because it was the time when the analysis for this project began to take place. However, it is no easy job to select and collect all news reports relevant to the currency dispute, and a combination of automatic retrieval and manual selection is utilized to extract the most relevant texts. Electronic databases were first searched with three keywords—*yuan*, *Renminbi*, and *Chinese currency*, which can be used in an interchangeable way to refer to Chinese yuan. This yielded thousands of news articles in both newspapers, which were further searched with other keywords such as *appreciation*, *depreciation*, *reevaluation*, and *exchange rate* in order to make all the news reports collected closely related to the currency dispute. This greatly reduced the number of news reports identified, and it was followed by manual selection which helped to dismiss these news reports irrelevant to the issue based on a preliminary view of the content of each news text. This combined approach of text search and collection contributed to all together 228 news reports in CD and 271 news reports in NYT. Two corpora—CD and NYT—were built by putting together all these collected raw texts in each newspaper.

3.3.2.2 Overview of the corpora

Table 3.1 summarizes the general information about the two corpora. CD contains all together 228 news texts, and NYT has 271 news texts, so the number of news texts in NYT is larger than that in CD. The size of NYT (238157 words) is also much larger than that of CD (133603 words), because the average length of each news text in NYT (879 words) is also much larger than that in CD (586 words). This means that NYT overtakes CD in both the length and the number of news texts.

Table 3.1 General information about CD and NYT corpora

Types	**CD**	**NYT**
Number of words	133603	238157
Number of texts	228	271
Words/text	586	879

In order to show how news reports function in the currency dispute between China and the US, the distribution of news texts in each year is showed in Table 3.2 and illustrated in Figure 3.4.

Table 3.2 Distribution of news texts in each year

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
CD	0	2	16	5	29	3	3	16	14	90	50	**228**
NYT	1	1	18	12	49	48	20	13	17	62	30	**271**

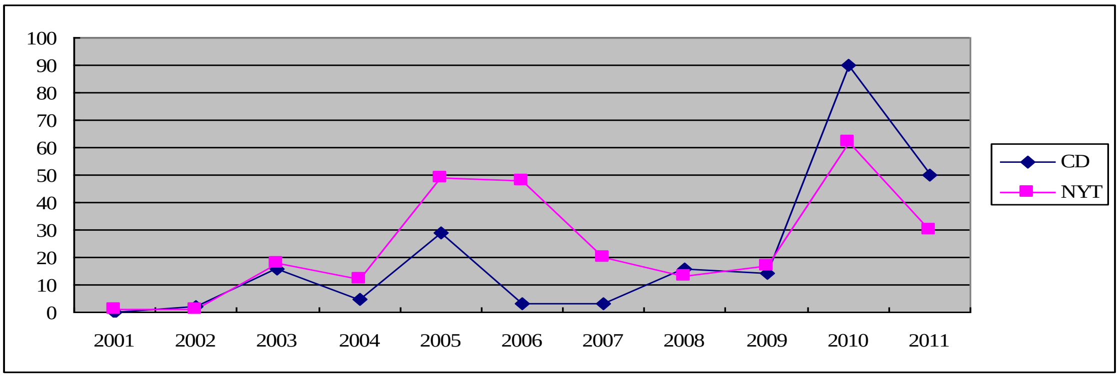

Figure 3.4 Distribution of news texts in each year

The distribution of news texts presents a general picture of the development of the issue. In 2001 and 2002, the issue was rarely mentioned in two newspapers, because it still did not emerge as a top issue between China and the US. However, the number of news texts reached its first peak in 2003, with 16 news texts in CD but 18 in NYT. This reflects the first round of attack from the US to China during 2002-2003 as a result of global economic slump. Despite the temporary decline in the number of news texts in 2004, it reached its second peak in 2005 (49 in NYT and 29 in CD), which represented the second round of attack from the US to China during 2004-2005. This finally resulted in China's exchange rate reform in 2005, and a more flexible exchange rate was adopted. The following two years (2006 and 2007) saw a gradual appreciation of the Renminbi, so the pressure for Renminbi appreciation was released. This explains why the issue was again rarely mentioned in CD in 2006 and 2007. However, the US still kept a close watch on China's moves and the effects of the currency reform on the exchange rate as well as on the US. This explains why a large number of news reports (48) were still recorded in NYT in 2006, but it also declined dramatically to only 20 in 2007. However, in 2008 and 2009, the issue was picked up in CD again, and a similar number of news texts (about15) were found in CD and NYT, but it was not as large as that in 2005. This can be attributed to the change of exchange rate policy in 2008 when the Chinese government refused to let the Renminbi continue to appreciate as a result of the double impacts of global financial crisis and Renminbi appreciation on its businesses. This led to the slow pace of Renminbi appreciation in the following years. However, the number of news texts in the next year (2010) soared to a new high in both newspapers (90 in CD and 62 in NYT), due to the third round of attack from the US to China during 2009-2010. It was ignited by the US congress's attempt to punish China for its currency through passing a fair trade act which aimed to impose trade tariffs on those countries whose currency was verified to be manipulated. This resulted in a heated debate between China and the US, and it continued to 2011 in spite of the cooling trend in both newspapers (50 in CD and 30 in NYT).

An overview of the representations of the issue in two newspapers shows that different weight was given to the issue at different points of time. Before 2008, NYT tended to give more media attention to the issue than CD, but after 2008, the trend was reversed. This can be explained in terms of the changing positions of China and the US on the issue. Before 2008, China was always on the defensive side, the US always on the attacking side, due to the low value of the Renminbi. However, after the exchange rate reform in 2005 and the continuous appreciation of the Renminbi in the coming several years, China had enough reasons to reject the US's request for further appreciation. Confronted with the US's pressure for further appreciation, China no longer just sought to defend its exchange rate policy but also began to attack the US for its requests. This is especially evident in the representations of the issue in 2010, when a huge number of reports were recorded. This further confirms Fairclough's (2003a) claim that discourse is not a mere reflection of the social practice, but part of the social practice itself. News reports are deeply intertwined with the development of the currency dispute and constitute an indispensable part of the dispute. They are, consequently, an important site of power struggles and negotiations (Fowler et al., 1979). The number of news articles at each peak also indicates that struggles of this kind have become increasingly fierce with each round of attack.

3.3.3 Methodology

This part introduces the analytic procedures as well as the main analytic methods employed for the present study.

3.3.3.1Analytic procedures

In order to answer the research questions raised above, this research starts from the analysis of the three aspects of stancetaking. However, in order to address the distinct feature of each aspect, this research proposes to analyze them from both meaning and form. At the core of stancetaking is evaluation or attitudinal stance. It permeates every level of language and governs even the organization of news texts (Martin, 2004). Although evaluation can be identified through the “signposts” of explicit evaluative terms (Martin & White, 2005), the mere enumeration and statistical analysis of these explicit evaluative terms will lose sight of alternative discursive means through which attitudinal stance can be expressed and constructed, especially in news reports where explicit expression of evaluative meanings is not favored. In view of this, it is recommended in the present study to analyze attitudinal stance from meaning rather than form. This can be achieved with the help of the corpus-analytic software Wmatrix 3.0, which can perform automatic semantic tagging and analysis on the data. Through identifying the key semantic categories (hereafter SMCs) that are particularly favored in a corpus, I can identify what types of attitudinal stance they contribute to constructing as well as their particular roles in the construction of stance (see Chapter 4). Besides, as is suggested by a large body of studies on conceptual metaphors (e.g., Charteris-Black, 2004; Eubanks, 2000), evaluation and attitudinal stance can be exposed in the use of conceptual metaphors, which provide the cognitive basis for the understanding of an issue and for the coherence in the organization of a text. Therefore, the attitudinal stance of each newspaper towards the currency dispute is also analyzed through a critical analysis of the metaphorical construction of the currency dispute in them (see Chapter 7).

As regards their particular ways of positioning or the power distance between writers and readers, it tends to be explicitly marked through certain lexico-grammatical means (Halliday, 1994; Gales, 2010), even though it can also be indicated through other choices, e.g., the different ways of evaluation (see Martin & White, 2005; Liu, 2010). In order to address this special nature of positioning, an alternative strategy—starting from forms—is recommended for its analysis. Despite the numerous forms identified as associated with the power distance between the writer and readers, I will focus on three classical grammatical patterns which are known for this special function—**pronouns**, **modals**, and **stance adverbs**. Statistical analysis of these grammatical patterns will be first performed before a detailed analysis of their uses in specific contexts (see Chapter 5).

While alignment/disalignment can be treated as communicative effect as suggested by some other analyses (e.g., Martin, 2004), it is analyzed in the present study as a crucial discursive strategy in news reporting, that is, how to engage others' voices and recontextualize them into news texts. This is what Fairclough (1995a, 2003a) calls "discourse representation". Since news reporters are required to refrain from explicitly expressing their own opinions in news reports, the engagement and organization of others' voices serve as an important "intertextual" strategy to construct their stance towards a certain issue. The particular practices in the alignment/dialignment of these different voices, therefore, are often considered as an important criterion in the judgment of news media from different discourse systems in communication studies. For the study of this aspect of stancetaking, a combination of the two strategies is used. On the one hand, an analysis from meanings can present a glimpse of the holistic picture in the different ways of alignment or disalignment. On the other hand, starting from forms allows a detailed comparison of how they are communicated in two newspapers. A detailed analysis of discourse representation is presented in Chapter 6.

All lexico-grammatical and semantic features identified in each aspect of stancetaking are compared and interpreted respectively in terms of their particular ways in the construction of attitudinal stance, positioning, or alignment/disalignment. It has to be noted, however, that this separate analysis of stancetaking does not mean that each of the lexico-grammatical and semantic features identified in each section contributes to solely that particular aspect of stance construction, since some features can convey all three aspects of stance meanings simultaneously. They are analyzed separately only because they constitute three interrelated criteria for comparing different media systems. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses are involved during the process. Qualitative analysis can contribute to a detailed analysis of each stance marker use in its context and expose what types of stance meanings it expresses in each of its occurrences. Quantitative analysis can expose not only to what extent the two newspapers vary in the choice of certain stance markers or in the expression of certain types of stance meanings but also the variation in their internal significances in each newspaper. In other words, it can reveal both semantic and stylistic differences in stance construction. A combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses can thus address macro preferences as well as the micro variations in the ways of stance construction.

However, I argue that the explanation and understanding of their particular ways of stancetaking must be critically referenced to the discourse systems they are situated in as well as the specific socio-political context. For example, it is hard to associate the expression of negative or positive attitudinal stance with a newspaper from a particular discourse system unless the attitude of the central government or dominant social groups is taken into account. Likewise, the particular ways of positioning in newspapers cannot be properly, or even falsely, understood if the particular socio-cultural context as well as its own communicative practice is not considered. In this sense, I do not hold a presumed value judgment that power is bad and should be dismissed from communication. The primary purpose of the present analysis is to explicate the relationships between news reporting, stancetaking, and the wider social issues (power, ideology, face, and discourse system) by comparing the particular ways of stancetaking by CD and NYT in their representations of the currency dispute. The basic assumption is that a triangulated analysis of stancetaking can expose not only the relationships between language and power and ideology but also the particular professional persona of each newspaper in its socio-cultural context. Therefore, in order to provide a better understanding of the ways of stancetaking in CD, the traditional practices and styles of Chinese news reporting must be referenced and interviews with the editors of CD are also conducted. It is hoped that this multi-dimensional approach to stancetaking can expose and measure to what extent CD represents a competing and hybridized discourse (Guo & Huang, 2002).

3.3.3.2 Analytic methods

This research is primarily a CADS. This method is adopted as a result of the mixed considerations of the present research purpose, the complicated nature of stance analysis as well as the previous problems with CDA. Since the present focus is on the stance of a particular newspaper rather than the stance of an individual news reporter or a single piece of news report, this requires the examination of stance in a large quantity rather than a small sample of news texts. It makes the detailed qualitative analysis impossible in view of the large data. Besides, as revealed in previous studies (Thompson & Hunston, 2000; Hunston, 2004), the availability of large corpora can help to reveal those lexico-grammatical features which can be implicitly used for communicating stance meanings. More importantly, the stance constructed in each newspaper varies not so much in the sense that there is a clear-cut distinction between them as in the extent/degree to which different types of evaluative meanings are expressed or constructed, so frequency and statistical information assumes great significance in judging and distinguishing their different ways of stance construction. This also suggests the necessity of CADS. Finally, CADS can remedy the weaknesses of CDA, for which it used to be criticized, such as selectivity in its data, and subjectivity and representativeness in its analysis (e.g., Widdowson, 1995, 1996, 2004; Stubbs, 1997). While CADS does not mean the extradiction of subjective judgment in its analysis, it can at least provide some objective information for one to decide the entry point for further analysis (Baker et al., 2008). It also allows for multiple ways of downsampling the date and thus greatly reduces the work load for analysis (Baker et al., 2008).

Apart from the above considerations, CADS is also distinguished for its several distinct advantages in the analysis of stance (Haarman & Lombardo, 2009; Morley & Bayley, 2009). Unlike previous studies using corpus linguistic methods in discourse analysis, CADS favors a "balanced" way of combining quantitative and qualitative analysis by proposing a constant shift between the results generated by corpus-analytic tools and the detailed analysis of their uses in specific contexts. In other words, CADS is no longer satisfied with the examination of word uses in concordances, but arguing for checking their uses in larger contexts, such as the whole sentence or even the whole paragraph. This can contribute to what Baker et al (2008) call a "synergy" of CL and discourse analysis (CDA in particular). Besides, CADS does not make a strict distinction between the so-called corpus-driven and corpus-based analyses (see Tognini-Bonelli, 2001). Corpora can be approached with or without previous ideas of what to analyze. It is particularly relevant to the present study since different ways of analyzing attitudinal stance, positioning and alignment/disalignment have been adopted. This also helps to avoid the analytic bias which has often been criticized in CDA.

In the present study, decisions have to be made constantly as regards what kinds of lexical, grammatical, and/or semantic features play an important role in the construction of the three aspects of stance and are worthy of further detailed qualitative analysis. Two important concepts in CL serve as the important criteria for judgment: **frequency** and **keyness**. **Frequency** is the most important concept in CL, since it is the basis for all analyses in CL (Baker, 2006). However, a distinction has to be made between actual and normalized frequency. The former refers to the actual number of occurrences of a linguistic item in the corpus, and the latter refers to the standardized frequency, i.e., the total number of its occurrences in a standardized number of words (per million in the present study). Normalized frequency is an important criterion for the comparison of frequencies in two corpora. **Keyness** is defined as "the statistically significantly higher frequency of particular words or clusters in the corpus under analysis in comparison with another corpus, either a generalized reference corpus, or a comparable specialized corpus" (Baker et al., 2008: 278). The important function of keyness analysis is that it can reveal the "aboutness" of a text or a corpus, i.e., its topic and the central elements of its content (Scott, 2008). It can indicate "the writer's identity, as well as the discourse community, with its values and beliefs about the subject matter and the genres that characterize it" (Bondi, 2010: 7; see also Baker, 2006; Biber et al., 2002). Keyness is often examined not only in terms of word forms but also SMCs. For the present study, key semantic-category analysis has been conducted in order to examine what SMCs are crucial to the construction of attitudinal stance of each newspaper. Another concept does not necessarily belong to CL but also crucial to the present study is "internal significance" (Bednarek, 2006a: 70), which refers to the valuation of each element in a category (usually measured in percentages). For the qualitative analysis of evaluative meanings a certain word form carries in its context of use, the concept of "semantic prosody" is adopted, which refers to the "consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates" (Louw, 1993: 157; see also Cheng, 2006; Sinclair, 2004; Partington, 2004; Morley & Partington, 2009; Bednarek, 2008).

Apart from this dominant CADS approach, manual analysis of a small sample of 20 news texts from each newspaper has also been conducted to supplement the analysis of discourse representation in Chapter 6. While a CADS approach can suggest some information of discourse representation in two corpora, it still cannot replace the benefit of manual analysis in revealing the complex picture of discourse representation in news reporting (see Caldas-Coulthard, 1994; Calsamiglia & Ferrero, 2003). A manual analysis of discourse representation can present a more detailed picture of the particular ways of alignment/disalignment with other voices in two newspapers.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has established an integrated analytic framework which is based on van Dijk's (1998a) socio-cognitive approach in CDA, the notion of discourse system by Scollon and Scollon (1995/2001), and the concept of stance by Du Bois (2007) This integrated analytic framework has not only provided a socio-cognitive understanding of the relations between discourse, stancetaking and ideologies but also introduced a tripartite analysis of stancetaking. Since different discourse systems presuppose different ideologies, face systems and socialization as well as language forms, they also entail different ways of stancetaking. Therefore, a tripartite analysis of stancetaking in terms of evaluation, positioning and alignment can reveal the particular stances taken and the particular ways of stancetaking, which in turn index the different professional personae of newspapers from different discourse systems. In order to reveal the particular ways of stancetaking by CD and NYT in their representations of the currency dispute, this research proposes a combined approach of starting from both form and meaning by focusing in particular on semantic categories, grammatical patterns, discourse representation and conceptual metaphors. This complex way of stance examination can be achieved through primarily the analytic method of CADS, which is supplemented by a manual analysis of the particular ways of discourse representation. The following four chapters will demonstrate how this can be conducted.

Chapter 4 Attitudinal Stance: Semantic Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the comparison of the construction of attitudinal stance towards the Renminbi issue in CD and NYT. Based on a comparison of key SMCs generated by Wmatrix 3.0, it starts with a general description of the selected key SMCs of CD and NYT. Then it gives a detailed analysis of these key SMCs from two aspects: (1) inscribed attitudinal stance, and (2) evoked attitudinal stance. Each aspect is approached by a general description of these key SMCs identified before a detailed analysis of some selected key SMCs, with a view to identifying their roles in constructing the attitudinal stance and professional persona of each newspaper as well as their underlying ideologies. The whole analysis is based on the understanding that attitudinal stance can be revealed through not only these explicit evaluative words, but, more importantly, the systematic choice of some implicit evaluative expressions.

4.2 Key SMCs in CD and NYT: an overview

The analysis of key SMCs is based on the corpus-analytic tool Wmatrix, an online software for corpus analysis and comparison. With the incorporated UCREL semantic analysis system, it can perform automatic semantic analysis on texts. The semantic tagset it relies on can categorize English words into 21 major semantic categories, which can be further classified into 232 category labels. Through comparing these semantic categories in a subject corpus with those in a secondary or general reference corpus, Wmatrix can identify statistically significant key semantic categories, which can help to indicate the key themes in the subject corpus. With the help of Wmatrix, I first compare CD and NYT with each other, and two key SMC lists are produced. These key SMCs are ranked in terms of the log-likelihood (hereafter LL) value. It is generally believed that the higher the LL value is, the more significant the difference in the use of SMCs is. However, each list consists of a number of key SMCs, which are too many to be analyzed one by one. The present study sets the cut-off point at LL=15.13/p=0.0001, so any word/tag with a higher LL value can be viewed as statistically significant (see L' Hôte, 2010; Rayson, 2003; Baker, 2006). Based on this criterion, 39 key SMCs are identified in CD, 48 in NYT. It is not surprising that more key SMCs have been identified in NYT than in CD in view of the fact that the former has more words than the latter. Since the present study sets the primary focus on CD, I select the top 39 key SMCs from both lists for comparison. They are demonstrated in Table 4.1 with LL values.

According to Rayson (2008), the benefit of key SMC analysis resides in the possibility of using "macroscopic" analysis to inform "microscopic" analysis. Key SMC analysis first classifies words and expressions in each corpus into different SMCs, and then tells which SMCs are more emphasized in a corpus when that corpus is compared with a reference corpus. It can not only present a picture of the particular patterns of language use but also suggest hypotheses about major trends and themes of the corpus (Rayson, 2008; Prentice, 2010). Furthermore, it can also provide entry points for further detailed microscopic analysis, i.e., the analysis of the use of particular words. Therefore, Wmatrix 3.0 provides a useful method for "down sampling" the data (Baker et al., 2008). However, automatic corpus analysis is useful only when it is supported by previous ideas of the research purpose as well as detailed explanations. As Granger (1993) cautions, "we should not limit corpus investigation to what the computer can do for us automatically" (cited in Rayson, 2008: 528). Since the main purpose of this chapter is to investigate the ways of constructing attitudinal stances in two newspapers, it focuses on these SMCs which might contribute to attitudinal and evaluative meanings. In the following part, a general view of those key SMCs will be presented before a further analysis of some selected key SMCs.

Two types of key SMCs can be identified in both lists: domain-specific and general SMCs. Both lists feature the frequent use of domain-specific SMCs. For example,

Table 4.1 Key SMC lists for CD and NYT

	CD			NYT		
Rank	**tagset**	**LL**	**semantic**	**tagset**	**LL**	**semantic**
1	E2+	453.53	Like	Z2	374.74	Geographical names
2	I1	362.01	Money generally	Z99	207.71	Unmatched
3	T1.1.3	321.04	Time: Future	G1.2	182.27	Politics
4	A9	183.76	Getting and giving; possession	S7.1+	122.12	In power
5	M7	177.02	Places	A1.1.1	98.82	General actions / making
6	N1	116.4	Numbers	Z1	97.19	Personal names
7	N3.5	98.24	Measurement: Weight	S7.4+	78.69	Allowed
8	Q2.1	97.17	Speech: Communicative	F1	64.45	Food
9	A2.1+	92.28	Change	A8	60.5	Seem
10	A2.2	73.89	Cause & Effect/Connection	Z3	57.39	Other proper names
11	Z4	69.75	Discourse Bin	A5.4-	54.21	Evaluation: Unauthentic
12	T2++	60.66	Time: Beginning	G2.1	53.15	Law and order
13	O4.1	59.7	General appearance and physical	A13.1	52.15	Degree: Non-specific
14	A2.1-	58.64	No change	X8+	46.5	Trying hard
15	W3	56.51	Geographical terms	S2.1	37.21	People: Female
16	S8+	45.05	Helping	G2.1-	36.88	Crime
17	A5.1+	43.43	Evaluation: Good	H5	35.12	Furniture and household fittings
18	H4	41.34	Residence	M3	34.24	Vehicles and transport on land
19	I1.1	38.26	Money and pay	E3-	34.16	Violent/Angry
20	M5	36.12	Flying and aircraft	A13.7	31.89	Degree: Minimizers
21	S1.2.6+	35.49	Sensible	G3	31.8	Warfare, defense and the army;
22	M4	30.56	Sailing, swimming, etc.	I3.2	30.28	Work and employment:
23	S4	29.44	Kin	A13.6	28.97	Degree: Diminishers
24	X2.6+	28.41	Expected	E5-	28.81	Fear/shock
25	Y2	27.2	Information technology and	Q4.3	27.82	The Media: TV, Radio and Cinema
26	P1	26.54	Education in general	H1	27.55	Architecture, houses and buildings
27	N5	25.95	Quantities	G1.1	27.52	Government
28	N5.2+	25.1	Exceed; waste	A7	26.8	Probability
29	I1.3-	22.73	Cheap	E2-	26.47	Dislike
30	O4.6+	21.99	Temperature: Hot / on fire	I3.1	26.21	Work and employment: Generally
31	Z6	20	Negative	A13.3	25.7	Degree: Boosters
32	N4	19.85	Linear order	Q1.2	25.24	Paper documents and writing
33	N3.8	18.5	Measurement: Speed	Q3	23.92	Language, speech and grammar
34	A1.2+	18.43	Easy	S8-	22.17	Hindering
35	N5++	18.32	Quantities: Many/much	Q2.2	21.82	Speech acts
36	A1.2+	17.74	Suitable	Z7	21.04	if
37	O1	17.28	Substances and materials: generally	I1.1+	20.99	Money: Affluence
38	N3.4	15.26	Measurement: Volume	S2	20.81	People
39	O1.1	15.18	Substances and materials: Solid	S7.3+	20.77	Competitive

NYT features an overwhelming use of SMCs related to the field of politics, such as "G1.2 Politics (e.g., *political*, *senator*, *republican*)", "S7.1+ In power (e.g., *administration*, *leaders*, *chairman*)", "H5 Furniture and household fittings (e.g., *cabinet*, *table*, *seats*)", "G1.1 Government (e.g., *officials*, *government*, *president*)", "H1 Architecture, houses and buildings (e.g., *house*)", and "I3.2 Work and employment: Professionalism (e.g., *secretary*, *secretaries*)". They are key in NYT, because they are exclusive to the US political system. For example, *house* is used here mainly to refer to the US's legislature, while *secretary* always occurs with *Treasury* to refer to the specific position in the US government. By contrast, CD shows frequent use of SMCs related to the domain of currency and economy, such as "E2+ Like (e.g., *appreciation*, *appreciate*, *appreciated*)", "I1 Money generally (e.g., *yuan*, *currency*)", "A9 Getting and giving; possession (e.g., *exchange*, *exchanges*)", "I1.1 Money and pay (e.g., *capital*, *investment*)", "M4 Sailing, swimming, etc. (e.g., *flows*, *flow*)", and "N5.2+ Exceed; waste (e.g., *surplus*, *surpluses*)". Here *exchange* is found mainly to refer to exchange rate, while *flows* means "capital flow". Compared with NYT, CD seems to focus more on currency-related topics. Their different emphases actually shed light on their different ways of framing the issue. NYT highlights the political nature of the issue, while CD emphasizes the economic nature of the issue. However, these domain-specific SMCs are not of my interest here.

General SMCs refer to those that do not belong exclusively to a particular domain. They are significant, because they can contribute to the construction of the particular stance of each newspaper. Some of them carry explicit evaluative meanings, while others may evoke attitudinal meanings. In the following part, explicit and implicit evaluative SMCs will be examined respectively. They correspond to Martin's distinction between "inscribed" and "evoked" evaluation (Martin, 2000; Martin & White, 2005). To examine their roles in the construction of attitudinal stance, a combination of "macroscopic" and "microscopic" analyses is conducted (Rayson, 2008), and both quantitative and qualitative analyses are carried out to determine how they function to construct the particular attitudinal stance of each newspaper. The analysis of these evaluative meanings is believed to be important: “not only because they reveal the speaker’s/writer’s feelings and values but also because they operate rhetorically to construct relations of alignment and rapport between the writer/speaker and actual or potential correspondents” (Martin & White, 2005: 2).

4.3 Inscribed attitudinal stance

As mentioned above, both newspapers display some SMCs with explicit evaluative meanings. Martin and White (2005: 63) view these words with explicit evaluative meanings as “signposts” for attitudinal meanings expressed in the text, because they “color” more of a text, and guide us to read “the ideational selections that surround them”. Their presence can indicate the evaluative prosody that spreads across the text (Martin & White, 2005), and the ways of evaluation can also reveal different values shared within a discourse community, their respective ways of framing the event as well as the ideologies at work (Thompson & Hunston, 2000; Hunston, 1994). These explicit evaluative SMCs thus merit our attention first.

Table 4.2 Explicit evaluative SMCs in CD and NYT

CD	**NYT**
S8+ Helping (e.g., *help*, *benefit*).	A5.4- Evaluation: Unauthentic (e.g., *artificially*)
A5.1+ Evaluation: Good (e.g., *good*, *improve*, *positive*)	E5- Fear/shock (e.g., *fear*, *fears*, *feared*)
S1.2.6+ Sensible (e.g., *reasonable*, *rational*)	E3- Violent/Angry (e.g., *threat*, *threaten*)
A12+ Easy: (e.g., *ease*, *easing*, *eased*)	E2- Dislike (e.g., *antagonize*, *grievances*)
A1.2+ Suitable (e.g., *appropriate*, *relevant*, *suitable*)	

Both newspapers demonstrate several SMCs with explicit evaluative meanings (see Table 4.2). Several distinct differences can be identified between them. First, these SMCs in NYT are characterized by an apparent negative prosody, while those in CD feature a positive prosody. This means that CD tends to emphasize more the positive side of the issue, NYT more the negative side of the issue. This difference can be attributed to the different reporting styles of liberal and authoritarian journalism. One feature that distinguishes Chinese authoritarian journalism from liberal journalism is that the former always report things from a positive perspective, while the latter always report things from a critical perspective (Yao, 2002). Second, the two newspapers also emphasize different types of evaluative meanings. To be specific, NYT highlights feelings of fear/shock, anger and dislike as well as what is unauthentic, while CD emphasizes what is good, sensible, easy and suitable in the currency dispute. It suggests that NYT stresses the conflict between China and the US, whereas CD emphasizes the good aspect of the issue, so the former is more conflict-driven, whereas the latter is more harmony-driven (cf. Wu & Ng, 2010). Third, they also suggest different styles of communicating evaluative meanings. Martin and White (2005: 42-91) make a distinction between three general types of attitudinal meanings: Affect, Judgment, and Appreciation. Affect is concerned with "positive and negative feelings"; Judgment refers to "attitude towards behavior"; and Appreciation "involves evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena" (Martin & White, 2005: 42-43). Affect is at the heart of attitudinal meanings. Judgment and Appreciation are different from Affect in that they are "institutionalized Affect". They "take us out of our everyday common sense world into the uncommon sense worlds of shared community values" (Martin & White, 2005: 45). Based on this distinction, it can be found that NYT prefers Affect (E2-; E3-; E5-), whereas CD prefers Appreciation and Judgment (A5.1+, S1.2.6+, A12+, A1.2+). Institutionalized Affect highlights rational and scientific thinking, while Affect stresses personal and emotional thinking. It suggests that NYT is more personal, CD more impersonal. While rational and scientific thinking can be viewed as a feature of neoliberal discourse, it does not mean that the former is more convincing and popular than personal and emotional thinking, especially in late modern society, where personal and emotional thinking is more favored than rational and scientific thinking as a result of the New Age movement (Askehav, 2004). However, the difference between them does shed light on different power distances established between writers and readers in two newspapers, which will be further discussed in Chapter 5. Institutionalized feelings tend to suggest a high power difference, but personalized feelings imply a low power difference. This is further supported by NYT's preference for some SMCs expressing the meaning of low certainty such as A8 ("seem") and A7 ("probability") and those expressing intensifying meanings such as A13.1 ("degree: Non-specific"), A13.7 ("Degree: Minimizers"), A13.3 ("Degree: Boosters"), and A13.6 ("Degree: Diminishers"). All these SMCs indicate a high degree of personal involvement (Murphy, 2004). The following part gives a close analysis of some selected explicit evaluative SMCs in order to identify their functions in constructing attitudinal stance.

4.3.1 Analysis of explicit evaluative key SMCs in NYT

In order to determine their roles in the construction of attitudinal stance, two key SMCs (i.e., "A5.4- Evaluation: Unauthentic" and "E5- Fear/shock") are selected for analysis in this part.

A5.4- Evaluation: Unauthentic

"A5.4- Unauthentic" has the highest LL value (54.56) among the explicit evaluative key SMCs of NYT. It has 129 occurrences in NYT, but only 13 in CD. It consists primarily of the token *artificially*, with 80 occurrences in NYT but only 9 in CD. This word is thus also highly key in NYT when compared with its use in CD, with a LL value of 31.37. It has a strong tendency to collocate at R1 position with such words as *low* (43), *undervalued* (8), *cheap* (7), *depressed* (4), and *weak* (2) and *weakened* (2). They all carry the meaning of "low value", as can be seen in the concordance lines of Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Concordances of *artificially*

critics accuse China of keeping the value of its currency	artificially	low, so that its exports will remain cheap
but depresses competing economies that cannot match the	artificially	low prices. On Saturday, Mr. Zhou offered no
, after years of complaining that Beijing keeps the renminbi	artificially	low. An undervalued currency keeps a country's
economists say keeps its currency, the renminbi, at an	artificially	depressed level. The United States wants China
manipulated its currency, the renminbi, keeping its value	artificially	low to stimulate exports. The Treasury has not
, complain that Beijing has held the renminbi's value	artificially	low, giving Chinese exports a price advantage on
rate. Critics in Congress and elsewhere say that the policy	artificially	makes Chinese exports costs less at the expense
of the policy, complaining that it keeps Chinese exports	artificially	cheap. The Chinese news media, which have far
are not artificially inflated in price and their goods are not	artificially	deflated in price; that puts us at a huge

A detailed qualitative analysis of word use in its context based on the analytic framework proposed by Martin and White (2005) shows that 69 of them (86.3%) are used to evaluate the value of the Renminbi. Martin and White (2005: 62) caution that it is necessary to specify one's reading position when interpreting the evaluation meanings, because a text can be read "compliantly, resistantly, or tactically". While a low/cheap/weak Renminbi can be either good or bad to different parties, it certainly carries negative evaluative meanings from the perspective of the US government, because they repeatedly argue that the low value of the Renminbi brings China with competitive advantage in trade but puts the US at a disadvantaged position. Nevertheless, the low value of a currency does not necessarily incur criticism unless it is manipulated on purpose, so the marked use of *artificially* with those evaluative words (such as *low*, *cheap* and *undervalued*) actually underlines two intertwined points: (1) Chinese currency is undervalued; (2) This is made on purpose. The frequent use of *artificially* in NYT thus represents a typical case of "over-lexicalization", which refers to "an excess of quasi-synonymous terms for entities and ideas that are a particular preoccupation or problem in the culture's discourse" (Fowler, 1991: 85; see also Hakam, 2009: 38; Teo, 2000: 20; van Dijk, 1991). Teo (2000: 20-21) points out that "over-lexicalization often has a pejorative effect as it signals a kind of deviation from social convention or expectation and reflects perceptions and judgments from essentially biased standpoint of such cultural norms or social expectations". It evokes underlying neoliberal ideology behind NYT's representations of the issue, which favors free market, minimum control, and the use of law. What is manipulated, of course, should be criticized. The use of this word is thus consistent with the stance of those in the US who constantly accuse China of manipulating its currency. It occurs frequently before those adjectives, creating the impression that it is an inherent property of Chinese "cheap" currency (Fairclough, 1992). As pointed out in some previous studies (e.g., Walsh, 2004: 344; Thompson & Hunston, 2000: 8), it is particularly difficult for the reader to challenge if evaluation is embedded. By assuming the shared values with its readers, it can help to construct a negative image for China and its exchange rate policy and legitimatize any action that the US government takes towards the Renminbi issue. This may explain why this word is rarely used in CD.

E5- Fear/shock

The next SMC I want to look at is "E5- Fear/shock", which has 140 occurrences in NYT but only 29 in CD, boasting a LL value of 29.10. This SMC features the frequent use of words expressing the meaning of "fear or shock". In NYT, the most frequently used tokens in this category are *fear* (41), *fears* (20), and *feared* (8), which express primarily the meaning of "fear". Martin and White (2005: 48) suggest that a distinction can be made between *irrealis* and *realis* affect. *Irrealis* affect involves "intention (rather than reaction) towards a stimulus that is irrealis (rather than realis)". For example:

(1)a. *Realis* The captain **disliked** leaving.
b. *Irrealis* The Captain **feared** leaving.
(Martin & White, 2005: 45)

Fear expresses this kind of irrealis affect, communicating the affect of insecurity, so it is a typical negative attitudinal word. According to Martin and White (2005: 48), irrealis affect always seems to implicate a trigger, so for the present analysis, I will analyze the appraiser of the feeling as well as the trigger in each occurrence of *fear*.

Table 4.4 Concordances of *fear*

aggressive version later this year. Some lawmakers	fear	that the measure would cause a trade war at a
social inequality and a soaring inflation, which leaders	fear	will fuel social instability. The consumer price
reminiscent of the 1920s and '30s, which they say they	fear	could undermine trade and make a weak recovery
are under pressure from governors and mayors who	fear	unemployment in China's manufacturing territory,
, its competitor to Boeing. But many around the world	fear	getting trampled as the United States and the
their exports cheaper -- as some countries, like Brazil,	fear.	Nonetheless, he is expected to make currency a
. But it was a short-term move, many Japanese experts	fear.	"Japan is in a sense losing out in this competitive
and some other countries oppose the change out of	fear	of being left out. The administration needs 85
margins in a competitive export environment. Officials	fear	that anything other than incremental currency
have been harassed or shut down. Chinese dissidents	fear	that the situation will only get worse after Mr.
or how its new system will operate, partly out of	fear	of the effects on the global financial markets. Its

The results show that out of the 41 occurrences, 6 are irrelevant, because they are not directly related to the currency issue. Among the remaining 35 occurrences, four categories can be identified: China, the US, other countries, and unclear origins (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Information about the origins of *fear* in NYT

	China	the US	other countries	Unclear	Total
Freq.	17	8	6	4	35
%	48.6%	22.9%	17.1%	11.4%	100%

It can be seen that *fear* is used in NYT mainly to highlight the fear from the Chinese side. As regards the triggers for the fear of Chinese side, they are mainly concerned with the possible consequences of yuan appreciation, such as the weakening of its export-driven economy, unemployment, and social instability. However, all the consequences are about the potential loss of China’s own interests in the issue. For example,

(2) Some officials fear that any adjustment in currency policy could threaten Chinese banks, which by some estimates have nearly one in three of their loans unpaid.

(NYT, 2003/09/02)

However, for the US, the triggers are mainly concerned with the consequences of its actions. This ranges from possible damages to the relationships between China and the US to potential inflation inside the country. It creates the impression that the US is concerned about the Sino-US relations.

(3) Some lawmakers **fear** that the measure would cause a trade war at a time when China has moved slowly to increase the value of its currency. (NYT, 2011/10/03)

One interesting finding is that the triggers of “a trade war” and “a currency war” are frequent occurrences in these concordance lines, but they are always negated or mitigated.

(4) The I.M.F. managing director, Dominique Strauss-Kahn, said last week that he did not see a great risk of a “currency war” –with countries devaluing their currencies to make their exports cheaper –as some countries, like Brazil, **fear**. Nonetheless, he is expected to make currency a priority this weekend. (NYT, 2010/10/05)

(5) It is unclear if the result will be a “currency war,” as Brazil’s finance minister recently warned, or if these are just warning shots, fired to force Beijing’s leadership to make good on years of promises that it would allow the value of its currency to appreciate. But that question is so in the air that Treasury Secretary Timothy F. Geithner felt compelled last week to try to dampen the **fear**. (NYT, 2010/10/03)

It can be concluded that *fear* is used primarily to emphasize the possible consequences of the issue, and explain the reasons for the different stances of China and the US government towards the issue. The use of this word also contributes to the construction of different images for China and the US. It is used mainly to highlight the fear of China, suggesting that China refuses to let the Renminbi appreciate mainly because it wants to protect its own interests. It thus contributes to the construction of a “selfish” China. The emphasis on the fear of the US, on the other hand, tries to describe the US government's concern about the relationships between China and the US, and the potential retaliation from China against the US's action. Besides, the frequent occurrences of *fear* with negation and mitigation also help to appease the public. The use of *fear* in NYT, therefore, can be viewed as a rhetorical strategy to highlight the fear of China while to appease the fear in the US, constructing China as a "selfish" country and the US as a "responsible" country. This is consistent with the "ideological square" proposed by van Dijk (1998a): positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

4.3.2 Analysis of explicit evaluative key SMCs in CD

This part focuses on the analysis of three explicit evaluative SMCs in CD ("S8+ Helping", "S1.2.6+ Sensible", and "A1.2+ Suitable") in order to identify their roles in the construction of attitudinal stance in CD.

S8+ Helping

"S8+ Helping" has the highest LL value (44.16) among the explicit evaluative SMCs in CD, ranking the 16th in the key SMC list. It has 775 occurrences (0.62%) in CD and 1004 (0.45%) in NYT. The top 5 tokens in CD are *help* (141, 0.11%), *cooperation* (87, 0.07%), *benefit* (49, 0.04%), *support* (37, 0.03%) and *boost* (34, 0.03%). In contrast, the top 5 tokens in NYT are *help* (123, 0.05%), *support* (76, 0.03%), *helped* (44, 0.02%), *cooperation* (43, 0.02%), and *promote* (39, 0.02%). This SMC certainly has positive evaluative value, considering that it emphasizes the benefit of something. It can be hypothesized that the frequent use of these tokens in this SMC reflects China's emphasis on the benefits of Chinese exchange rate policy. The following analysis focuses on the most frequently used token *help* in this SMC, which is also highly key in CD when compared with its use in NYT, with a LL value of 34.67.

In CD, *help* has a strong tendency to collocate at L1 position with *will* (35), *to* (31), *would* (15), *not* (10), and *could* (9). They all imply that here *help* is used only in a predictive way, carrying the semantic preference of "not realized". Those collocates at R1 position include *ease* (13), *reduce* (11), *US* (7), and *China*(6). They suggest that *help* is used to emphasize the possible benefits to China, the US or other parties, and a preliminary view of those concordance lines finds that a large number of them have *help* to evaluate the policy of Renminbi exchange rate. However, as noted above, *help* also co-occurs with *not* to communicate a negative evaluation. A close analysis of these concordance lines shows that *not* (9 out of 10, 90%) is used here mainly to emphasize that Renminbi appreciation will not help other countries, especially the US, to solve their own problems. Therefore, *help* can also carry negative evaluative meanings in CD when it co-occurs with other negative expressions.

Out of the 145 concordance lines, 66 (45.5%) have been identified as of this kind. I will focus on three aspects: (1) What types of yuan policy change; (2) How it is evaluated (positive vs. negative), and (3) Who benefits (beneficiary). Five types of yuan policy change can be identified in these concordance lines: (1) stronger yuan; (2) weak(er) yuan; (3) flexible yuan; (4) stable yuan, and (5) yuan reform. The beneficiaries include China, the US, and other parties. It is postulated that different yuan policies may be evaluated differently towards different parties, and that how they are evaluated may contribute to the construction of the attitudinal stance of a newspaper. Among them, 41 have China as their beneficiaries, accounting for 58.8% of the total, so the majority of them still focus on the effects of the Renminbi issue on China. All but one (40, 97.6%) communicate positive evaluative meanings, regardless of what these yuan-related issues are. Among them, 21(51.2%) refer to yuan appreciation, 7 to weaker yuan (17.1%), 5 to stable yuan (12.2%), 4 to exchange rate reform (9.8%), and 4 to flexible exchange rate (9.8%). It suggests that CD emphasizes the positive effects of yuan policy change regardless of what kind of yuan policies are. It is quite confusing considering the fact that the Chinese government has always been resistant to yuan appreciation. However, even yuan appreciation here is thought to be conducive to China. This can only be explained in terms of the special nature of CD and the development of the Renminbi issue in the last decade. On the one hand, this overwhelming emphasis on the positive effect of China's yuan policy change is not arbitrary. It is rooted in the special nature of CD, because as a "party-organ", it always seeks to portray things related to the Chinese government in the positive light and construct a positive image of the Chinese government. However, it can be expected that the same policy may have varied effects on different social groups. On the other hand, during the last 11 years, despite its unwillingness to let the Renminbi appreciate, the Chinese government still has to adapt its yuan policy several times and let the Renminbi appreciate gradually under the pressure from the US government and the international society. Therefore, *help* is used here in a predictive way mainly to discuss the potential positive effects of yuan policy change on China, appease the public and pave the way for yuan policy change.

Meanwhile, 16 of them (23.5%) have the US as the beneficiary. 15 of them refer to Renminbi appreciation, with only one referring to weaker yuan. For those referring to Renminbi appreciation, 86.7% of them (13 out of 15) are negatively evaluated. The two exceptions are as follows:

(8) Washington has <u>claimed</u> that yuan appreciation would also **help** to create more jobs, but analysts said that an appreciation of China's currency <u>won't alleviate</u> the economic <u>woes</u> in the US. (CD, 2011/02/19)

(9) Beijing is <u>under pressure</u> from Washington to raise the yuan rate to **help** the United States reduce its large trade deficit with China, and Zhu's comments followed a new bout of <u>China-bashing</u> at a US House of Representatives hearing on Wednesday.

(CD, 2010/06/19)

The word *claimed* in Example (8) actually puts into question the positive evaluation of yuan appreciation to the US. Both Examples (8) and (9) have *Washington* as the appraiser. This means that they are represented from the perspective of the US government. Therefore, the effects of Renminbi appreciation on the US have been completely negatively evaluated. This is consistent with the stance that the US's problems are not caused by Chinese exchange rate policy, thus challenging the US's demand for Renminbi appreciation on the pretext that Chinese exchange rate policy is the main cause for trade imbalances between China and the US. The use of *help* in a negative way is thus dialogic in that it helps to challenge the US's position and defend Chinese position. One interesting finding is that it even argues that a weaker yuan is good to the US.

(10) A ***weaker*** Chinese currency will **help** reduce, through trade, inflationary pressure in the US, which has risen to around 6 percent, he said. "But US politicians have to ***cater to*** the interest of traders and call for greater appreciation." (CD, 2008/11/13)

Through exposing the ulterior purpose, the above example challenges the US government's requirement for yuan appreciation. Therefore, the use of *help* in CD emphasizes the possible benefits to China and dismisses the expectation that China's yuan appreciation is good to the US, thus legitimizing Chinese possible yuan policy change while delegitimizing the US's accusations.

S1.2.6+ Sensible

"S1.2.6+ Sensible" carries explicit evaluative meanings. It has only 48 occurrences (0.04%) in CD and 19 occurrences (0.01%) in NYT, but boasts a LL value of 35.26, ranking the 22nd in the key SMC list. It consists primarily of the word *reasonable* in both corpora, which has 31 occurrences in CD and 11 in NYT. The plot of *reasonable* in CD shows that it spreads across the corpora. Among the 31 concordance lines, 26 of them (83.9%) are used to discuss yuan-related issues, 20 of them (64.5%) to evaluate China's currency value, exchange rate, and Chinese policy concerning the Renminbi exchange rate, as in the following:

(11) "China will argue that this is a bad time to change policy, which is ***quite*** **reasonable**," he said. (CD, 2010/05/20)

9 of them describe the present state, emphasizing that Chinese exchange rate and its arrangement are reasonable. The rest of them emphasize China's efforts to keep the Renminbi exchange rate at a reasonable level, so *reasonable* is found occurring frequently with words like *keep*, *maintain*, and *make*. It also frequently occurs with intensifiers, such as *quite*, *fairly*, *basically*, and *largely*. Therefore, while emphasizing that China's exchange rate is reasonable, CD also tries to avoid being absolute and allows negotiation.

While *reasonable* is used mainly to describe the value of the Renminbi or China's efforts and attempts, it is also used to attack the actions of other countries, as in the following:

(12) Given uncertainty over the development of the European sovereign debt crisis and the slowdown of the Chinese economy, it is **not** considered **reasonable** to *keep pressing China over the appreciation of the yuan*. (CD, 2010/05/25)

The remaining 6 concordance lines communicate the meaning that it is not reasonable to force China to let the Renminbi appreciate. The use of this word is also consistent with the ideology square of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation identified by van Dijk (1998a). It emphasizes that China's currency exchange rate policy is reasonable or "largely" reasonable, and depicts the acts of pressing the Renminbi to appreciate as unreasonable. However, *reasonable* is a very abstract evaluative adjective, which relies much on subjective judgment. There is no absolute criterion for what is deemed as "reasonable". Previous studies have exposed that traditional China's Chinese-language news reporting shows a preference for abstract evaluative adjectives, because it can impose a reading position on the readers, and make judgment for them. The preference for this kind of adjectives can be viewed as a typical feature of authoritarian journalism (Yao, 2002). While it helps to construct China's stance and defend China's image, it is not that convincing and engaging.

A1.2+ Suitable

The same applies to this SMC, which has only 41 occurrences (0.03%) in CD and 26 occurrences (0.01%) in NYT. In CD, representative words are *appropriate* (15), *relevant* (14), and *suitable* (3), while in NYT, they are *appropriate* (8), *relevant* (4), and *suitably* (3). This SMC is also characterized by the frequent use of abstract evaluative adjectives. For example,

(13) The exchange rate against the US dollar is currently at an **appropriate** level but could fluctuate in the future, Yi Gang, vice-governor of the central bank and head of the State Administration of Foreign Exchange, said on Sunday. (CD, 2011/02/13)

Of the 16 occurrences of *appropriate*, 9 are used to evaluate China's exchange rate level or yuan's appreciation. What is emphasized here is that China's exchange rate is at an appropriate level. However, like *reasonable* mentioned above, this kind of evaluation relies heavily on subjective judgment. What is viewed as appropriate by one person may not be considered appropriate by other people. Different people tend to make different judgment based on different criteria. In fact, the use of this word is also challenged in a report of NYT, as in the following:

(14) "Every estimate of the **appropriate** level of the currency is fraught with uncertainty," said Eswar S. Prasad, an economist at Cornell University and the former head of the China desk at the International Monetary Fund. "And it's almost always the case that two methods are going to give you different answers." (NYT, 2010/04/02)

As can be seen from the above analysis, CD relies to a large extent on these words with general evaluative meanings to construct a positive image for China and legitimize Chinese position in the Renminbi issue. Although it seeks to construct a certain reading position for the readers, its communicative effects are quite questionable due to the authoritarian reporting style and poor readability (cf. Yao, 2002).

4.4 Evoked attitudinal stance

It has been widely acknowledged that attitudinal meanings are not realized only through these explicit evaluative expressions. Martin and White (2005: 62) admit that "the selection of ideational meaning is enough to invoke evaluation, even in the absence of attitudinal lexis that tells us directly how to feel". Although the analysis of this kind of evoked evaluation tends to be subjective, it is "untenable" to ignore it, because it seems to suggest that "ideational meaning is selected without regard to the attitudes it engage readers" (Martin & White, 2005: 62). Fairclough and Fairclough (2012: 15) also argue that there is no reason to separate facts from values, especially in argumentative discourse. Even the representation of the so-called facts is informed by our values and concerns, because they can be described and represented in various ways. It is in this sense that they argue that even facts have "evaluative content". Martin and White (2005: 62) note that the analysis of evoked evaluation requires the analyst to specify his/her reading position, because the same expression may be subject to different interpretations. Hunston (1994: 191) also suggests that "expressing evaluation in a text involves both a statement of personal judgment and an appeal to shared norms and values", so the analysis of evaluation should also take into account the norms, values, and even ideologies they evoke in each newspaper. As Hasan (2003: 447) states, "in itself the power of language is simply a potential; its semiotic energy requires the ideological spur of the speaker to be activated; the active principle is always the socially positioned speaker." Language is an ideologically-neutral potential, which can be activated to serve different ideologies (Hasan, 2003). It is the socially positioned subjects who are responsible for the actualization of this potential. The analysis and interpretation of evaluative meanings thus should take into account ideological positions of these socially positioned subjects. Hasan's (2003) study of so-called "glib-speak" in globalization discourse well demonstrates this. According to Stubbs (2001: 215; cited in Charteris-Black, 2004: 33): "repeated patterns show that evaluative meanings are not merely personal and idiosyncratic, but widely shared in a discourse community. A word, phrase or construction may trigger a cultural stereotype".

In NYT, some key SMCs draw my attention, such as "S7.4+ Allowed" and "G2.1 Law and order". These SMCs are meaningful, because they have played an important role in constructing the attitudinal stance of NYT and realizing the underlying neoliberal ideology. S7.4+ consists of words expressing the meaning of "allowing and permission", such as *allow*, *let*, and *approved*. G2.1 includes words with the meaning of "rules and law", such as *rules*, *law*, *legislation*, and *regulations*. Although these words may not be called neoliberal discourse, they do suggest the working of neoliberal ideology behind them. Neoliberal ideology emphasizes free market and the minimal intervention from the central government (Block et al., 2012; Harvey, 2005). Therefore, it is meaningful to examine how evaluative meanings are evoked through the use of these key SMCs associated with neoliberal ideology.

In contrast, CD is noted for its preference for some other SMCs, such as "A2.1+ Change", "A2.2 Cause & effect/connection", and "A2.1- No change". A2.1+ involves expressions with the meaning of "change and reform", such as *reform*, *development*, *change* and *adjustment*. A2.1- has expressions expressing the meaning of "stability", such as *stability*, *stable*, and *unchanged*. A2.2 here covers those expressions expressing the meaning of "cause and impact", such as *impact*, *result*, *effect*, and *because of*. It can be found that A2.1+ and A2.1- are self contradictory, and their appearance in the key SMC list of CD suggests that CD emphasizes change as well as stability. Besides, CD also highlights the impact and consequences in its representations of the currency dispute. It is believed that the emphasis on these SMCs evokes both CD's underlying ideology as well as its rhetorical strategy in constructing its attitudinal stance towards the dispute. While acknowledging the common ground of neoliberal ideology and the necessity for change, it dramatizes the impact of Renminbi appreciation and emphasizes the stability in exchange rate, thus justifying and legitimizing its current exchange rate policy. In order to confirm my hypothesis, a detailed analysis of these SMCs is conducted in the following part.

4.4.1 Analysis of selected key SMCs in NYT

The following part addresses two SMCs in NYT: “S7.4+ Allowed” and “G2.1 Law and order”. They are believed to be driven by the underlying neoliberal ideology and contribute to the construction of its particular stance towards China and its exchange rate policy.

S7.4+ Allowed

“S7.4+ Allowed” emerges as a top key SMC in NYT (the 7th). It has 736 (0.33%) occurrences in NYT, but only 214 (0.17%) in CD, boasting a LL value of 79.88. It consists of words which express the meaning of permission such as *allow* (172), *let* (165), *allowed* (92), *allowing* (57), *letting* (39), etc. Their high occurrences in NYT can be attributed to their functions in projecting the request from the US for Renminbi appreciation. The present analysis focuses on the most frequently used word *allow*, which has 172 occurrences (0.07%) in NYT but only 59 occurrences (0.04%) in CD. In NYT, it has a strong tendency to collocate at L1 with *to* (87), *would* (23), *not* (12), and *will* (10). All these words communicate the semantic preference of “not realized”. In other words, they are more “predictive” than “actualized”. The most frequent collocates at R1 position are *currency* (68), *Renminbi* (10), *value* (8), and *currencies* (4). This suggests that the majority of complements following *allow* are currency-related issues. The current analysis focuses on the Subject (“Who allows?”) and the Complement (“What is allowed?”) of the verb *allow*. The main purpose is to examine how they contribute to the construction of the attitudinal/ideological stance of NYT towards the issue.

However, in most of the cases, the clause including *allow* is embedded. For example,

(15) The United States wants China to **allow** the renminbi to rise closer to market levels, calculating that it would make American goods more competitive. (NYT, 2010/05/21)

For the following analysis, only the embedded clause with *allow* as the main predicator is taken into account, so in Example (15), the Subject is *China* and the Complement is *the Renminbi to rise closer to market levels*. Here *the United States* functions as the Initiator, which serves as the cause of the action in the embedded clause (see Halliday, 1994: 286). Of the 172 instances, 142 of them have "China" or "the Chinese government" as the subject and "the appreciation of Renminbi" or "the greater flexibility of exchange rate" as the complement, such as *allow the yuan to find its* ***market*** *value*, *allow the value of the Chinese currency to fluctuate* ***more freely***, *allow its currency to appreciate* ***more rapidly***, etc. Comparative forms are frequently used in these complements to emphasize the greater appreciation of yuan, such as *more* (17), *greater* (6), *further* (5), *faster* (4), *closer* (1), *higher* (1), *bigger* (1), *wider* (1), and *looser* (1). Examples are as follows:

(16) The United States, the No. 2 trading partner with China, and other developed economies are also demanding that Beijing **allow** its currency to appreciate more rapidly.

(NYT, 2007/11/28)

(17) After keeping the renminbi tightly pegged to the dollar for nearly three years, China announced on June 19 that it would **allow** greater flexibility.

(NYT, 2010/09/28)

Halliday (1994: 287) points out that some verbs exist only as causatives, and *allow* is one of them, which highlights the role of agency. He makes a distinction between two types of structures (1994: 285):

(18)a. John rolled the ball.

b. John made the ball roll.

The former differs from the latter in that in the former, the actor *John* directly acted on the ball, while the latter suggests that the action might be conducted through indirect means. Therefore, in the latter *John* functions as an initiator rather than an actor. Halliday (1994) calls the latter as causative, and makes a distinction between three types of causative in terms of the degree of modulation: high (e.g., *forced*, *required*), medium (e.g., *got*, *obliged*), and low (e.g., *allowed*, *permitted*). The use of *allow* here thus indicates a low degree of causation. The question is why the causative structure rather than the simple transitive structure is used here. For example, in the above example, the causative structure "demanding that Beijing **allow** its currency to appreciate more rapidly" is used instead of the transitive structure "demanding that Beijing **raises** the value of its currency rapidly".

This choice is explained here in terms of neoliberal ideology and the perspective of the US government. It communicates important ideological meanings. On the one hand, Chinese currency is controlled or "manipulated" by the Chinese government, so Renminbi appreciation requires the Chinese government to give their permission. On the other hand, it suggests that without the Chinese government's intervention, the value of Chinese currency can rise naturally in the market. In other words, it is consistent with NYT's stance that Renminbi is undervalued or even "manipulated". This can be witnessed in the frequent use of some expressions which highlight the Chinese government's reluctance to allow the Renminbi to appreciate, such as *under pressure*, *press*, *urge*, *call*, *want*, *persuade*, *unfulfilled promises*, *reluctance*, *refuse*, *failure*.

2.1 Law and Order

“G2.1 Law and order” ranks the 12th in the key SMC list, with a LL value of 54.06. 626 occurrences (0.28%) can be identified in NYT, but only 198 (0.16%) in CD. In NYT, the top 5 tokens are *rules* (88, 0.04%), *legislation* (85, 0.04%), *securities* (63, 0.03%), *security* (53, 0.02%), and *law* (35, 0.02%). In CD, the top 5 tokens include *securities* (53, 0.04%), *security* (18, 0.01%), *rules* (17, 0.01%), *law* (14, 0.01%), and *legislation* (9, 0.01%). Since *securities* and *security* in this specialized field have nothing to do with rules and regulations, it can be excluded from both lists. Therefore, the expressions of rules and law occur much more frequently in NYT than in CD. Since the essence of the doctrine of neoliberalism is the emphasis on the rule of law (Block et al., 2010; Harvey, 2005). The frequent reference to expressions of rule and law thus assumes ideological significances. The most frequently used word *rules* is examined here.

Table 4.6 Selected concordances of *rules* in NYT

United States is committed to the international	trade rules	in the W.T.O. and our other trade agreements,"
United States accused China of violating world	trade rules	when it imposed antidumping duties and
some loss of jobs without violating international	trade rules.	" Senator Joseph I. Lieberman, Democrat of
Hu Jintao late next month. But international	trade rules	and a tight Congressional calendar are limiting
Chinese goods would have violated international	trade rules.	They said the new bill would lead to penalties
the time heads of state meet in Cannes this fall.	Those rules	would be used to single out nations that posed
it joined the World Trade Organization in 2001.	Those rules	have allowed the United States and the European
our policies and programs are consistent with	those rules,	and ask that other countries also do so." The
over foreign ones for government contracts.	These rules,	which are intended to stimulate technological
exports to China. The value of contracts blocked by	the rules	is "in the millions of dollars, not even the tens of
the potential problem of inconsistent application of	the rules	globally. Some of these arguments were valid,
in Mr. Obama's economic stimulus plan. Under	the rules	of the World Trade Organization, China is

90 instances of *rules* are identified by Wordsmith 5.0. The mismatch between the figures generated by Wordsmith 5.0 and Wmatrix 3.0 might be due to errors in tagging. Here the figure generated by Wordsmith 5.0 will be considered, since it tends to be more accurate in word counting. Table 4.6 shows the sample concordances of *rules*. *Rules* has a strong tendency to collocate at L1 position with *the* (17), *trade* (8), *new* (8), *WTO* (6), *Organization* (4), *ground* (4) and *those* (3). The *Organization* is part of the name of *World Trade Organization*, so all together 10 of them refer to WTO rules. As regards the origins of these rules, four categories have been identified:

Chinese, American, international, and others. The number of occurrences has been shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7 Types of *rules* in NYT

	Chinese	**American**	**International**	**others**	**Total**
freq.	24	9	35	22	90
%	26.7%	10%	38.9%	23.3%	100%

It can be seen that international rules take the largest share, followed by Chinese rules and rules of other origins. Rules of the US take the smallest share. This sharp contrast between the large number of Chinese and international rules, and the small number of American rules assumes ideological significances. It carries the implicature that Chinese rules are different from international rules. American rules are seldom referenced, because it suggests that the US plays by the international rules. The rules of China are often negatively evaluated. This can be evidenced in following examples.

(19) Both have said they are concerned that the use of arcane **regulations** and **rules**, governing everything from the size of cellphone batteries to the types of wheels for motorcycles, appears aimed at keeping American products out. (NYT, 2007/12/13)

(20) As the Obama administration escalates its battle with Chinese leaders over the artificially low value of China's currency, a growing number of countries are retreating from some free-market **rules** that have guided international trade in recent decades and have started playing by Chinese **rules.** (NYT, 2010/10/14)

Example (19) gives a negative evaluation of Chinese rules by degrading its purpose as *keeping American products out*. Example (20) makes a contrast between Chinese and free-market rules, which conveys the meaning that Chinese rules are not consistent with free-market rules. The negative impact of Chinese rules is highlighted by suggesting that they also serve as a bad model for other countries. This negative evaluation of Chinese rules can also be witnessed in other expressions which frequently occur with rules, such as *censorship*, *clearer*, *ease*, *different*, *nationalistic*, *limit*, *barred*, *against*, and *without merit.*

In contrast, American rules are justified and legitimized through stressing their positive aspects and downplaying their negative impact. While the US government favors free-market rules, it has also laid out some rules which are against the neoliberal doctrine. As Holborow (2012: 14) notes, neoliberalism is characterized by "[a] gap between what it proclaims and what its promoters actually do". In the following examples, the export control rules of the US are justified by highlighting their just purposes.

> **(21)** Export control **rules** are meant to keep dual-use technologies like computer encryption software and airplane parts out of the hands of American foes that could use them for military purposes. (NYT, 2010/01/28)

As regards 35 instances of international rules, 13 of them are related to China's performance with these rules, while 11 are concerned with American performance with these rules. In the eleven Chinese cases, China is constructed as either a "rule violator" or "a cunning rule speculator". Examples are as follows:

> (22) In its last month's report on American business in China, the American Chamber of Commerce for mainland China said the Chinese government's commitment to enforcing many W.T.O. **rules** had flagged. (NYT, 2003/10/29)

> (23) With China's exports soaring, even as other major economies struggle to recover from the recession, evidence is mounting that Beijing is skillfully using inconsistencies in international trade **rules** to spur its own economy at the expense of others, including the

United States. (NYT, 2010/03/15)

The first example states that China fails to observe WTO rules, while the second example even suggests that China takes advantage of international trade rules. These two examples make explicit NYT's negative representations of China. American performance with these rules is tactically represented. On the one hand, they are concerned about the punishment of China. On the other hand, they stress the US government's observance of the rules.

(24) He said he thought the United States could impose countervailing duties against China without violating its own obligations under world trade **rules**. (NYT, 2010/09/15)

It has to be noted that even international trade rules are not fair as they claim. These rules and regulations are often laid down by powerful developed countries, which are used mainly to protect their interests. Even the globalizing agency WTO has been accused of being manipulated by developed countries to exploit poor nations (Hasan, 2003). As Gounari (2006: 81) notes, "neoliberalism with its regulatory agents, the IMF and the WTO, creates a world of two speeds, privileging wealthy over so-called 'developing' countries". The promotion of free market, low tax, minimal government control, openness to foreign investment, and flexible exchange rate can strengthen the competitive edge of the rich countries, because they tend to be more competitive in international market. In Gounari's (2006: 81) words, while emphasizing free markets, deregulation, and freedom from government, neoliberalism is not concerned about social costs and the consequences of implementing such an economic order. The economic crises in 2008 have brought its negative effects to the fore (Block et al., 2012). Therefore, the frequent reference to rules and regulations is not ideologically free. They are often exploited by developed countries like the US to accuse other developing countries of failing to comply with these rules as if these rules were universal, taking place in vacuum without any consequence and affected parties. However, as the above analysis shows, the reference to these rules also meets van

Dijk's (1998a) ideological square of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. From this perspective, China is either a rule-violator or an opportunist who uses these rules to its advantage. However, this is quite disputable. As Harvey (2005: 142) observes, "The US is…currently behaving in Keynesian fashion—running up enormous federal deficits and consumer debt while insisting that everyone else must obey neoliberal rules". Therefore, the emphasis on rules and law is ideological in two interrelated aspects, both in these rules and law themselves as well as in the exercise of these rules and law.

4.4.2 Analysis of selected key SMCs in CD

As analyzed above, some implicit evaluative SMCs suggest neoliberal ideology at work behind NYT's representation of the Renminbi issue. As a result of its overwhelming influence on the contemporary world, neoliberalism also finds its way into China in the last three decades, but it functions differently in China (Harvey, 2005; Wu, 2010). This part focuses on the analysis of three SMCs ("A2.1+ Change", "A2.2 Cause & effect/connection", and "A2.1- No Change") to examine how they contribute to the construction of CD's stance towards the issue.

A2.1+ Change

This SMC consists of expressions expressing the meaning of "change". It has 1122 occurrences (0.90%) in CD but 1346 (0.61%) in NYT. It is key in CD with a LL value of 92.28, ranking the 9^{th} in the key SMC list of CD. The high LL value suggests that it plays an important role in CD. The most frequently used tokens of this SMC in CD are *reform* (172), *development* (138), and *change* (83), while those in NYT are *change* (180), *become* (127), and *changes* (68). The difference suggests that NYT is concerned primarily with the change in Renminbi's value, but CD stresses not only the change in Renminbi's value but, more importantly, the reform of the exchange rate system and China's economic development. In fact, *reform* and *development* have become two buzzwords of contemporary China as a result of China's campaign for reform and opening up in the last three decades.

The top 5 lexical collocates of *reform* are *exchange* (77), *rate* (57), *currency* (29), *China* (28), and *foreign* (27). Therefore, the reform mentioned here refers primarily to currency reform and exchange rate reform. Three types of reform can be identified through a close analysis of each concordance line: *currency reform* (24), *exchange rate reform* (24), and *foreign exchange reform* (14). They suggest that China is willing to improve its exchange rate policy. This can also be witnessed in these verbs and verbal phrases occurring frequently with it, such as *speed up*, *intensify*, *take further steps*, *steadily advance*, *continue to*, etc. They all suggest that China will make further progress in reforming its exchange rate policy. Meanwhile, CD gives a positive evaluation of China's current or previous exchange rate or currency reforms, as in the following:

(25) "The figures showed that progressive currency **reform** since July 2005 was <u>successful</u>, and the government should accelerate the reform and further free the yuan in the next five years to promote healthy, long-term economic development," Lu said.

(CD, 2011/02/14)

However, while acknowledging the necessity for reform, CD also emphasizes the basic principles of Chinese exchange rate reform, and national pride is often entertained in these cases. The basic idea is that exchange rate reform is China's own affair. It should "start with the logic of internal reform, internal agenda and needs", "in accordance with China's economic conditions". Exchange rate reform does not mean yuan appreciation; instead, it should be carried out in a gradual and controllable way.

(26) Li said that as the pressure for yuan appreciation is abating, the Chinese government would **reform** the currency regime <u>at its own pace</u> without <u>bowing to foreign pressure</u>.

(CD, 2010/05/20)

Therefore, both globalism and nationalism can be identified in the construction of CD's stance towards the Renminbi issue. Although China is willing to reform its exchange rate to make it more market-oriented as required by neoliberalism, China insists that this must take place gradually under China's control and in accordance with China's own interests. CD's representation of exchange rate or currency reform is thus characterized by a "hybridized" nature, which Harvey (2005: 120) calls "neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics".

This is further supported by the examination of the token *development*. Its top five lexical collocates are *economic* (39), *research* (25), *China's* (20), *said* (18), and *state* (18). Among the 39 instances of *economic*, 31 occurs at the L1 position of *development*, which means that economic development is highly valued in CD. A close examination of its concordances reveals that it underlines that exchange rate reform must be in accordance with and supportive of China's economic development. This is consistent with the Chinese government's "development-first" ideology since China's opening up in the 1980s. Besides, external pressure has also been rejected through emphasizing China's sovereignty over the issue. Examples are as follows:

(27) "Any changes in the foreign exchange will be decided by China's needs for supporting domestic **economic development**, rather than foreign pressure".

(CD, 2010/06/28)

(28) Based on above analysis and the fact that the renminbi has already appreciated in recent years, we deem the current renminbi exchange rate and its formation mechanisms are <u>compatible</u> with the current stage of China's **economic development**, and that this is a <u>basically reasonable</u> arrangement. (CD, 2003/11/10)

Example (27) emphasizes that exchange rate reform must first meet the needs of

China's economic development, and Example (28) gives a positive evaluation of China's current exchange rate reform by emphasizing that it suits the needs of China's economic development. Therefore, economic development is regarded as a fundamental criterion for evaluating Chinese exchange rate reform. It is favorable only when it is compatible with Chinese economic development. This idea is also legitimized through emphasizing the contribution of China's economic development to global economy, as in the following:

(29) First, China's steady **economic development** constitutes a persistent stimulant for the growth of world trade. (CD, 2003/11/10)

An equation has thus been made between Chinese and global economic development, and the gap between national and global space has been bridged. According to Fairclough (2004), discourse in late modernity is characterized by the processes of establishing, negotiating and legitimizing space-times and relations between space-times. The present strategy of bridging the gap between national and global spaces represents one of the typical strategies employed by CD in appropriating neoliberal discourses to China's advantage.

A2.1- No Change

This SMC contains expressions expressing the meaning of "no change". However, it contains words expressing primarily the meaning of "stability" rather than "unchanged", as can be witnessed in the most frequently used tokens—*stability* and *stable*—in both newspapers. This SMC is found key in CD, with a LL value of 58.64. The value of stability is thus much more emphasized in CD than in NYT. If the emphasis on change can be viewed as an influence of neoliberal ideology, the emphasis on stability is typical of Chinese economic and political discourses in which stability and harmony are highly valued. This is consistent with Confucius ideology of a harmonious society. The most frequently used token *stability* is examined here to reveal its role in the construction of CD's attitudinal stance towards the issue.

Stability has 75 occurrences (0.06%) in CD but only 53 occurrences (0.02%) in NYT. It is thus also key in CD when compared with its occurrence in NYT, with a LL value of 27.07. In CD, *stability* is used in primarily two different ways. First, it is used mainly to refer to the stability of China's exchange rate policy, which accounts for 41% of its total occurrences (31 out of 75). In these cases, *stability* is used frequently with word types such as *maintain* (17), *support* (2), *guarantee* (1), *wise* (3), and *prefer* (1). They communicate the meaning that stability is something that is required or favored, as in the following:

> (30) "We strongly recommend China maintain the **stability** of its renminbi and not to initiate any reforms against stability of its banking industry for the time being," said Gulliver. (CD, 2003/09/18)

Besides, *stability* is also used to discuss the impact of Chinese exchange rate policy on the stability of Chinese and global financial and economic system. Among the remaining 44 occurrences, almost half of them (48%, 21 out of 44) are used in this way. In these cases, *stability* is found occurring with expressions which give a positive evaluation of Chinese exchange rate policy, such as *contribute*/*contribution* (6), *benefit* (3), *conducive* to (1), and *safeguard* (1). See the following example:

> (31) Keeping the rate at a "reasonable, balanced level" will contribute to economic **stability** and help restructure the Chinese economy with greater emphasis on services and consumption, it said. (CD, 2010/06/21)

However, China's exchange rate policy is discussed in terms of its influence on the stability of not only Chinese economy (11) but also regional (2) and global economy (8), as in the following:

(32) "Appreciation or floating of the renminbi would involve a major change in China's international monetary policy and have important consequences for growth and **stability** in China and the **stability** of Asia," Mundell said. (CD, 2003/09/15)

(33) Exports "cannot reach pre-crisis levels for two to three years", and therefore, a stable Chinese currency will not only help Chinese exporters "hold on to their competitive edge", but also "benefit the **stability** of the global economy".

The blurring of the distinction between stability of Chinese economy and global economy represents a typical strategy that CD employs to resist the overwhelming force of neoliberalism and justify and legitimize Chinese exchange rate policy. Therefore, *stability* is used in CD as both a means and an end.

A2.2 Cause & effect/connection

This SMC is crucial, because one of the important strategies of neoliberal hegemony, Gounari (2006) argues, is the dichotomization of neoliberal doctrines and their impacts on reality. On the one hand, neoliberalism privileges market logic and depicts it as inevitable and universal. On the other hand, it deliberately avoids talking about its real impact on people and the social costs incurred by the implementation of this new economic order. Therefore, one way of contesting neoliberal hegemony is to make a linkage between economic events and social consequences. From this perspective, the emphasis on this SMC can be viewed as a typical strategy for arguing against the accusations from the US government.

It has 1072 occurrences (0.86%) in CD but 1346 occurrences (0.60%) in NYT, so it is highly key In CD, with a LL value of 73.89. The most frequently used tokens in this SMC of CD are *impact* (126), *lead to* (61), and *result* (60), which suggest that it is the impact rather than causes that is highly valued in CD. As suggested by van Eemeren et al. (1987: 30), one of typical argumentative strategies is to highlight the potential consequences without disputing the rightness of the thesis. This is in contrast to the use of this SMC in NYT, which highlights causes as suggested by the most frequently used expression *because of* (92). The present analysis focuses on the use of *impact* in order to confirm whether it is used to argue against the US's accusations. It has only 61 occurrences (0.03%) in NYT, so it is also highly key in CD, with a LL value of 76.09. The top 10 lexical collocates of *impact* are *negative* (16), *appreciation* (14), *yuan* (14), *currency* (12), *said* (11), *exports* (10), *China's* (9), *economy* (9), *country's* (7), *economic* (7), and *exchange* (7). They suggest that it is used primarily to discuss the impact of Renminbi appreciation on China's economy and exports.

Of the 126 instances, 86 discuss the potential impacts of Renminbi appreciation. It supports my previous assumption that *impact* is used to underline the possible impact of yuan policy change. A further distinction can be made between different evaluations of the potential impact of yuan policy change: (a) positive, (b) negative, and (c) neutral. 40 instances are identified as communicating positive evaluation, 30 as communicating negative evaluation and 16 as communicating neutral evaluation. These positive evaluations involve such expressions as *limited*, *little*, *positive*, *small*, and *not significant*. They appear together with *impact*, downplaying the extent of impact. These negative evaluations highlight or dramatize the extent of impact by using such expressions as *negative*, *adverse*, *devastating*, *substantial*, *irreversible* and *profound*. However, there are some instances in which the exact impact is not clear or uncertain. *Impact* is used with such expressions as *different*, *neutral*, *not clear*, *unclear*, *unpredictable*, and *too early to give a conclusion*. Examples are as follows:

(34) Ma Shengguo, chairman of Ningxia Zhongyin Cashmere Co, China's largest cashmere fiber exporter, said the yuan appreciation will have a <u>limited</u> **impact** on his company as most of its overseas contracts were signed under a promised exchange rate.

(CD, 2010/09/08)

(35) Though the <u>actual</u> **impact** from currency appreciation on China's hospitality industry is

not yet clear, both hoteliers and guests are paying close attention to further action from Beijing. (CD, 2010/07/06)

(36) "A rapid yuan appreciation would inevitably have a negative **impact** on exporters, and eventually employment," said Song Hong, a researcher on international trade at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. (CD, 2010/09/22)

One important finding is that the impact of Renminbi appreciation is more positively than negatively evaluated in CD. This is in contradiction to my previous assumption that *impact* is used primarily to argue against the request for Renminbi appreciation. *Impact* is frequently used to discuss the impact of Renminbi appreciation on Chinese exports and economies. Those companies that are described as benefiting from or not affected by Renminbi appreciation is the oil company and the airlines. It also describes those people who benefit from Renminbi appreciation—people traveling or studying abroad. What they suggest is that Renminbi appreciation will not bring a large impact on China and its concerned parties, so its primary function is to appease the public rather than argue against the US's request for Renminbi appreciation. In terms of negative evaluations, they are used to describe the influences of Renminbi appreciation on China's economy, banking industry, steel industry, oil companies as well as the stock market. However, they are also used to stress the limited impact of Renminbi appreciation on *global current account imbalances*, *decreasing the trade surplus with the US*, and *trade imbalance*. Therefore, the impact of Renminbi appreciation is negatively evaluated in terms of not only its influence on China and its concerned parties but also its effects on addressing the problems it is supposed to resolve. These instances where the impact of Renminbi appreciation is not clearly stated actually convey a prudent attitude. While they suggest that Renminbi appreciation is bound to bring a certain impact on these industries like hospitality, they refuse to make a hasty judgment as regards what kinds of impact it will bring.

To sum up, the use of *impact* in CD is thus very ambivalent. On the one hand, it is used to emphasize that Renminbi appreciation will not have a large impact on China’s economy and some industries. It is sometimes even used to highlight the positive impact of Renminbi appreciation. On the other hand, it also suggests the possible negative impact of Renminbi appreciation on China as well as the limited impact of Renminbi appreciation on solving the global trade imbalances. However, the overall analysis of *impact* shows that the impact of Renminbi appreciation is more positively than negatively evaluated. This ambivalent use of *impact* can only be explained in terms of the particular professional persona of CD as well as the complicated nature of the currency dispute. Although the Chinese government has been reluctant to let the Renminbi appreciate, it has adjusted its policy several times in the last decade. Especially in 2005, a reform was carried out, and since then the Chinese government has let its Renminbi appreciate gradually. Therefore, while the negative use of *impact* can be viewed as a strategy of dramatizing the impact of Renminbi appreciation and legitimizing Chinese exchange rate policy, *impact* is more frequently used to justify China’s exchange rate policy changes and appease the public in order to construct a positive image of the Chinese government. This can be supported by the plot of *impact* in CD corpus.

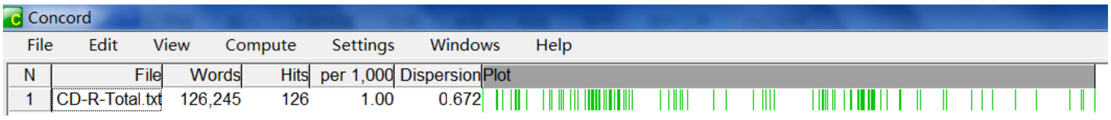

Figure 4.1 Plot of *impact* in CD

It can be seen that *impact* is not evenly distributed in CD. It occurs much more frequently in 2005 and 2010. In 2005, the reform over Renminbi exchange rate was carried out, and in 2010 the debate over Renminbi exchange rate became the fiercest, because China refused to let the Renminbi further appreciate. Therefore, the use of *impact* is not to challenge the market logic behind the neoliberal hegemony, but just to defend China’s stance towards the currency dispute and construct a positive image for the Chinese government and its occasional exchange rate policy changes. In other words, the dispute exists only in how and when to let the Renminbi appreciate rather than in whether the Renminbi should appreciate. Underlying the dispute still lies the neoliberal hegemony.

4.5 Summary

To sum up, this chapter has given a semantic analysis of attitudinal stance in two newspapers, focusing on the analysis of evaluative prosody and evoked attitudinal stance. The analysis of evaluative prosody reveals that two newspapers demonstrate completely different evaluative tones, with CD characterized by an apparent positive prosody and NYT by an apparent negative prosody. Besides, they also differ in the types of evaluative meanings expressed, with NYT emphasizing emotional feelings, CD stressing institutionalized feelings (i.e., appreciation and judgment). These different explicit evaluative key SMCs shed light on two newspapers' different attitudinal stances towards Renminbi appreciation as well as their different professional personae and reporting styles. In terms of the evoked attitudinal stance, two newspapers also show distinct differences in the preference for certain key SMCs. A detailed analysis of some selected key SMCs in the two newspapers can reveal not only their different stances towards Renminbi appreciation but also the ideologies underlying their choices. In particular, NYT is characterized by a neoliberal hegemony which highlights the doctrines of free market, minimal intervention, and the rule of law. However, CD is found adopting a hybridized discourse which appropriates and recontextualizes the dominant neoliberal ideology to its own advantage. While acknowledging the necessity of adopting a market-oriented exchange rate policy, CD insists on setting the pace at its own will and to its advantage by highlighting the impact of exchange rate reform on Chinese and global economy and the importance of stability in exchange rate policy.

Chapter 5 Positioning: Grammatical Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to examine how each newspaper positions themselves and their putative readers in the representation of the currency dispute, based on the view that "a negotiation between speaker's and addressee's worldviews is inherent in every act of communication" (Connor-Linton, 2001: 84). Westin (2002: 62) also argues that there are two competing forces that affect the use of features suggesting personal involvement: "the growing interest among the authors to make the language of their newspapers more 'reader-friendly' on the one hand, and their striving for explicitness and matter-of-factness on the other". The particular way of positioning is one of the important features that distinguish newspapers from different discourse systems. However, unlike Chapter 4 which relies on semantic analysis of word choices, this chapter is based primarily on an analysis of three grammatical patterns—**pronouns**, **modals**, and **stance adverbs**, which have been known for their particular roles in constituting and revealing writer-reader relationships in news texts. Of particular concern to the present study are issues such as the dialogical nature of language use (Martin & White, 2005; P. R. White, 2003), power and solidarity (Martin & White, 2005), and face and politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

5.2 The use of pronouns

As an important and ubiquitous linguistic phenomenon, the use of personal pronouns has been extensively examined, and one of the primary concerns is their role in the construction of social relations and identities (e.g., Koller & Mautner, 2004; Wodak et al., 1999; Huang, 2007; Fairclough, 1995a). In a pioneer study, Brown and Gilman (1960) have already pointed out that the choice of second person singular pronouns in some languages is constrained by power relationships, such as *tu* and *vous* in French, *du* and *Sie* in German, etc. Recent studies have also demonstrated that the use of pronouns is often constrained by a number of social and interpersonal issues, such as power distance, formality, solidarity, intimacy, and casualness. As Fowler (1991: 35) suggests, these pronouns represent social relationships and are "part of the mechanisms for reproducing the orders of power".

The choice of pronouns in media is thus of great interest to media studies (Huang, 2007; Bramley, 2001; Attenborough, 2011; Liu, 2012). For example, Bramley's (2001) study on pronoun uses in political interviews has exposed how they help to construct the identities of "self" and "other". Huang (2007) also examined the use of *we* and *they* in Chinese New Year's editorials to construct social identities and social relations among social actors. One basic assumption underlying these studies is that the use of these pronouns must be closely examined in its context. As Fowler (1991: 99) cautions, "the interpretation of such data as names and pronouns is an extremely delicate process, dependent on a precise knowledge of context". It will be misleading to assign a fixed social value to a certain pronoun. Even the use of so-called value-loaded pronouns like *tu* and *vous* can be very complicated in specific contexts. Although English does not make such a distinction, Fairclough (1989: 127) argues that "pronouns in English do have relational values of different sorts". Typical examples are the pronouns *we* and *you*.

Previous studies have also revealed that the use of personal pronouns varies with different registers such as spoken vs. written and fictional vs. academic (e.g., Biber et al., 2002; Biber et al., 1999; Biber, 1988, 2006a). Biber (1988) suggests that first and second person pronouns are closely related to personal involvement. Westin's (2002) diachronic investigation of the use of pronouns in English newspaper editorials (1900-1993) also exposes a declining trend in the use of first person pronouns and the pronoun *it*. In this part, I first present a general picture of the use of these pronouns in CD and NYT, and my analysis focuses only on these subjective personal pronouns, excluding their objective and genitive forms (such as *me*, *my*, *our*, *her*, *his*, and *him*)

(Quirk et al., 1985). With the help of Wordsmith 5.0, the findings about their actual and normalized (per million) frequencies are summarized in Table 5.1 and illustrated in Figure 5.1.

Table 5.1 Information about pronouns in CD and NYT

		I	we	you	he	she	it	they	Total
CD	**Actual**	97	235	29	557	50	771	192	1931
	Norm.	726	1759	217	4169	374	5771	1437	14453
NYT	**Actual**	286	348	127	1033	65	1553	684	4096
	Norm.	1201	1461	533	4337	273	6521	2872	17199

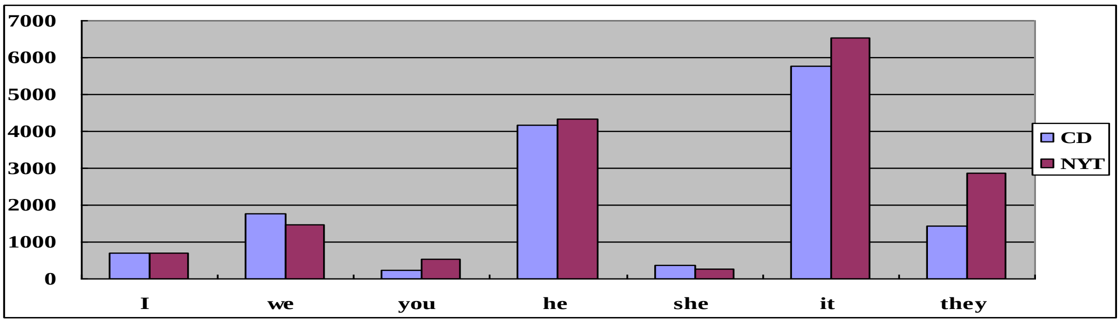

Figure 5.1 Information about pronouns in CD and NYT (per million words)

As Figure 5.1 shows, CD and NYT display similar overall tendencies in the use of these pronouns. In terms of the total amount of these pronouns, the two newspapers do not show much difference. This differs from the findings of previous studies, which demonstrate that Chinese English learners tend to overuse English pronouns in written English (e.g., Wen et al., 2003; Zhao & Shang, 2012). Third person pronouns (i.e. *he*, *she*, *it*, and *they*) are used much more frequently than first person pronouns (i.e. *I* and *We*) and second person pronouns (i.e. *you*). This can be attributed to the unique nature of news reporting, that is, “reporting the words of others to its readers rather than directly interact with them”. The pronoun *it* has the highest frequency in both newspapers, followed by *he*. Both *you* and *she* are the least frequently used two pronouns in CD and NYT. This is quite understandable in view of the fact that the data we examine are news reports rather than editorials or other genres. Since news reports are concerned with objectivity, it is not surprising that *it* is the most frequently used word. The rare use of *she* in both newspapers can be attributed to the fact that female social actors do not have a frequent access to these news reports on the Renminbi issue. This is in sharp contrast to the high frequency of the pronoun *he*, which suggests that the majority of these social actors are male. *You* is also not frequently used in news reports, because it is a prominent feature of interactive communication (Westin, 2002: 53).

However, compared with NYT, CD features a higher frequency in the use of pronouns like *we* and *she*, but a lower frequency in the use of the remaining pronouns such as *you*, *he*, *it*, and *they*. The frequent use of the impersonal pronoun *it* is often associated with the inexplicit lexical content of spoken language (Biber, 1986; Connor-Linton, 2001: 90). This is because it can stand for any referent, and the recovery of its referent requires plenty of interpretative efforts. The frequent use of *it* in writing reflects "a high degree of confidence on the part of the author that the reader will be able to recover the referent of *it*" (Connor-Linton, 2001: 90). The reader has to take responsibility for its interpretation, and the frequent use of *it* thus contributes to "an overlapping or convergence of author's and reader's perspective" (Connor-Linton, 2001: 90). Therefore, the less frequent use of *it* in CD suggests the more explicit use of language (Westin, 2002: 48). Two newspapers show similar trends in the use of the first person singular pronoun *I*, which only appears in quotations in both newspapers. This is because news reporters are not supposed to report the voices of others rather than speak for themselves (cf. Westin, 2002: 43). The following studies mainly focus on the use of *we* and *you* in both newspapers. Chilton and Schäffner (1997: 217) argue that the pronouns like *you* and *we* "have a special function in producing a social and political 'space' in which the speaker, the audience, and others are 'positioned'". Since "there is no invariant relationship between form and meaning" (Fowler, 1991:

99), the following part gives a close analysis of two pronouns that are closely related to power and solidarity: *we* and *you*.

5.2.1. The second person pronoun *you*

Only 29 instances of *you* are found in CD. They are distributed only in 14 news texts, which means that only 6.1% (14 out of 228) of the total news texts include the pronoun *you*. This small figure suggests that *you* is not frequently used in CD. In contrast, NYT has all together 127 instances of *you*, with a normalized frequency (533) twice as high as that of CD (217). Figures 5.2 and 5.3 show the plots of the pronoun *you* in CD and NYT respectively.

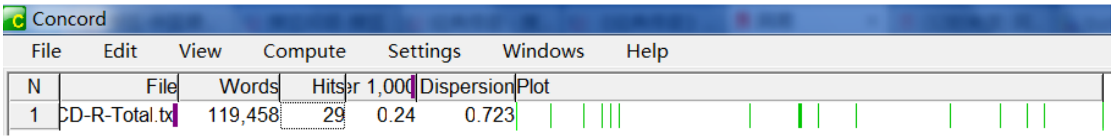

Figure 5.2 The plot of *you* in CD

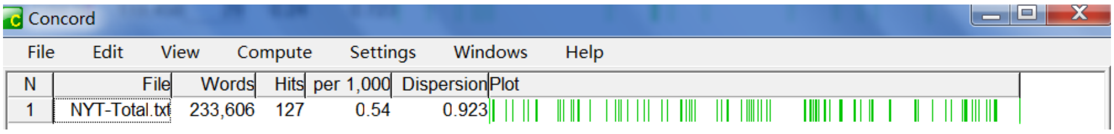

Figure 5.3 The plot of *you* in NYT

A plot shows where a word occurs in a corpus, and the dispersion value measures how uniformly they are distributed in the corpus (Scott, 2008). The higher the value is, the more uniform its distribution is. As Figures 5.2 and 5.3 show, the dispersion value of *you* in CD is 0.723, while the dispersion value of *you* in NYT reaches 0.923, which suggests that *you* is more evenly distributed in NYT than in CD. Therefore, *you* is only sporadically used in CD. The difference indicates that the use of *you* is more a feature of these new reports in NYT than a feature of those in CD.

Further analysis of *you* in NYT shows that 87.4% of occurrences (111 out of 127) are used in quotations. However, the frequent use of *you* in NYT can not be simply attributed to the original features of these represented speeches, in view of the fact that represented speeches are also, or even more, frequently used in CD (see discourse representation analysis in Chapter 7). As Morrish (2002: 178) argues, "one's use of discourse interpersonally positions one and reveals affiliations in the same way that a subject pronoun positions the subject as the first person, the second, or the third". It is argued, therefore, that the frequent use of *you* in NYT can be understood in terms of the "interactive" and "dialogic" nature of the news reports in NYT. This is further supported by the analysis of *you* in specific contexts. 76.4% of them (97 out of 127) are used in a generic way, with no specific reference. For example,

(1) "If **you** look back over the last year, there is reason for caution," the official added. "Does this represent a change? Or does it mean that the Chinese are letting us feel good about the Paulson trip and then planning to go back to what they were doing." (NYT, 2006/09/29)

(2) "As **you** know, there is resistance in both our countries to greater integration into the global economy", Mr. Paulson said. "and there is also skepticism that this dialogue will accomplish anything of substance". He said he had "no doubt" that positive results could come out of the talks. (NYT, 2006/12/14)

They can be viewed as a strategy to engage putative readers, even though they are not used directly by journalist writers. In this sense, we can say that NYT is more interpersonal and dialogic than CD in that it addresses readers directly through the speeches of these represented speakers. According to Fairclough (1995a: 181), the use of the indefinite pronoun *you* claims solidarity instead of authority, because "*you* is a colloquial form in contrast to the mainly written *one*, it belongs to a life world discourse, and its use claims membership of a shared life world".

5.2.2. The first person plural pronoun *we*

Another interesting finding is that the first person plural pronoun *we* tends to be used more frequently in CD than in NYT. Quirk et al. (1985) identify several special uses of *we*, such as the "inclusive authorial" *we*, the "editorial" *we*, the "rhetorical" *we*, and *we* as a reference to the hearer or a third person. Chilton and Schäffner (1997: 217-218) argue that the pronoun *we* and its variants can be used to "assume or manufacture internal consensus" and position the speakers and others in relation to other parties in conversations. Wodak et al. (1999: 45) point out that the first-person pronoun *we* is the most complicated type and can encompass all other personal pronouns. Generally, it consists of two types and four sub-types: an addressee-inclusive and addressee-exclusive *we* and a speaker-inclusive and speaker-exclusive *we*. While previous studies have demonstrated that it is still primarily used for the construction of in-group identity, Huang (2007: 110) argues that the inclusive *we* and exclusive *we* signal varied power relations between the individual authority, institutional authority and the public. However, the analysis of *we* in functional terms, as Westin (2002: 44) suggests, is difficult, because it is sometimes very hard to draw a clear distinction between them. The present analysis focuses on the use of inclusive *we* and exclusive *we* and their roles in establishing power relations.

In view of the large number of *we* in both newspapers, one third of them are randomly sampled for close analysis, so 77 concordance lines are extracted from CD, 123 from NYT. The majority of them in both newspapers appear in quotations (89.6% in CD, and 97.6% in NYT). As mentioned above, this is not surprising considering the fact that writers of news reports are not allowed to speak directly for themselves (Westin, 2002: 43). Conrad and Biber (2001: 88) argue that "the more frequently a referential entity is referred to as 'we/us' or as 'they/them', the more salient that the entity is assumed to be in the interpretative map offered by the author". However, different ways of referring to an entity actually have different communication effects. The former "identifies the author—and often the reader—with that entity", while the latter "distances author and reader from that entity" (Conrad & Biber, 2001: 88). Besides, the use of these pronouns also puts forward a high demand of interpretative efforts, requiring them to take the author's viewpoints and assign the pronouns to their referents.

Further analysis of *we* reveals that the majority of its occurrences in both newspapers are used in the inclusive way, 64.9% (57 out of 77) in CD and 57.7% (71 out of 123) in NYT. Only a small percentage of them are exclusive *we,* which refer to a specific group of concerned people. Fairclough (1995a: 181) points out that inclusive *we* in political discourse can serve two functions simultaneously: "On the one hand they claim solidarity by placing everyone in the same boat, but, on the other hand, they claim authority in that the leader is claiming the right to speak for the people as a whole". The use of inclusive *we* in these news reports is certainly authoritative, because only these authoritative people are allowed to speak for a specific group of people, or people in a nation, or people as a whole. However, it definitely helps to create the reading position for readers to read the news from the perspective of represented speakers.

This is further confirmed by the analysis of the referents of these instances of inclusive *we*. In CD, apart from the "all inclusive" or "inclusive authorial" *we*, 28 refer to China, while 10 refer to the US. Those referring to China are found occurring frequently with modals like *should*, *need to,* and the volitional *will*, while these referring to the US do not. This suggests that the use of inclusive *we* in CD communicates a high sense of power. In NYT, the majority of them (40) refer to the US, and only 3 of them are related to *China*. However, instead of occurring with those modal expressions indicating a high power distance, these referring to the US often occur directly with some cognitive verbs such as *want*, *know*, and *anticipate*. While the pronoun *we* can be viewed as a discursive strategy for claiming solidarity (Fairclough, 1995a; Liu, 2012), it has to be noted that it can also be used for claiming authority, and that different newspapers may vary in the degrees of claiming authority. In the present study, CD's preference for *we* is noted for both authority construction and solidarity seeking.

5.3 Modals

Modals, or modality in general, are concerned with the degree to which a speaker or writer is committed to the claim he or she is making (Halliday, 1994). Although modality may be a peripheral area of study to some researchers, Richardson argues that "they provide a window into the political functions and, particularly…the potential political *effects* of the language of journalism" (2007: 62), because they constitute "a major exponent of the interpersonal function of language" (Simpson, 1993: 47). Halliday (1994) discusses modality in terms of the interpersonal function of language, i.e. "the function of establishing and maintaining relationships between people". It is part of the finite element of the clause and serves the function of "circumscribing" the clause, making it down-to-earth so that it can be argued about. While modality can be expressed through a variety of lexico-grammatical resources (Halliday, 1994; Biber et al., 1999; Conrad & Biber, 2000; Hunston, 2006), modal verbs are always at the core in the realizations of modality. This part focuses on their contributions to the establishment of writer-reader power relations in two newspapers.

Modals have been among the most frequently examined stance markers in the last few decades (Gales, 2010; Biber et al., 1999; Liu, 2010). Different modals tend to communicate different levels of authority (Baker, 2006: 160). In a comparative study of English and Spanish newspapers, Hidalgo (2008: 128) argues that different types of newspapers can be distinguished by their preference for different types of modality. A more "conservative" newspaper tends to be characterized by a higher frequency of deontic modals, while a newspaper with a "progressive" orientation is expected to use more markers of epistemic modality and evidentiality. This is because deontic markers are associated with "authoritative and manipulative style", while epistemic and evidential markers are closely related to “a less authoritative and more cautious style”.

Table 5.2 General information about the use of central modals in CD and NYT

		CD		NYT	
Rank	**Words**	**Actual**	**Normal.**	**Actual**	**Normal.**
1	will	1016	7605	709	2977
2	should	275	2058	176	739
3	can	99	741	198	831
4	may	221	1654	263	1104
5	must	41	307	72	302
6	would	437	3271	1026	4308
7	could	157	1175	464	1948
8	might	43	322	169	710
9	shall	1	7	0	0
Total		**2290**	**17140**	**3077**	**12920**

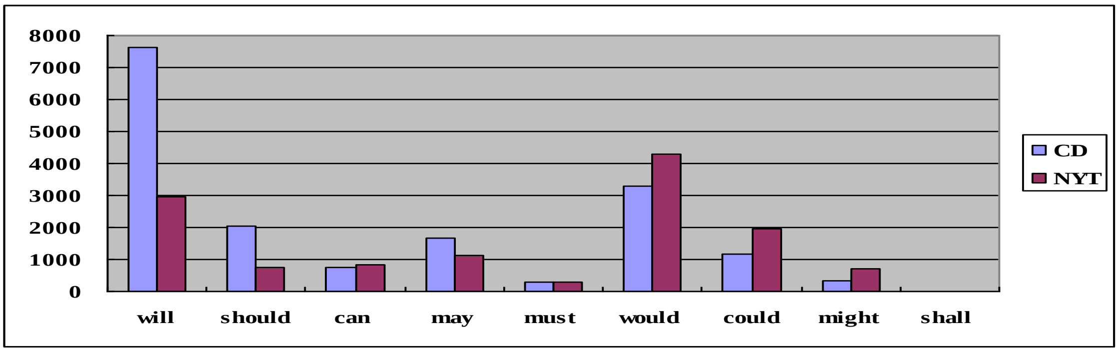

Figure 5.4 General Information about the use of central modals in CD and NYT

In this part, I compare the use of the so-called “central modals” and “semi-modals” in English first (Biber et al., 1999). In English, there are nine frequently used central modals: *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *must*, *shall*, *should*, *will*, and *would*. The general information about the use of these modals, including their actual and normalized frequencies (per million), is summarized in Table 5.2 and illustrated in Figure 5.4.

On the whole, CD tends to use more modals (17140 per million) than NYT (12920 per million). It is congruent with previous finding that learners or non-native English speakers tend to use more modal auxiliaries than native speakers of English, because native speakers may seek alternative language resources to express modality (Aijmer, 2002). The figure also demonstrates that *will* is the most frequently used modal in CD, while *would* is the most frequently used modal in NYT. Biber et al. (1999) found that *would* tends to occur more frequently than *will* in both American and British written fiction texts, while *will* is used much more frequently than *would* in the conversational discourse of both varieties. In NYT, *would* and *will* are used in a way similar to their use in American and English written fiction texts. According to Biber (2006b: 97-98), the difference between *will* and *would* lies in the fact that *will* can be used simply to predict future actions, while *would* has an underlying counterfactual force—"describing future events/actions that could occur, but with no necessary implication that those events actually will happen". Therefore, they tend to communicate different degrees of commitment to the proposition of the statement. The high frequency of *will* also indicates that CD focuses more on future plans or making predictions than on definite plans (Rayon, 2008).

Both newspapers, however, feature the rare use of the modal *shall*, with only 7 in CD but none in NYT. This is consistent with the finding of other studies that there is a decreasing trend in the use of *shall*, which is usually used only with first person pronouns today (Westin, 2002: 110; Quirk et al, 1985: 229-230; Biber et al., 1999: 496-496). While Biber (2006b: 103) found that *should* and *must* occur with similar frequencies in written university language, *should* is used more frequently than *must* in both newspapers. This might be due to the less face-threatening nature of *should*, because it is used in both newspapers more frequently as a suggestion than as an indicator of obligation (Biber, 2006b).

CD tends to have a comparatively higher frequency in the use of modals like *will, should, may*, while NYT features the more frequent use of *can*, *would*, *could*, and *might*. Bednarek's (2006a: 117-118) study reveals that *could* and *would* are used more frequently in tabloids than in broadsheets, while *will* and *may* are of greater significance in broadsheets than in tabloids. Coates (1982) also shows that *could* is more frequent in informal English, while *will* is more frequent in written English (cited in Bednarek, 2006a: 118). Biber's (2006b) study reveals that *may* is one of the few modals that tend to occur more frequently in written registers than in spoken registers. The difference between *can* and *may* resides in the fact that *can* expresses both ability and possibility meaning, while *may* only communicates the possibility meaning. From this perspective, CD tends to be more formal than NYT.

Similar analyses are also conducted on semi-modals. Following Biber et al. (1999), I focus on the six semi-modals: *have to*, *need to*, *(be) supposed to*, *(be) going to*, *ought to*, and *hand better*. Their actual and normalized occurrences are summarized in Table 5.3 and illustrated in Figure 5.5. Table 5.3 shows that the total frequencies of these semi-modals in CD (1130) and NYT (1297) are much similar. Besides, the most frequently used semi-modals in both newspapers are *have to*, *need to*, and (*be*) *going to*. However, *(be) supposed* to and *ought to* never appear in CD, while only *had better* fails to appear in NYT. This suggests that the use of semi-modals in NYT is more varied than in CD.

As regards the occurrences of individual semi-modals, CD has a relatively higher frequency in the use of *have to* and *had better*, while NYT demonstrates a higher frequency in the use of *need to, (be) going to, (be) supposed to,* and *ought to*. Since *(be) supposed to, ought to* and *had better* are all rarely used in both corpora, it can be said that CD puts more emphasis on obligation (*have to*), NYT on necessity (*need to*) and volition (*[be] going to*).

Table 5.3 General information about the use of semi-modals in CD and NYT

		CD		NYT	
Rank	**Semi-modals**	**Actual**	**Normal.**	**Actual**	**Normal.**
1	have to	65	487	88	370
2	need to	60	449	123	516
3	(be) supposed to	0	0	8	34
4	(be) going to	25	187	86	361
5	ought to	0	0	4	17
6	had better	1	7	0	0
Total		**151**	**1130**	**309**	**1297**

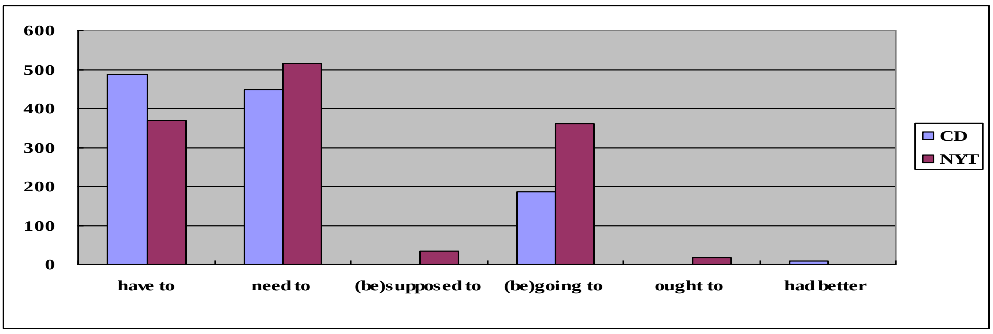

Figure 5.5 General information about the use of semi-modals in CD and NYT

In order to compare what types of modal meanings are emphasized in each newspaper, I classify the above modals and semi-modals into three types based on Biber' s (2006: 92) distinction between three modal groups:

Type 1 "volition/prediction": *will, would, shall, be going to*

Type 2 "obligation/necessity": *must, should, (had) better, have to, got to, ought to*

Type 3 "permission/possibility/ability": *can, could, may, might*

Although it is possible to make a distinction between different functions of the same modal expressions, it is not of my primary concern here, considering that the use of each modal is often characterized by its dominant function.

Table 5.4 The use of three categories of modals in CD and NYT

		CD	NYT
	words	**Normal.**	**Normal.**
Type 1	will	7605	2977
volition/prediction	would	3271	4308
	(be) going to	187	361
	shall	7	0
	Total	**11070**	**7646**
	should	2058	739
	must	307	302
Type 2	have to	487	370
obligation/necessity	(be) supposed to	0	34
	ought to	0	17
	had better	7	0
	Total	**2859**	**1461**
Type 3	can	741	831
permission/possibility/ability	may	221	1104
	might	322	710
	could	1175	1948
	Total	**2459**	**4594**

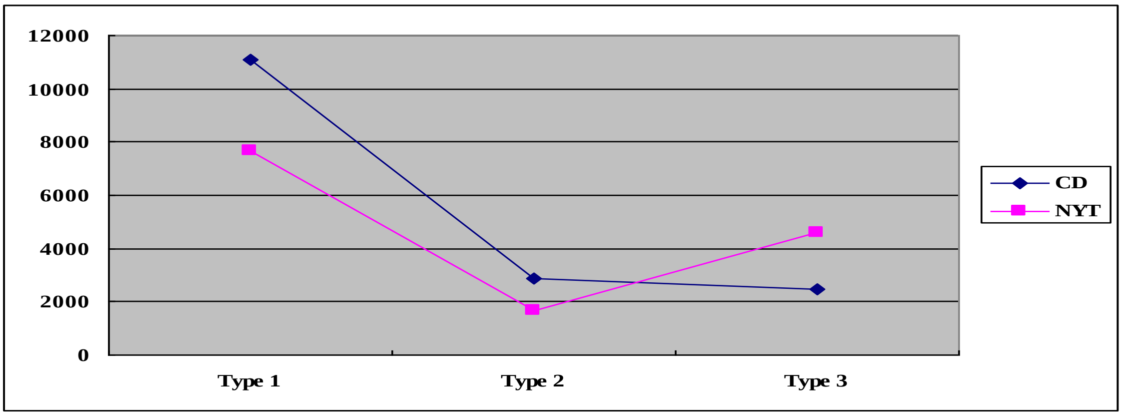

Figure 5.6 The use of three categories of modals in CD and NYT

Table 5.4 and Figure 5.6 show the use of three groups of modals in two newspapers. Both newspapers are characterized by the dominant use of modal expressions of "volition/prediction", which can be attributed both to the characteristics of modal use in English language itself as well as to the nature of business/finance news. Morley (2004: 244) emphasizes that even in so-called "news stories", it is equally "normal for journalists to make their own evaluations, report the comments of actors in the story, give background and indicate follow-up". As can be found in the British National Corpus (BNC), *will* and *would* are always the most frequently used modals in English. However, other studies have also found that business/finance news shows a preference for prediction modals (e.g., Morley, 2004). It has also been demonstrated in previous studies that necessity modals are always the least frequently used modals in a variety of registers and genres, but prediction modals are the most frequently used modals (e.g., Biber et al., 1999; Biber, 2006b; Gales, 2010). However, as Figure 5.6 shows, this is the case with NYT, but not with CD. In CD, "necessity/obligation" modals (3308) occur more frequently than "permission/possibility/ability" modals (2459). This shows that CD tends to put more emphasis on modals of "obligation/necessity", while NYT prefers modals of "permission/possibility/ability". This echoes Liu's (2010) similar finding about the use of modals in the editorials of CD. Both findings actually indicate that CD's preference for modals of "obligation/necessity" should not be attributed to the special features of a particular genre but to the nature of the newspaper itself. As Hidalgo (2008) argues, the preference for modals of "obligation" can be associated with a more "authoritarian" style, because it tends to establish a high power distance between writers and readers. Biber's (2006b) study also demonstrates that modals of "permission/possibility/ability" are very common in spoken registers, while "necessity/obligation" modals tend to appear very frequently in institutional writings. From a pragmatic point of view, the difference in modal uses can be explained in terms of Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework of positive and negative politeness (Precht, 2003). The preference for modals of "necessity/obligation" suggests that CD still tends to be more face-threatening, thus more authoritarian, than NYT.

5.4 Stance adverbs

It has been widely acknowledged that modal meanings can be expressed through various forms other than modal auxiliaries (Halliday, 1994; Conrad & Biber, 2000; Hunston, 2006). Hunston (2006) defines this type of expressions as "modal-like expressions", i.e. "expressions other than modal auxiliaries which express modal meaning" (p. 68). Biber et al. (1999) identify a number of adverbials that express epistemic stance, such as *in fact*, *possibly*, and *I think*. According to Hunston, this kind of modal-like expressions are important because they may "construct a more complex interaction between speaker and hearer, expressing other kinds of evaluative meanings and creating potential conflicts between points of view" (2006: 86). For example, *it is essential to* may appear to be less face-threatening and less personal than the expressions like *you should* or *you must*. Therefore, Hunston argues that:

> Modal-like expressions are an important resource in the expression of evaluation in English, expressing a complex interaction between assessment of certainty and assessment of value, exploiting the potential distance between points of view.
>
> (Hunston, 2006: 87)

Although modal meanings can be expressed at different levels of grammar (Stubbs, 1986), stance adverbs or adverbials are certainly another important means. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 440), stance adverbials are "related to the speaker's authority for, or comment on, the accompanying clause", because they "express an evaluation of what is being said either with respect to the form of the communication or to its meaning" (cited in Morley, 2004: 227). This part focuses on the use of stance adverbs in CD and NYT, with a view to investigating their role in each newspaper's stance construction, especially in the construction of each newspaper's positioning with respect to their putative readers.

Stance adverbs or adverbials have been investigated in a number of ways. Quirk et al. (1985: 615) make a distinction between style and content stance adverbials. The former convey "the speaker's comment on the style and form of what he is saying, defining in some way under what conditions he is speaking as the 'authority' for the utterance", while the latter "make observations on the actual content of the utterance and its truth conditions" (Quirk et al., 1985: 615). Biber et al. (1999: 853) define stance adverbials as those adverbials which "have the primary function of commenting on the content or style of a clause or a particular type of clause". They further identify three main types of stance adverbials: epistemic, attitude, and style. Both epistemic and attitude stance adverbials comment on the content of propositions, while style stance adverbials comment on the manner of speaking. The distinction between epistemic and attitude stance adverbials resides in the fact that the former "express the speaker's judgment about the certainty, reliability, and limitations of the proposition as well as the source of information", whereas the latter "convey the speaker's attitude or value judgment about the proposition's content" (Biber et al., 1999: 854).

Studies on stance adverbials have demonstrated that they tend to "vary somewhat systematically across particular registers, genre, and language varieties" (Gales, 2010: 113). Biber et al. (1999) compared the distribution of three types of stance adverbials in four registers (i.e., conversation, fiction, news, and academic prose), and made some important findings. For example, among the four registers, news has the lowest frequency of stance adverbials, and in all four registers, epistemic adverbials are more common than attitude or style adverbials. Overall, stance adverbials are more common in spoken register than in written register (see Biber & Finegan, 1988; Biber, 2006a). In a study on the specialized genre of threatening discourse, Gales (2010) found that the most frequently used are certainty adverbials, followed by adverbials of likelihood, style and attitude. Besides, stance adverbials are found serving not only literal but also interpersonal functions (e.g., Biber & Finegan, 1988; Biber et al., 1999; Thompson & Zhou, 2000; Bondi, 2002; Silver, 2003; Gales, 2010). Their literal functions are realized by the different semantic meanings they communicate, such as certainty, likelihood, attitude, etc. (see Biber et al., 1999). However, they can also "function on a metapragmatic level in order to enact and negotiate social relationships" (Gales, 2010: 114). It has been demonstrated that some stance adverbials can serve specific interpersonal functions in some contexts, such as actuality adverbials (Biber & Finegan, 1988), and the use of *evidently* in academic language (Silver, 2003).

The present analysis is based primarily on Biber's (2006a) distinction between three main types of stance adverbs: epistemic, attitude and style. Epistemic stance adverbs can be further classified into two sub-categories: certainty and likelihood stance adverbs. Each category consists of a list of stance adverbs, as in the following:

- **Epistemic**:

  Certainty: *actually, always, certainly, definitely, indeed, inevitably, in fact, never, of course, obviously, really, undoubtedly, without doubt, no doubt*

  Likelihood: *apparently, evidently, kind of, in most cases/instances, perhaps, possibly, predictably, probably, roughly, sort of, maybe*
- **Attitude**: *amazingly, astonishingly, conveniently, curiously, hopefully, even worse, fortunately, importantly, ironically, rightly, sadly, surprisingly, unfortunately*
- **Style**: *according to, confidently, frankly, generally, honestly, mainly, technically, truthfully,*

typically, reportedly, primarily, usually

(Biber, 2006a: 92)

However, in order to suit these categories to the present analysis, I also make a further distinction between **affect** and **evaluation** attitude stance adverbs (Cheng & Zhang, 2010). It has to be noted here that not all the categories of stance adverbs are ideal indicators of the interpersonal relations between writers and readers, for example, style stance adverbs. The present analysis thus focuses primarily on epistemic and attitude stance adverbs and their respective two sub-categories in CD and NYT. Besides, while previous studies used to adopt a corpus-based approach to the analysis of stance adverbs, i.e., starting with a list of stance adverbs of each category and identifying their occurrences in the corpora (e.g., Biber, 2006a; Cheng & Zhang, 2010), the present analysis combines a close examination of adverb lists of two corpora and those adverb lists provided by previous studies in order to guarantee an exhaustive examination of stance adverbs in two corpora.

Table 5.5 presents an overview of three main types of stance adverbs (in normalized frequencies)—epistemic, attitude, and style—in two newspapers.

Table 5.5 Three main categories of stance adverbs in CD and NYT

Types	**CD**	**NYT**
Epistemic	1317	1730
Attitude	1160	1663
Style of speaking	1759	1016
Total	**4236**	**4409**

As can be seen from the above table, the two newspapers show much similarity in the total frequencies of the three main types of adverbs. Overall, stance adverbs only account for a small share of the total number of words in both newspapers (about 0.4%). This can be attributed to the special nature of the genre of news reporting, which restrains it from using too many stance adverbs. This has been demonstrated in Biber et al's (1999) finding that of the four registers of conversation, fiction, news and academic prose, news is distinguished for the lowest frequency of stance adverbials. In terms of the frequencies of each type of stance adverbs, NYT, compared with CD, shows higher frequencies in both epistemic and attitude stance adverbs but a lower frequency in style of speaking stance adverbs. This suggests that NYT tends to show a preference for the use of adverbs to comment on the content of the propositions, while CD seems to prefer to use stance adverbs to comment on the style of speaking. While epistemic stance adverbs are the most frequently used in NYT, stance adverbs of style of speaking have the highest frequency in CD. This is in contrast to Biber et al's (1999) finding that epistemic adverbials are more common than attitude or style adverbials in all the four registers of conversation, fiction, news, and academic prose. However, a close examination of these adverbs of style of speaking reveals that this great discrepancy in the use of style of speaking stance adverbs is mainly due to the great difference in the use of *according to*, 1130 in CD but only 386 in NYT. This is consistent with Xin's (2008) finding, which also shows that *according to* tends to be used more frequently in CD than in NYT. Xin (2008) also points out that the use of *according to* in CD varies not only in frequencies but also in its functions. In NYT, it functions only as a linguistic tool to introduce source of voices, mostly common people. However, it is used in CD mainly to introduce the voices of authoritative people or institutions, so it not only introduces voices but also carries the implicature of authority.

Information about the frequencies of the sub-categories of epistemic and attitude stance adverbs is summarized in Table 5.6. It can be seen that the frequency of each sub-type in NYT is higher than that in CD. Affect stance adverbs are the least frequently used sub-type in both CD and NYT. This is especially true in CD, where affect stance adverbs can hardly be found. This is not surprising because the desire to create an objective and impartial image requires news reporters to refrain from explicitly expressing their personal affect in news reporting. However, some other studies (Bednarek, 2006a, 2008) have also pointed out that emotional expressions can contribute to the personalized nature of news reporting, thus enhancing its readability. The consequence is that news reporting is always involved in the constant conflict between the desire to use emotional expressions and the restraint on this desire (Bondi, 2007). The rare occurrences of affect stance adverbs in CD suggest that it tends to be more impersonalized than NYT, so it means that CD cares more about creating an authoritative and objective image than NYT.

Table 5.6 Sub-types of epistemic and attitude stance adverbs in CD and NYT

	CD		**NYT**	
Types	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**
Certainty	995	40.2%	1067	31.4%
Likelihood	322	13.0%	663	19.5%
Affect	67	2.7%	185	5.5%
Evaluation	1093	44.1%	1478	43.6%
Total	**2477**	**100%**	**3393**	**100%**

Evaluation stance adverbs are the most frequently used sub-type in both newspapers, followed by certainty and likelihood stance adverbs. However, despite the overall difference in the use of these stance adverbs by CD and NYT, CD puts more emphasis on certainty stance adverbs, while NYT prefers likelihood and affect stance adverbs. This suggests that CD cares more about certainty meanings, while NYT tends to communicate more about likelihood and affect meanings. Since certainty meanings emphasize the authority of the writers/speakers over readers, while likelihood meanings suggest the potential solidarity between them, it can be said that different preferences towards certainty, likelihood and affect stance adverbs suggest different power relations between writers and readers in CD and NYT. In order to support the above findings, the following part gives a close examination of these words used in each sub-type in order to explicate their roles in the construction of the respective stance of each newspaper, especially in the construction of power distance between each newspaper and their putative readers. The use of affect stance adverbs is not considered in view of their small occurrences in the two newspapers.

5.4.1 Certainty stance adverbs

All together 26 certainty stance adverbs have been identified (see Appendix 1). Among them, some are used with similar frequencies in both CD and NYT, such as *certainly*, *actually*, *naturally*, *truly*, and *undoubtedly*. *Actually* is the most frequently used word in both newspapers. However, some other certainty stance adverbs demonstrate great discrepancy in their uses in two newspapers. Some of them occur with a much higher frequency in CD than in NYT, such as *basically*, *definitely*, *in fact*, *fundamentally*, and *absolutely*. These words like *basically*, *definitely*, *fundamentally*, and *absolutely* emphasize to what degree/extent it is certain. Especially the words *definitely*, *fundamentally*, and *absolutely* communicate the highest degree of certainty. According to Oxford English Dictionary (OED), *absolutely* carries the meaning of “to the fullest extent, in the highest degree”. Therefore, these words carry a high degree of commitment to the truth of the content. The speaker/writer is directly responsible for making this kind of judgment through using these words. The use of these words represents a typical way of language use in authoritative media, which tends to make arbitrary claims for their readers. Their use thus communicates a high power distance and constructs an authoritative image for the newspaper.

Besides, the word *basically* is interesting here. It has the meaning of “essentially, at a basic and fundamental principle” (OED). However, what is basically true does not mean that it is true in all aspects. It carries the implicature that it may be wrong in some aspects, but in essence it is true. It is a cliché used in Chinese political and media discourse. Its preference in Chinese context results from its function in constructing a positive perspective. For example, no matter how bad the economy is, a politician can always say that the economy is "basically" good or ok. It is hardly disputable, because while saying that it is "basically" good, the speaker, on the one hand, acknowledges the actual poor economic performance, and, on the other hand, states his positive view of the phenomenon. In this sense, the word *basically* is inherently "dialogic" in its use. In the present corpora, 17 occurrences are found in CD, 13 in NYT. In terms of normalized frequencies, it is much more frequently used in CD (127 per million) than in NYT (55 per million). In CD, among the 17 occurrences, *basically* is found co-occurring with positive words *stable* (11), *reasonable* (3), *neutral* (1), and *balanced* (1). All but one are used to describe the exchange rate or Renminbi's value. This word is thus used mainly to defend Chinese exchange rate policy. Examples are as follows:

(3) Measured on this basis, the current renminbi exchange rate is **basically** neutral, and has not been artificially manipulated to boost China's exports. (CD, 2003/10/11)

(4) The central bank said it wants the yuan's exchange rate to be "**basically** stable on a reasonable equilibrium." (CD, 2005/07/22)

The first example emphasizes Chinese current exchange rate is "basically neutral", but it does not state that how neutral can be considered as "basically neutral", but it certainly acknowledges that it is not always neutral. So this kind of judgment is very vague, purely based on personal judgment and lack of evidential support. Even though it is very hard to challenge it, it also means nothing since it, in most cases, communicates just a personal belief. Likewise, the second example suggests that the central bank wants to keep the exchange rate "basically stable". However, it does not state how stable is basically stable as well as how this can be achieved. What it does communicate is that it certainly does not refuse to change and/or that the exchange rate is bound to change or fluctuate. This kind of vague judgment seldom appears in

NYT. An examination of its 13 occurrences in NYT reveals that almost all of them are used to report or quote this statement from the Chinese side, as in the following:

(5) In a news conference that lasted more than two hours at the close of China's annual legislative session, Mr. Wen repeated that China would keep its currency, the renminbi, "**basically** stable" despite calls by the United States and other developed nations to let its value increase. (NYT, 2010/03/14)

Therefore, it can be seen that *basically* is a typical adverb that characterizes Chinese news discourse rather than liberal news discourse. It has to be noted that not all people can make this judgment, and that not all people's judgment counts in news discourse in terms of the Renminbi issue. In the present data, this kind of judgment is often associated with elite people, including experts and officials at the top level. The preferential use of these terms thus suggests that CD prefers to claim authority for itself.

In contrast, NYT features a high frequency in the use of some other certainty stance adverbs, including *really*, *clearly*, *of course*, *apparently*, and *indeed*. These terms differ from those preferentially used in CD in that they lay the emphasis on the factual or evidential status of certainty, i.e., "in what way it is certain". They function as common ground markers with which the speaker/writer can establish common ground with his/her addressees. In other words, they presume that the speaker/writer shares the same knowledge and background about the content of the propositions with his/her (putative) addressees. This is similar to the function which Martin and White (2005: 122) identify as concurrence, which "involves formulations which overtly announce the addressee is agreeing with, or having the same knowledge as, some projected dialogic partner". However, common ground markers used here certainly extend the boundary of co-occurrence markers, because the latter may include *of course*, *apparently*, and *clearly* but not *really* and *indeed*. This is because *really* and *indeed* highlight the factual status, while *clearly* and *apparently* underline the evidential status. However, all these terms presume that the speaker/writer and his (putative) addressees share the same knowledge and can reach the same conclusion about what is claimed in the propositions. Take the use of *really* for example,

(6) “Historically, when the U.S. dollar was strong, currency exchange was never a concern,” Mr. Hope said. “Now, exchange rate turns into one of the first conversations, whereas before it was **really** at the bottom of the list.” (NYT, 2010/01/04)

In the above example, through using the adverb *really*, the speaker presumes that his putative addressees share the same concern with him, that is, “the issue of exchange rate may be at the bottom of the list”. This kind of shared knowledge behind the use of these common ground markers can also be revealed through the semantic prosody of their use in the corpora. *Really* can still be a good case of study. Among the 41 occurrences of *really* in NYT, 31 are found occurring in a negative environment, so the use of *really* carries a typical negative semantic prosody (see Table 5.7). The use of *really* is not, as is usually said, just for emphasis, but, more importantly, for stance construction here. On the one hand, it serves to acknowledge the same concern and knowledge basis between the speaker/writer and his (putative) addressees. On the other hand, it draws attention to the content of the statement, claiming that it is the core below the shared concern. To be specific, it is used in NYT to introduce critical viewpoints against the unexpected state.

Table 5.7 Concordances for *really* in NYT

. Counterfeiters "have a very good sense of the legal system," Mr. Gould said. "They	really	don't think they're going to be raided." Geithner Says China Has Faith in U.S.
of the Council on Foreign Relations, added: "How will he perform this miracle? It	really	is a mystery." So far, administration officials have not laid out how they plan to
This is making Chinese goods more expensive in Europe. "The slump in the euro has	really	affected our business, since Europe accounts for 80 percent of our business
borrowing costs. "At some point, the markets will make a judgment about,	really,	not our economic capacity but our political ability, our political will, to achieve
China seems different. "Not just the size, but the speed of China's emerging power is	really	unprecedented in the region," Mr. Lee said. "So it creates a lot of issues -- not
of Utah. But another Republican, Senator Michael B. Enzi of Wyoming, said, "I'm	really	disappointed that we're even voting on this," given that other nominees had
by the shares of state-owned companies. "The banking system in China does a	really	bad job of allocating capital," said Michael Pettis, a professor of finance at
In China There is renewed talk about the weak dollar. But don't believe it. Where it	really	counts, the dollar is not moving at all. In February, the dollar hit a high against
which are informally or explicitly linked to the dollar. "This level of the euro, we think,	really	is too much," he said. Weak Dollar? Not So Much In China There is renewed
Chinese economy at the Peterson Institute for International Economics. "They don't	really	have a voice. They just shrink and go out of business." While the renminbi,
countries. As much as China's Communist Party leaders may claim otherwise, they	really	do respond to international lobbying sometimes. The obvious question now is
setting up offices in China to forge links with entrepreneurs there, as they never	really	did in Japan. Economic events and market trends are notoriously unpredictable

Similar findings can be made about other adverbs like *of course*, *clearly*, *apparently*, and *indeed*. By using them, "addresser and addressee are thus presented as so thoroughly in alignment, and the proposition at issue so 'commonsensical', that agreement can be taken for granted" (Martin & White, 2005: 123). The preference for these adverbs in NYT indicates that it prefers to seek common ground with its readers rather than claim authority for itself.

5.4.2 Likelihood stance adverbs

12 stance adverbs have been identified for expressing likelihood stance meanings in the present corpora (see Appendix 2). Likelihood stance adverbs tend to appear more frequently in NYT than in CD. Martin and White (2005: 104-111) discuss the use of these likelihood stance adverbs from a dialogic perspective. Following Halliday (1994), they view the function of these adverbs as "interpersonal" rather than experiential or informational. Adopting a dialogic perspective, Martin and White (2005: 105) argue that their main interpersonal function is to **entertain** alternative viewpoints:

> The primary functionality…of such modalising locutions is to make allowance for, and hence to make space for, alternative voices and value positions in the ongoing colloquy within which the text is located.
>
> (Martin & White, 2005: 108)

The dialogic perspective shifts the traditional focus on the reliability of information to a new perspective on their role in construing the addresser-addressee relations. The use of these adverbs is thus viewed not as merely a result of the lack of commitment to the truth value of the proposition but as a sign of the addresser's intention to entertain alternative points of view. From this perspective, NYT's preferential use of these likelihood stance adverbs does not mean that it prefers to present less reliable information; instead, it suggests that NYT cares much more about potential alternative viewpoints in its putative readers, and thus seeks to present a less categorical image. The presence of these adverbs “provide[s] for the possibility of solidarity with those who hold to alternative positions” (Martin & White, 2005: 109). The preference for this type of stance adverbs indicates that NYT tends to care more about the solidarity between writers and readers than CD.

Besides, two newspapers also demonstrate different patterns in the choice of likelihood stance adverbs. CD features an overwhelming use of the adverbs *likely* and *probably*, but adverbs such as *arguably*, *presumably*, and *sort of* never get the chance of appearing in CD. More importantly, the high occurrence of *likely* in both newspapers is due to the fact that it can occur as either an adjective or an adverb, and our data show that the majority of them are used as adjectives rather than adverbs. If it is excluded from the list, CD is characterized by the frequent use of the adverb *probably*, which has an even higher normalized frequency in CD than in NYT. This reflects not just CD’s stylistic impoverishment in the use of likelihood stance adverbs, but, more importantly, its preference for the adverb *probably* which tends to carry a high degree of commitment than other likelihood stance adverbs. By contrast, in NYT, apart from *likely*, other stance adverbs are rather evenly distributed, especially adverbs such as *probably*, *perhaps*, *potentially*, and *possibly*. The great difference can be found in the use of *perhaps*, which even has a higher frequency than *probably* in NYT but is rarely used in CD. Since adverbs such as *perhaps*, *potentially*, *possibly* and *maybe* all communicate a low degree of commitment, the preferential use of these adverbs in NYT also supports the above finding that NYT cares more about entertaining alternative viewpoints and seeking solidarity with them.

It has to be noted here that a constant conflict exists between power and solidarity in using these likelihood stance adverbs. While the frequent use of these likelihood stance adverbs can be viewed as a positive sign of establishing solidarity with alternative viewpoints, the overuse of them in news discourse certainly affects the authority of the information, which in turn brings damage to the impartial and credible image news reports always aim to achieve. This may explain why likelihood stance adverbs occur at a relatively low frequency in both CD and NYT. However, the above analysis has shown that the use of these stance adverbs does reflect that CD cares more about establishing authority, NYT more about seeking solidarity.

5.4.3 Evaluation stance adverbs

All together 45 evaluation stance adverbs have been identified in the present two corpora. On the whole, they tend to have a higher frequency in NYT than in CD (see Appendix 3). Of all evaluation stance adverbs, 27 are used in CD, 40 in NYT. This shows that the use of evaluation stance adverbs tends to be more varied in NYT than in CD, a finding which is congruent with previous finding about the use of other types of evaluation stance adverbs. Despite this overall tendency in the use of evaluation stance adverbs, some great differences can also be identified in the specific choice of some words. Table 5.8 shows the top 10 most frequently used evaluation stance adverbs in CD and NYT.

Table 5.8 Top 10 evaluation stance adverbs in CD and NYT

CD	*gradually*, *hard*, *significantly*, *necessarily*, *artificially*, *effectively*, *properly*, *severely*, *unexpectedly*, and *importantly*
NYT	*artificially*, *hard*, *gradually*, *significantly*, *effectively*, *unfairly*, *badly*, *deliberately*, *aggressively*, and *necessarily*

Among them, some even have a higher frequency in CD than in NYT, such as *gradually, significantly*, *necessarily*, *properly*, *severely*, *unexpectedly*, and *importantly*. Those that tend to have a higher frequency in NYT are *artificially*, *hard*, *effectively*, *unfairly*, *badly*, *deliberately*, and *aggressively*. It can be found that CD tends to show preference for stance adverbs with typical positive evaluative meanings (e.g., *significantly*, *necessarily*, *properly*, *importantly*), while NYT demonstrates a preference for negative evaluative stance adverbs (e.g., *artificially*, *hard*, *unfairly*, *badly*, *deliberately*, and *aggressively*). The preferential use of these words is also consistent with the stance each newspaper aims to construct. The repeated use of the adverb *gradually* in CD is to underscore China's stance that China's exchange rate reform must proceed gradually, and that only in this way can the change benefit China as well as the world. Such words as *significantly*, *necessarily*, *properly* and *importantly* all carry the meaning of "importance and necessity" and their frequent use in CD suggests that CD highlights what is important and necessary to do. The use of these adverbs is highly authoritative, because only these elite people who are in power can make such a kind of judgment. Their primary function is to guide the readers' opinions towards what is important and necessary to do.

On the contrary, these frequently used negative evaluative stance adverbs in NYT also illuminate NYT's combative stance towards China and its exchange rate policy. As analyzed in Chapter 4, *artificially* is frequently used in NYT mainly to emphasize that China's exchange rate is manipulated by the Chinese government, so it does not reflect the actual value of the Renminbi. The same can be said about *deliberately*, an examination of the 12 occurrences of *deliberately* in NYT reveals that 8 of them are used to underline that China's Renminbi is *deliberately* undervalued. So it is not surprising that *unfairly* is also more frequently used in NYT than in CD, which serves to accuse China of not playing by the fair rule in international market. The adverb *aggressively* is used primarily to sensationalize the conflict between China and the US. Therefore, the preferential use of these adverbs is consistent with NYT's ideology about China and its exchange rate policy.

To sum up, it can be seen from the above analysis that the two newspapers not only differ in their preferences for certain categories of stance adverbs but also in their choice of specific stance adverbs. The findings suggest that CD prefers to claim authority for itself and establish a high power distance between writers and readers as well as a narrow dialogic space. In contrast, NYT tends to seek solidarity between itself and its putative readers, thus establishing a low power distance between writers and readers and a wide dialogic space.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has compared the construction of writer-reader power relations in two newspapers through examining three grammatical patterns—**pronouns**, **modals**, and **stance adverbs**. It has been found that while the two newspapers demonstrate some similarities in the overall use of them, they also show apparent differences in their preferences for certain grammatical categories which constitute different writer-reader power relations. In terms of the use of pronouns, NYT is identified for preferring the second person pronoun *you*, CD for the preferential use of the first person plural pronoun *we*. Two newspapers also demonstrate apparent differences in the use of modals, with CD putting the emphasis on modals of “necessity/obligation”, NYT on modals of “permission/possibility/ability”. Similar findings have also been identified in the use of stance adverbs, which show that the two newspapers differ not only in their preference for certain types of stance adverbs but also in their choice of specific stance adverbs in the same type. These differences suggest that compared with NYT, CD is still characterized by a higher writer-reader power distance, a narrower dialogic space between alternative points of view, and, above all, a more face-threatening and authoritarian style.

Chapter 6 Alignment: Discourse Representation

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses one of the important resources that are key to journalism, that is, reported speeches or “discourse representation” in Fairclough’s (1992, 2003a) term. The primary concern is to investigate the various ways it is used to construct stance in news reporting. It begins with the discussion of the relationships between discourse representation and stancetaking. Then it compares the represented discourses in CD and NYT from multiple perspectives, with the primary focus on how these represented discourses are attributed. Therefore, unlike Chapters 5 and 6, this chapter has moved from the analysis of semantic and grammatical features of texts to the analysis of “discursive practices” (Fairclough, 1992, 2003a), i.e., how different discourses are recontextualized and brought together in the production of news discourse. It is postulated that discourse representation, which is at the core of journalism, is crucial to the construction of the different stance of each newspaper and the distinction between different media systems. It is an indispensible discursive means of stancetaking in journalism.

6.2 Discourse representation and stancetaking

One of the primary features of news reporting is the frequent reference to the speeches of others (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994; Fishman, 1980). It is of fundamental significance to news reporting, because it is deemed as “an acceptable way of telling new stories and a viable choice within a repertoire of available story-telling practices” (Zelizer, 1989: 371, see also Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980). Represented discourses thus represent a distinctive feature of news reports. As Bell (1991: 53) claims, “news is what people say more than what people do”. As early as in the 1900s, the frequent use of represented discourses has developed into a journalistic norm

(Zelizer, 1989: 373). From a practical point of view, represented discourses are also important, because the reporter/writer cannot always witness the reported events or issues himself, so other sources have to be cited in news reporting (Tuchman, 1978). The use of represented discourses thus also directly reflects "a central news-gathering routine—that of sourcing" (Zelier, 1989: 372). The study of represented discourses or news sources thus "involves a series of important questions that cut to the heart of contemporary journalism" (Richardson, 2007: 103).

Following Fairclough (1992, 1995a, 2003a), this chapter uses the term "discourse representation" instead of "reported speeches" or other terms, based on the recognition that news reports are not just *reporting* what others say but *representing* them in such a way that they can reflect and communicate the particular stance of the news reporter as well as the editorial line of each newspaper. Discourse representation involves recontextualization, which means the de-contextualization of an utterance from its original context to serve in a new context (Zelizer, 1989). When the original utterance is recontextualized in a new context, it always involves varied degrees of precision and impartiality (Bakhtin, 1981: 339; cited in Hodges, 2008: 484). The selection of information as well as the form the citation takes is often made in terms of the stance of journalists towards the events reported and the journalistic conventions in a particular institutional and socio-cultural context (Piazza, 2009: 171).

Sinclair's (1986, 1987) distinction between *averral* and *attribution* is important here. By *averral*, Sinclair means those statements which are not explicitly attributed to others, so the writer takes responsibility for all of them (Sinclair, 1986: 50). *Attribution* refers to those statements which are explicitly attributed to others, so it has the effect of transferring responsibility of what is being said. It is thus argued that it is not the forms that represented discourses take but the functions they serve in news texts that really matter. The special functions of attribution have been frequently examined by those working on academic discourses (e.g., Tadros, 1993; Hunston, 1995, 2000; Groom, 2000), and it has been noted that the act of attribution is an act of evaluation or stancetaking (Hunston, 1995, 2000; cited in Bednarek 2006a: 60). For example, following Sinclair's distinction between averral and attribution, Charles (2006) examines the construction of stance in finite reporting clauses with *that*-clause representation. Through comparing the use of a special type of reporting clauses—those used to report the writer's own work—in natural and social sciences, Charles (2006: 492) argues that albeit "the superficial objectivity and impersonality of writing in natural sciences", the distinction between attribution and averral is skillfully exploited by these writers to "construct a stance that is both clear and pervasive". What this suggests is that apparent attribution does not represent inherent objectivity. The same applies to journalism (Richardson, 2006).

The present analysis views journalism as "an active domain of writing for a wide general public, with genres and conventions of its own" (Calsamiglia & Ferrero, 2003: 149) and discourse representation as a purposive rhetorical discursive practice (Julian, 2011; Richardson, 2006). Calsamiglia and Ferrero (2003: 149) take the view that discourse representation means "managing the words of others to convey and serve the purpose of the writer, giving a slant to what is said", which is in contrast to the traditional view that "citation not only makes the writer's discourse more objective and credible, but frees from his responsibility". Van Dijk (1991: 192) points out that the important function of quotations resides in its role in allowing "the insertion of subjective interpretations, explanations, or opinions about current news events, without breaking the ideological rule that requires the separation of facts from opinions" (cited in Kuo, 2007: 297). In other words, the words of others never come into the news texts arbitrarily, but are always subject to the writer's interpretation and evaluation. The communication of evaluative meanings is not a sign of media bias, but an integral part of discourse representation. Besides, the choice between different patterns of attribution as well as different modalities of discourse representation also suggests how each newspaper positions themselves in respect of their readers. As Julian (2011) suggests, "reported speeches present journalists with a good way communicating their own evaluative meanings while at the same time maintaining the face of objectivity". Besides, discourse representation also offers an explicit discursive means for the news writer to show alignment and disalignment with relevant parties. Zelier (1989: 384) argues that discourse representation allows journalists to create "a collectivity of news audiences" through "differential address", thus connecting different audiences with preferred reading of news. Therefore, not only the content of the quoted words but also how these sources are attributed is worthy of a close examination (Smirnova, 2012: 347).

All news reports communicate values/stance, even the so-called most objective hard news. Stance can be constructed at all stages of news production. As Richardson (2007: 87) puts it, "News reporting is inevitably value-laden—and, on occasion, is fundamentally biased—but this does not stop it from being journalistically objective". In this sense, objectivity is viewed as "strategic rituals" (Tuchman, 1972), which can help journalists fend off criticism and establish credibility and authority in news reporting. The recontextualization of other voices into a new text involves decision making at several stages, such as "Whose voices should be represented?", "How they should be represented?", and "How should different voices be organized?" These choices are conditioned by the stance the journalist takes towards events. To be specific, it is related not only to what kind of attitudes the journalist adopts towards the reported event, but also how the journalist wants to position himself in respect of the potential readers as well as how they show alignment and/or disalignment with different voices. These choices in turn contribute to the particular way of stancetaking of each newspaper. Therefore, although I share Fairclough's (1992, 1995a, 2003a) view of discourse representation as a discursive practice, we argue that this practice is stance-conditioned and stance-constituted. Only through examination of their particular ways of discourse representation can we expose how different attitudes are discursively constructed in news reports. Unlike previous studies which are devoted to the detection and evaluation of media bias existed in this kind of discursive practice, a stancetaking perspective views discourse representation as the conventionalized discursive means of stancetaking in this special genre of news reporting, so the question moves from whether bias exists in these reports to how these recontextualized discourses contribute to the particular ways of stancetaking as well as the different professional personae of each newspaper.

6.3 Findings

The following part first gives a quantitative analysis of the use of speech expressions in CD and NYT in order to show how others' speeches are recontextualized into and framed in these news reports. This is based on the automatic SMC analysis of Wmatrix 3.0. However, in order to examine how voices are represented in news texts, a close analysis of a small sample of news texts has also been conducted. 20 news texts from each newspaper in the first half of 2010 are extracted to compile two small and comparable corpora. They are analyzed manually in terms of the modalities of discourse representation, the identities of news sources, and their representations in news discourse. According to Xin (2008), sample size can be determined by the research purpose. For the manual analysis, the main purpose is to examine in details the different ways of discourse representation, so a sample of 20 news texts from each newspaper suffices to reveal distinctive patterns.

6.3.1 Corpus-assisted discourse analysis

Table 6.1 General information for two speech-related SMCs

		CD			**NYT**		
Semantic	**Tagset**	**number of types**	**Freq.**	**%**	**number of types**	**Total freq.**	**%**
1. Speech: Communicative	Q2.1	88	2737	2.19%	113	3905	1.72%
2. Speech acts	Q2.2	223	1294	1.03%	355	2729	1.20%

Table 6.1 summarizes the general information about key SMCs related to speech expressions based on the analysis of Wmatrix 3.0—"Speech: communicative" (Q2.1) and "Speech acts" (Q2.2). It can be found that the total frequency of speech expressions in CD (3.22%) tends to be slightly higher than that in NYT (2.92%). This suggests that CD tends to rely more on the use of speech expressions than NYT in the representation of the Renminbi issue. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Wmatrix 3.0 can also help to do key SMC analysis. The finding is that CD is key in the semantic domain of "Speech: communicative" (Q2.1), with a LL value of 91.40, while NYT is key in the semantic domain of "Speech acts" (Q2.2), with a LL value of 20.23. The SMC of "Speech: communicative" consists of words which convey the communicative meanings, such as *said, told, argue, notes, points, comments.* These expressions only describe general communicative actions, thus carrying less explicit evaluative meanings. Therefore, a high percentage of these expressions in CD suggests that it uses more neutral speech expressions than NYT. This is especially evident in the use of the most frequently used neutral reporting verb *said,* which is believed to communicate the most objective and neutral meanings (Cole & Shaw, 1974). Although it is the most frequently used reporting verb in both newspapers, it is much more frequently used in CD (1933, 1.54%) than in NYT (1994, 0.88%). It boasts a LL value of 302.62, thus highly key in CD when compared with its occurrences in NYT. CD's preference for this neutral speech verb should not be simply attributed to the lack of English writing skills. An examination of its use in CD reveals that it is repeatedly used to introduce others' speeches. Therefore, its overwhelming use in CD can be understood as a linguistic means of constructing an impartial and neutral stance. This is in contrast to Xin's (2008) stylistic study which finds that CD tends to show a preference for more varied forms of evaluative reporting verbs than NYT, and that the reporting verb *say* (Lemma) is used more frequently in NYT than in CD. This preference for neutral speech expressions can be attributed to the influence of traditional Chinese news writing, which has been found preferring to use more neutral verbs than English news writing (Li et al., 1993).

The higher percentage of words carrying the meaning of “speech act” in NYT also indicates that discourse representations in NYT are subject to a higher degree of interpretation than those in CD. Bell (1991) views those reporting verbs apart from *say, tell,* and *according to* as “news performatives”, and according to Xin (2008: 64), the majority of these performative reporting verbs carry stance meanings. Table 6.2 shows the top 20 words in this SMC in CD and NYT.

Table 6.2 Top 20 words in the SMC of “speech acts”

		CD			NYT	
Rank	**Words**	**freq.**	**%**	**Words**	**freq.**	**%**
1	demand	141	0.11	report	168	0.07
2	report	115	0.09	demand	103	0.05
3	announced	35	0.03	announced	83	0.04
4	predicted	34	0.03	called	67	0.03
5	urged	32	0.03	critics	64	0.03
6	remarks	29	0.02	reported	60	0.03
7	calls	25	0.02	criticism	58	0.03
8	forecast	23	0.02	suggested	43	0.02
9	suggested	22	0.02	complaints	40	0.02
10	reference	22	0.02	announcement	40	0.02
11	vowed	18	0.01	remarks	39	0.02
12	quoted	17	0.01	calls	39	0.02
13	reported	16	0.01	question	39	0.02
14	blaming	15	0.01	asked	37	0.02
15	claimed	15	0.01	negotiations	35	0.02
16	blame	15	0.01	demands	32	0.01
17	called	15	0.01	urged	32	0.01
18	explained	14	0.01	questions	31	0.01
19	demands	14	0.01	acknowledged	30	0.01
20	suggest	12	0.01	criticized	30	0.01

Among the top 20 words, some common words can be found in both newspapers, such as *demand*, *report*, *announced*, *urged*, *remarks*, *calls*, *suggested*, *reported*, *called*, *demands*, and *suggest*. They represent general speech acts that happen between China and the US in terms of the Renminbi issue, which are characterized by constant demands, reports, and announcements. Apart from these, NYT features the use of such words as *critics*, *criticism*, *criticized*, *complaints*, *negotiations*, and *acknowledged*, while CD is noticed for the use of such words as *predicted*, *forecast*, *blaming*, *blame*, *vowed*, *claimed*, and *explained*. A mere glimpse of these different speech-act or speech-act-related words can suggest their respective functions in stance construction in CD and NYT. The frequent use of these expressions such as *criticism*, *criticized*, and *complaints* indicates that NYT emphasizes the speech acts of criticizing and complaining towards the issue. In contrast, CD stresses the speech acts of predicting, promising, and explaining, as can be seen in the use of such words as *predicted*, *forecast*, *vowed*, and *explained*. However, words like *blaming*, *blame*, and *claimed* also indicate CD's different interpretations of the speech acts of criticizing and accusation. While speech acts of criticizing and complaining can contribute to the construction of the critical stance of NYT towards the issue, the speech acts of predicting, promising and explaining in CD communicate the cooperative stance towards the issue, and its alternative interpretations of the speech acts of criticizing and accusation can contribute to arguing against the accusations from the US government.

Take *criticized* for example, of its total 30 occurrences, 15 have China or China's policies, especially China's exchange rate policy, as the target of the speech act of criticizing.

(1) <u>China's decision to fix its exchange rate</u> has been **criticized** by <u>global financial institutions</u> in recent months, and some economists echoed them on Saturday.

(NYT, 2010/03/07)

10 of them also have the US or the US government's measures as the target. Apart from few instances with China or people from China as the sayer, the majority of them have people from the US side as the sayer. The US or the US government is

criticized mainly for its inaction towards the Renminbi issue, as in the following:

(2) Leading Democrats are already warning the administration not to conclude any new arrangements for investment safeguards and trade that could tie a future administration's hands. They also **criticized** the administration for not pushing China harder on trade issues. (NYT, 2008/06/19)

Therefore, not only China and its exchange rate policies but also the US government has been criticized, driven by the unified stance that China's exchange rate is manipulated and should be punished. This particular way of criticizing also suggests a typical feature of liberal media, which, instead of aligning with the government, serve as a watchdog for the government. As regards the token *complaints* in NYT, 89.5% of them (34 out of 38) are complaints directed at China. They are used mainly to communicate trade complaints towards China from the US, as can be witnessed in their most frequent collocate *trade*.

While CD is concerned about the future as suggested by the words *predicted* and *forecast*, it also communicates the Chinese government's determination to reform its exchange rate policy by frequently using the word *vowed*, as in the following:

(3) The currency has advanced 2.3 percent since mid-June, when the central bank scrapped the dollar peg and **vowed to** increase the flexibility of the yuan's value. (CD, 2010/10/12)

As regards the word *claimed*, it is frequently used to frame the speech act of the US government or some other voices which state that China's Renminbi is undervalued. For example,

(4) Wen made the remarks after some US politicians **claimed** China's currency had been intentionally undervalued to bolster the country's exports. (CD, 2010/09/24)

Since *claimed* communicating the meaning of stating without evidence, it is used here primarily to put into question the truth value of these statements, suggesting the reporter's disalignment with them. It is thus used mainly to argue against the accusations against Chinese exchange rate policy as well as Renminbi's value.

Another interesting finding is the preference for the words *blame* and *blaming* rather than *criticized* and *criticism* in CD. Although they actually represent similar speech acts, their different choices in CD and NYT actually communicate their different stances towards them. Take the word *blame* for example, an examination of the 15 occurrences of *blame* in CD reveals that it is used as a speech act verb mainly (in fact, all but one) to emphasize that the yuan or China's exchange rate is not the cause for the US's problems. *blame* is found occurring frequently with words expressing negative meanings such as *don't*, *not*, *not right*, *a scapegoat*, *wrong*, etc, so it conveys the meaning that the blame is groundless or even wrong.

Table 6.3 Concordances of *blame* in CD

American competitiveness as well as create demand." Wen: Don't	blame	yuan for deficit Premier Wen Jiabao and UN
a basket of currencies. Stressing that the exchange rate is not to	blame	for US structural problems, Hu warned that even an abrupt
China is following a responsible exchange-rate policy and isn't to	blame	for US economic woes. Shen Danyang, spokesman for the
rate to gain a competitive advantage, Chen said. Yuan not to	blame	for trade gap with US NEW YORK - China's rising inflation
, on Tuesday. Shen said the yuan exchange rate is not to	blame	for the trade imbalance between China and the US. He
attention from its domestic woes. "It is not right for the US to	blame	China for its economic problems," Sun, a CPPCC member,
year. This is pushing the US to use China as a scapegoat and	blame	it for undervaluing its yuan, analysts said. "There are
problem. You need to put your own house in order before you	blame	your neighbour." A flexible foreign exchange rate system is
scheduled for December 12-13. The US and the EU, which	blame	their trade deficit on China's foreign exchange rate, have

To sum up, the choice of these different speech-related words suggests both stylistic features as well as their particular roles in stance construction. As can be seen from the above analysis, CD tends to rely more on the recontextualization of speeches than NYT in the representation of the currency dispute. Besides, CD shows a particular preference for general speech expressions, especially the classical neutral speech verb *said*, in the representations of these speeches, while NYT is noticed for its preference for speech act expressions. In particular, NYT highlights the speech acts of criticizing and complaining, while CD emphasizes the speech acts of predicting, promising and explaining. Unlike NYT, CD is also found using some strategies to argue against the accusations from the US and other parties, e.g., the alternative framing of the speech acts of accusing and complaining. They reflect different positions of China and the US in the currency dispute.

6.3.2 Manual analysis of selected sample texts

Based on a sample of 20 texts from each newspaper, this part gives a detailed analysis of how discourses from other sources are recontextualized and brought together in news reports, with a particular attention to how these discourses are attributed (including status and origins), what modalities they take (i.e., modalities), and how these sources are represented (i.e., representations).

6.3.2.1 Modalities

One of primary concerns in the study of discourse representation is how a prior discourse can be represented in a news text, and several patterns have been identified, including direct speeches, indirect speeches, free indirect speeches, and the narration of speech acts. As Fairclough (1995a: 81) suggests, an important variable in the representation of discourse is the degree to which boundaries between the representing discourse and the represented discourse—between the voices of the reporter and the person reported. Among the various types of discourse representation (Fairclough, 2003a), of primary interest to the present study are those where the boundaries between the representing discourse and represented discourse are clearly marked orthographically and/or grammatically, because they are believed to communicate varied degrees of stance meanings to readers and contribute to the construction of the particular professional persona of each newspaper.

Three types of discourse representation are thus identified for the present analysis: direct discourse (DD), indirect discourse (ID), and the mixture of direct and indirect discourses (MD). They represent the most common types of discourse representation (Waugh, 1995: 145), and are both orthographically and grammatically distinct (Kuo, 2007). DD purports to represent the exact words of original utterances, which are clearly marked by the use of quotation marks. ID is believed to represent the content of original utterances without reproducing the exact words. Intermediate is the MD. Along with these grammatical and orthographical distinctions come the different attitudes towards the represented discourse as well as their different functions in news texts. Waugh (1995: 137) argues that both DD and ID are iconic indexes, which differ only in the way they are iconic. Since DD is believed to be a verbatim reproduction of original utterances, it is faithful to both the original form and content, thus representing an "image icon" (Short, 1988; Waugh, 1993). However, ID represents an "iconic index", which "purports to attest to the reality of the real original world, and to represent it by creating a parallel text, similar to it in some way" (Waugh, 1995: 156). DD is thus often discussed in terms of reliability of information, but the traditional belief that it represents a verbatim reproduction of original utterances has already been frequently challenged (e.g., Tannen, 1986, 1989; Clark & Gerrig, 1990; Waugh, 1995; Mayes, 1990; Kuo, 2001). Tannen (1986, 1989) argues that when one speech is recontextualized from its original context to a new context, it is fundamentally changed, no matter how accurately its words are reproduced, so she calls direct discourse representation as "constructed dialogue" in the sense that they are the creation of the present speaker rather than attributed sources. The verbatim reproduction of original utterances in news reporting is often impossible as a result of time and space constraints as well as the complex nature of spoken discourse. What is important in DD is that "[t]hey should merely suggest that they are true, hence their rhetorical function and effect" (van Dijk, 1988a: 87; cited in Waugh, 1995: 156). It is the intended communicative effects of these different modalities of represented discourses on its readers that really matter in the choice of them. Several different functions have been identified for the use of DD (e.g., Tuchman, 1978; Bell, 1991; Smirnova, 2009; Bednarek, 2006a). First, it marks the quoted words as an incontrovertible fact, thus communicating a high degree of credibility and authority.

Second, it can distance the journalists from what is said, thus absolving them from the responsibility for them. Third, it can dramatize and highlight important elements and/or points in news reporting (Bednarek, 2006a: 126; Bell, 1991).

The choice of modalities is also conditioned by a number of factors, and it has been demonstrated that different cultures may have their own conventions (Waugh, 1995; Sollon, 2000; Scollon & Scollon, 1997). One of the differences between Chinese and English news reporting is that Chinese news stories tend to value DD, while English hard news stories often use ID (Scollon, 2000). Scollon and Scollon (1997: 107) argue that discourse representation in Chinese newspapers is "at best ambiguous":

> No standard practice has been observed across newspapers in this set and even within a newspaper, it is not obvious which portions of the text are attributed to whom. In contrast, the English newspapers present a face of clear and unambiguous quotation.
>
> (Scollon & Scollon, 1997: 107)

This is because the use of quotation marks in Chinese is a recent practice which started from the May 4 (1919) movement (Yung, 1995; cited in Scollon & Scollon, 1997). Chinese does not make the distinction between direct and indirect quotations, and it is often only the quotation marks that indicate the distinction. As Yung (1995) suggests, it is most common for quotation marks in Chinese newspapers to be used to highlight or mark speech, not to indicate exact wordings of the speaker. In other words, it is the rhetorical function that is more emphasized in the use of DD in Chinese newspapers. In contrast, even though DD in English newspapers does not guarantee a verbatim reproduction of original words, it tends to have more rigid conventions in its use.

For the present analysis, different modalities represent different degrees of interference by the writer. DD represents a low degree of reporter interference, because attributed sources are allowed to speak for themselves. ID, as

Caldas-Coulthard (1994) suggests, represents a higher degree of interference, because "it involves not just the selection and ordering of what to report but also the integration of secondary discourse of the speaker into primary discourse of the reporter". The distinction between DD and ID is "categorical" in journalistic discourse, because they involve different degrees of interference from news reporters (e.g., rewordings, compression, and inferencing), thus promising different levels of responsibility for the news reporter and the attributed sources (Waugh, 1995: 163). Bednarek (2006b) argues that different modalities of discourse representation represent a continuum of evidentiality from clear evidentiality (objectivity) to less tangible evidentiality (subjectivity). From a rhetorical perspective, DD certainly contributes to the construction of a more authoritative and objective stance. The movement from pure DD to MD and to ID actually represents a continuum of different degrees of interference from the writer, with pure DD at one end and pure ID at the other end (Waugh, 1995: 148).

Table 6.4 Modalities of discourse representation

	CD		**NYT**	
Types	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**
ID	149	53%	210	61%
DD	89	32%	79	23%
MD	43	15%	54	16%
Total	**281**	**100%**	**343**	**100%**

Table 6.4 presents the information about the three types of modalities as well as their shares in the total occurrences in each newspaper. CD and NYT demonstrate similar tendencies in the choice of the three types of modalities: ID takes the largest share, followed by DD and MD. This means that CD differs from its Chinese-language counterparts which favor the choice of DD (see Scollon, 2000) and behaves more like

English newspapers. According to Waugh, ID represents "the unmarked type of reported speech in journalism" (1995: 149). Fairclough (1995b: 61; cited in Xin, 2006: 2) has also observed that ID has become an increasingly preferable form of discourse representation in mass media, because it can transform the discourse in pubic space into the discourse in private space, thus facilitating the public's understanding of the language and making it more acceptable to them. ID thus helps to "resolve the tension between fidelity to the source and clarity of expression" (Garretson & Ädel, 2008: 179). From a diachronic perspective, the increasing use of ID can be understood as a form of personalization and democratization, because the boundaries between the public and private space have been blurred (Fairclough, 1995b).

Despite this similar overall tendency, two newspapers also show minor differences. The above figures demonstrate that CD tends to use more DD but less ID than NYT does. This preference for DD can be attributed to the influence of traditional Chinese authoritarian reporting style, in which DD is privileged. As discussed above, DD means a lower degree of the reporter's interference while ID implies a higher degree of the reporter's interference, so the difference means that CD tends to favor less interference with the represented discourses than does NYT. In other words, compared with NYT, CD tends to keep a wider "dialogic space" between alternative viewpoints. This tends to make CD appear more authoritative and less personal. However, both newspapers show similar preferences for MD. According to Garretson and Ädel (2008: 179), MD represents "a relatively attractive compromise, one which allows the journalist to frame a source's speech as he or she sees fit, while including verbatim what might be seen as the most significant material of the source's statements".

However, the difference is even larger if we take into account the distribution of represented discourses in these news texts. Although both newspapers tend to show similar preferences for three modalities, they show much difference in the density of using them. Even though 20 texts are extracted from both CD and NYT, these texts in CD are much shorter than those in NYT, which can be witnessed in their total number of words—10613 in CD but 18273 in NYT. This means that we can identify one represented discourse in every 37 words in CD but one in every 53 words in NYT. This can be perceived through a mere glimpse of these news reports in two newspapers. In CD, represented discourses take the dominant share of the whole news texts, but in NYT, news texts are organized mainly through the reporters' own words, with represented discourses spreading sporadically here and there. This further supports the finding that CD favors less interference in the use of represented discourses while NYT tends to favor more interference and more personalized style of news reporting. While less interference can contribute to the construction of the authoritative stance of news reporting, it also creates the impression of being less reader friendly and serving only as the mouthpiece of the Chinese government.

6.3.2.2 Social statuses of sources

One central question in the study of discourse representation is who can have access to news reports, because "speaker reference is one of the primary ways of making news-stories intelligible for speakers" (Zelier, 1989: 372). However, not all people can have an equal access to the news (van Dijk, 1988a; Caldas-Coulthard, 1994; Fairclough, 1995a), and the choice of sources is often related to the argumentative position, ideological stance as well as the discourse convention of each newspaper. Charles (2006: 494) states that "the choice of sources reflects a shared world of writer and reader, constructed within the ultimate aim of persuading the reader to the writer's point of view" (see also Hunston, 1993, 2000). The examination of sources or newsmakers thus can illuminate not only who are given voices but also how each newspaper seeks to construct a shared world of the writer and the reader in order to appeal to their target readers. This is based on the belief that the choice of different groups of sources is not arbitrary but suggests particular ways of alignment or disalignment of each newspaper.

Five categories have been identified in the present analysis: (1) officials; (2) experts;

(3) Institutions; (4) Businessmen and common people; (5) Objects. "Officials" refers to those people who work in the government and take official positions, such as *President Obama*, *the commerce secretary*, *Gary F. Locke*, and *Zhu Baoliang, deputy director-general of the economic forecasting department of the State Information Center*. "Experts" includes not only those who hold professional positions in a certain institution (e.g., *Li Xiaogang, a researcher at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences*) but also those genericized analysts and critics (e.g., *analysts*, *critics*). They are characterized by their own expertise and their ability to offer professional advice and give comments. "Institutions" here consists of those government departments and research institutes, e.g., *the Ministry of Commerce*. However, for the convenience of analysis, it also includes countries like *China* and news agencies like *Reuters*. They share the common characteristic of being at different levels of social branches. "Objects" is used here to cover sources such as *The Senate bill*, *the report* and *custom figures*. They are concrete objects which can lend support to the followed statements. In CD, there are four cases, in which the sources are not explicitly stated, as in the following:

(5) China reportedly contributed to about half of the global economic growth last year.

(CD, 2010/02/05)

The sources in these cases are taken as non-existent. However, in both newspapers, there are three cases in which both experts and officials are mentioned together, e.g., *many US politicians and a few economists*. In these cases, they are counted separately as belonging to both expert and official sources. It follows that all together 280 explicit sources are recorded in CD, 346 in NYT.

Table 6.5 summarizes the general information about the occurrences of five categories of sources as well as their percentages in the total amount of sources in each newspaper.

Table 6.5 The social statuses of sources in two newspapers

	CD		NYT	
Types	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**
Officials	96	34.3%	184	53.2%
Experts	151	53.9%	105	30.3%
Institution	27	9.6%	40	11.6%
Common people	1	0.4%	9	2.6%
Objects	5	1.8%	8	2.3%
Total	**280**	**100%**	**346**	**100%**

Both newspapers feature the overwhelming use of official and expert sources, which all together account for about 88% of the total sources in CD and 84% in NYT. This is congruent with previous findings suggesting that journalists show a preference for the voices of powerful elites, especially official and bureaucratic voices (e.g., Fowler, 1991; Bell, 1991; van Dijk, 1998a; Richardson, 2006). However, expert voices take the largest share in CD (53.9%), while NYT gives the largest share to official voices. This seems contradictory considering that CD, as the mouthpiece of the Chinese government, often prioritizes official voices in its reports. In contrast, NYT is often regarded as a liberal media, which is known for its objective reporting. These different proportions allocated to each group can be explained in terms of what Becker (1970) calls "hierarchy of credibility". They are given voices, because "they are understood to have access to more accurate information on particular topics than everyone else" (Baker, 2006: 72). Although news media often take powerful people as "the primary definers of topics" (Hall et al., 1978: 58), they also have to take into account the audience's responses, because they are not just passive recipients. They may choose to reject the newspaper if they think that it lacks credibility. This credibility need is especially evident in the choice of some anonymous sources in NYT, such as *people close to Chinese currency policy makers*, and *people with knowledge of the Chinese* *policy development*. Anonymous as they are, they are represented as sources because they are believed to offer knowledge which cannot be acquired otherwise, thus appearing more credible to its target readers. It shows that NYT is willing to align itself with these unofficial rather than official sources.

The different proportions allocated to each group can also be understood in the special nature of the Renminbi issue, which is raised by the US government to attack China on its Renminbi exchange rate policy. So the dominant coverage of official sources suggests that NYT is concerned about what officials say about this issue. The Chinese government needs to counterattack these accusations. However, since the function of CD is external propaganda, official sources appear less convincing in view of the ingrained distrust of Western readers towards the Chinese government and media. The use of expert sources can increase the authority and reliability of the information. The two newspapers' different preferences for official and expert voices actually also confirm their different ways of framing the issue, as discussed in Chapter 4: the NYT prefers to frame it as a political issue, while CD tends to confine it to an economic issue. According to Zhao (2003: 42), the extensive use of expert sources is a relatively new development in Chinese journalism, because the traditional party journalism features the dominant sources of "state officials at various levels (who pronounced and explained policies)" and "the masses (who cheered and carried out the policies at the grassroots)". Expert sources have started to play a prominent role in Chinese news discourse in the last three decades with China's modernization and increasing integration with the world, because they can lend "legitimacy to the state and its policy". It can be viewed as a product of the incorporation of Western news practices which value scientific and rational thinking. Zhao (2003: 42) points out that they can "add credibility, authority, even a touch of independence" to market-oriented media outlets, so they are especially important for external propaganda. The authority of these sources is either evoked by the speaker or by the institutional position represented by the speaker (Reyes, 2011), and they are so-called "authoritative speeches" which are believed to be "more persuasive, more convincing, and more attended to" (Gal & Woolard, 1995; Philips, 2004). From this perspective, the emergence and dominance of expert sources can be viewed as a result of the incorporation of liberal reporting practices. However, it has to be pointed out that this kind of practices are outdated, because "expert tyranny" is confronted with increasing abhorrence, and a new trend is taking place in the world, especially Western countries, which favors emotional and intuitive thinking over rational and scientific thinking as a result of the New Age movement (Askehav, 2004).

The above analyses also reveal that sources of common people are almost completely excluded in both newspapers, with only one occurrence in CD and nine occurrences in NYT. This systematic negligence can be attributed to the highly specialized nature of the Renminbi issue, which means that only those people with expertise and power on this issue can have rights to make judgment about it. However, the total exclusion of voices of common people also reproduces the unequal power relationships between the public and those people with power and specialized knowledge. As van Leeween (2008: 28) suggests, the exclusion of certain groups of people may not be "innocent", which may be related to the interests and purposes of those in power. As regards the Renminbi issue, it is in fact closely related to the daily life of common people, but they are treated as passive recipients, who can only accept the decisions made for them. The predominance of expert discourse from elite institutions in CD is hegemonic in that elite interest is represented as general interest, under the guise of a universalizing language and rational discourse (Zhao, 2003: 51).

6.3.2.3 Origins of sources

Another question of great significance to the present study is the origins of sources. Since currency dispute involves competing voices from different sides, the particular ways of engaging these voices by different newspapers are crucial to their construction of professional personae as well as argumentative positions. All these sources are thus categorized into four groups: (a) the US (e.g., *US President Barack*

Obama); (b) China (e.g., *A top Chinese legislator*); (c) the world at large and other countries (e.g., *A leading figure from the World Bank*); and (d) unspecified origins (e.g., *analysts*).

Table 6.6 Information about the origins of sources

	CD		**NYT**	
Types	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**
Type a: US	50	18%	171	50%
Type b: China	141	51%	101	29%
Type c: The world at large	58	21%	28	8%
Type d: Unspecified	28	10%	43	13%
Total	**277**	**100%**	**343**	**100%**

Table 6.6 summarizes the information about the distribution of four types of origins in two newspapers. Both newspapers give almost a half share to the sources from their own sides, 51% in CD and 50% in NYT. This is quite understandable, because newspapers, be they liberal or authoritative, communicate the voices that are easily accessible to them. Besides, both newspapers are characterized by a relatively balanced way of source selection, because both of them give almost equal shares to sources from their own side and those from other origins. In this sense, CD has incorporated to a certain extent the “balanced” practices of discourse representation that characterize the liberal journalism. However, two newspapers differ in their allocation of sources to other three origins. In NYT, the second largest share (29%) is given to those from China. In contrast, CD assigns the second largest share (21%) to Type (c)—those from “the world at large or other countries” — rather than those from the US, which takes only 18%. Interestingly, Type (c) takes only the smallest share in NYT. These different preferences reflect their different ways of stance construction. NYT gives the dominant share of sources to the US and China, which suggests that it

confines the currency dispute mainly to a dispute between China and the US. The particular ways of source allocation in CD, however, can be attributed to the special rhetorical need of arguing against the US government's accusations and defending the Chinese government's stance towards the issue. Instead of representing the dispute mainly as one between China and the US, it engages the sources from other parties, especially those from transnational organizations like the IMF, to legitimize China's exchange rate policy and defend the Chinese government's stance towards the issue.

6.3.2.4 Representation of sources

Not only does the choice of different groups of sources communicate stance meanings, but their representations are also an important means for stancetaking. The representation of sources also assumes great significances in news texts. According to van Leeuwen (2008: 23), this can be attributed to the "bi-uniqueness" of language. That is, there is a gap between sociological agency and linguistic agency, and the former can be represented in various ways in language. Bell states that "different labelings tend to signify different levels of authority" (1991: 193), thus promising different degrees of truth guarantee (Hill & Irvine, 1993; Calsamiglia & Ferrero, 2003; Pizza, 2009). Blommaert (2005: 110) also points out that the ways people are named in news discourse assume both "referential and indexical meanings". In other words, they communicate "not only the group(s) that they are associated with (or at least the groups that the speaker/writer *wants* them to be associated with)" but also "the relationship between the namer and the named" (Richardson, 2007: 49). This is what Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 49) call "referential strategies", which, they argue, can serve different psychological, social and political purposes. Richardson (2007: 50) further suggests that referential strategies not only "project meaning and social values onto the referent" but also "establish coherence relations with the way that *other* social actors are referred to and represented [Emphasized in original]". For example, Calsamiglia and Ferrero's (2003) study of the coverage of "mad cow disease" in Spanish newspapers manifests that journalists often make constant decisions concerning the representation of scientific voices at different phases of the event in order to orient their position on the topic. Piazza's (2009) study on the reporting of Iraq war by Western broadcasters also reveals that newsmakers of coalition forces are given a priority space and characterized by "legitimated persons", while the Iraqis tend to be represented collectively and anonymously, and this can be understood in terms of the ideological positions and political stance of the media. According to van Leeuween (2008: 33), the study of the different ways of representing social actors can illuminate "which options are chosen in which institutional and social contexts, and why these choices should have been made, what interests are served by them, and what purposes achieved".

The present analysis is based on the analytic framework which is adapted by Calsamiglia and Ferrero (2003) from van Leeuwen's (1996: 66) schema for different modes of inclusion of agents (see Figure 6.1).

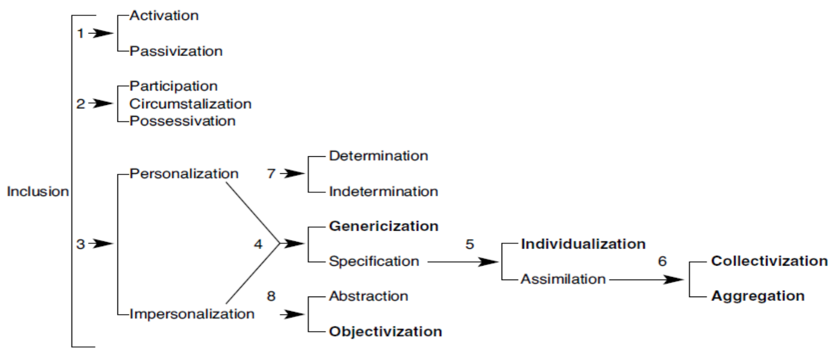

Figure 6.1 The representation of social actors in discourse: Inclusion system network

(adapted from van Leeuwen, 1996; cited in Calsamiglia & Ferrero, 2003: 157)

For van Leeuween (1996), social actors can be represented as personal **(Personalization)** or impersonal **(Impersonalization)**. For personalized representation, choices have to be made between **generic** and **specific**. **Generic** representation treats social actors as classes (**Genericization**), e.g., *experts* in our data. However, social actors can also be specified as individuals (**Individualization**) or as groups (**Assimilation**). When they are represented as groups, further choice can be made between **Collectivization** and **Aggregation. Collectivization** represents social actors as a homogeneous, consensual group, e.g., *western economists.* **Aggregation** quantifies groups of social actors, treating them as statistics, e.g., *some economists*. For **Impersonalization**, choice can be made between **Objectivization** and **Abstraction**. **Objectivization** involves the representation of social actors as objects, which covers examples like *The Senate bill.* Based on this analytic framework, the present analysis focuses on the representation of these sources in the two newspapers, and the findings are summarized in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 Information for the representation of sources in CD and NYT

	CD		**NYT**	
Types	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**
Type a: Genericization	20	7%	11	3%
Type b: Individualization	201	73%	212	62%
Type c: Collectivization	7	3%	36	10%
Type d: Aggregation	17	6%	41	12%
Type e: Objectivization	32	12%	43	13%
Total	277	100%	343	100%

As Table 6.7 shows, the majority of these sources in both newspapers are represented as individuals, with 73% in CD and 62% in NYT. Similar trends can also be identified in the use of objectivization and aggregation, which respectively take the second and the third largest shares in both newspapers. However, NYT is noted for the rare use of genericization (3%), CD for the rare use of collectivization (3%). However, a comparison of the internal significance of each type shows that CD tends to lay more emphasis on genericization and individualization, while NYT tends to attach more importance to collectivization and aggregation. Two newspapers seem to show little discrepancy in their preferences for objectivization. They show much similarity in the overall use of these five ways of representations and also apparent differences in their particular preference for some ways. The following part gives a close examination of each way of representation in order to get a better understanding of their roles in stance construction.

Individualization

Van Leeuwen (2008: 37) points out that different types of newspapers tend to individualize different groups of people. For example, middle-class-oriented newspapers tend to individualize elite people while assimilating ordinary people. Since CD and NYT are both broadsheets, it can be expected that those individualized sources are all elite people. Piazza (2009: 179) argues that the individualized representation of newsmakers with authority and credibility consolidates the reliability of the message, while the genericized, collectivized or aggregating representation of the same source reduces the truth. The dominance of individualized sources in both newspapers is thus not surprising, considering the necessity for credibility and authority in news reporting. In fact, almost all of these individualized social actors in two newspapers are experts and officials. In CD, of the total 201 occurrences, 81 (40%) are officials, 120 (60%) experts. In NYT, of the total 212 occurrences, 152 (72%) are officials, 53 (25%) experts. This is consistent with the above finding that CD prioritizes expert sources, NYT official sources. The two newspapers also show alignment with these voices by making constant reference to their names, professional identity and institutional status and origin (cf. Calsamiglia & Ferrero, 2003). These individualized officials are mainly represented by their proper names with/without the positions they hold in a certain place. For example:

US Treasury Secretary ***Timothy Geithner***

Foreign Ministry spokesman ***Ma Zhaoxu***

the Chinese premier, ***Wen Jiabao***

US President ***Barack Obama***

However, experts are often referred to by the positions they hold, the places where they work, and/or their academic qualifications, such as:

Dong Xian'an, ***chief*** *economist from Industrial Securities*

Eswar S. Prasad, a ***Cornell*** *economist*

Liu Wei, ***president*** *of Peking University's school of economics,*

Jin Canrong, a ***leading*** *US studies expert at the Renmin University of China*.

Zhang Ming, a ***researcher*** *with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*

Unlike officials who hold definite positions, these experts are often modified by what Bell (1985: 85; cited in van Leeuwen, 2008: 41) calls "pseudo titles", such as *a Cornell economist*. They are characterized by the frequent use of indefinite article *a* in these titles. While the titles these officials hold can self-explain why they are given voices and why their voices count in news reporting, the weight of these experts' discourses rely much on these pseudo titles. As van Dijk (1993b: 256) suggests, "power and dominance may be institutionalized to enhance their effectivity". Differences can also be identified in the individualized representation of these experts in two newspapers. While NYT constructs the authority of these experts by describing the academic positions they hold as well as the places where they work (e.g., *Eswar S. Prasad, a* ***Cornell*** *economist*), CD is noticed for its use of some adjectives to highlight their academic qualifications, such as *leading*, *senior*, *influential*, and *renowned* (e.g., *Cheng Siwei, an* ***influential*** *economist*). This can be viewed as their different strategies of showing alignment with these expert sources.

Genericization

Genericization refers to the representation of social actors as classes. In CD, genericized newsmakers include only *analysts* (8), *economists* (2), and *researchers* (1). However, NYT consists of *officials* (2), *economists* (4), *experts* (1), and *critics* (1).

The representation of newsmakers as a class is to present an objective face to the readers. It functions to introduce voice from a particular class of people. Zelier (1989: 383) views discourse representation as a collective practice, arguing that "news-quotes are generally *anonymous* and *uncentered*". These genericized representations of sources first "lend authority to largely unspecified sources behind the news" by "unit[ing] these sources into collective, potentially unreachable and anonymous bodies" (Zelier, 1989: 373). By referring to these anonymous genericized representations, journalists set a stage "that allows, even facilitates, potentially uncritical decoding of news" (Zelier, 1989: 373). Besides, they also help to establish the authority of the collective of journalists who brought these different voices together. Van Leeuwen (2008: 40) argues that genericization "endows actors with a kind of impersonal authority, a sense of unseen, yet powerfully felt coercive voice". Genericization itself can be viewed as a typical strategy of alignment in news reporting, because it generalizes the opinions or statements of a limited number of people to those of a whole category of people, thus increasing the authority of these represented discourses. Unlike NYT, CD is found preferring to use these genericized sources in the lead of news reports, as in the following:

(6) Growing domestic consumption and the international balance of payment have led to a rise in the country's latest imports and a drop in trade surplus, which ***analysts*** say will likely ease pressure on yuan appreciation. (CD, 2010/02/11)

This suggests that they function in CD not only to establish authority but also to create a homogenous voice towards the issue represented.

Collectivization

Collectivization is used much more frequently in NYT than in CD. They are used to refer to a particular group of community. Unlike genericization which only represents a particular class of people, it can classify people into particular communities, and the representations of these different groups are usually value-laden. In CD, there are only 7 collectively represented sources, and they are classified by their origins (e.g., *Chinese* vs. *Western*), and their positions (e.g., *senior* or *top*), such as *Chinese policymakers*, *senior officials*, and *Western economists*. The rare occurrences of this type in CD suggest that it does not favor the categorization of sources into different communities, which can be partly attributed to its preference for genericization. In contrast, 36 occurrences have been identified in NYT, such as *American lawmakers*, *Western bankers*, and *Western economists*. It shows that the NYT seeks to engage voices from different communities, which are treated as a homogeneous group with only one voice. This kind of categorization actually highlights and consolidates the differences and conflicts between people from different communities, e.g., *Chinese officials* vs. *White House officials*. Besides, it also highlights the contradictions inside Chinese community by frequently using these collectivized representations such as *people close to Chinese currency policy makers* (4), and *people with knowledge of the emerging consensus in Beijing* (4). In this sense, their different preferences for collectivization are not arbitrary but ideologically driven. It suggests that NYT tends to highlight competing claims over the issue by different groups of people.

Aggregation

Unlike collectivization, aggregation is characterized by the quantification of sources. According to van Leeuwen (2008: 37), aggregation is highly valued in Western society, because consensus is often achieved through the majority rules in democratic society. It is thus “often used to regulate practice and to manufacture consensus opinion” (van Leeuwen, 2008: 37), so its use is often subject to ideological control. As mentioned above, it is more emphasized in NYT (41, 12%) than in CD (17, 6%). Aggregation involves quantification, but sources can be quantified in varied ways. They can be connected by the simple word *and*, e.g., *President Obama and others*. They can also be quantified by exact figures (e.g., *130 House members*), quantifiers (such as *many, some, most, several*) and a few quantifying phrases (such as *a handful* *of*, *the growing number of*, and *a number of*). Examples are as follows:

> ***a handful of*** *senators*
>
> ***the growing number of*** *members of Congress*
>
> ***Many*** *members of Congress and economists*
>
> ***Most*** *Western economists*
>
> ***Some*** *Chinese economists*

One particular function of these different ways of quantification resides in their construction of particular ways of alignment/disalignment between news reporters and these represented sources as well as the following represented discourses. This can be reflected in their differential ways of quantifying these social actors as either "many" (e.g., ***most*** *economists*), or "some" (e.g., ***some*** *Chinese economists*), or just exact figures (e.g., ***130*** *House members*). In fact, there is no standard criterion as regards how large a number can be counted as "many" or "some". The exact ways of quantifying these social actors are actually subject to news reporters' different positions or stances towards them. These different ways of quantification are also consistent with van Dijk's (1998a) ideological square—positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. To be exact, those voices that align with the reporters' voices are quantified as "many" for emphasis, while those voices that disalign with the reporters' voices are quantified as "some" for mitigation and downplaying.

In NYT, only 3 of these represented sources belong to China, but they are quantified only by *several*, *some*, and *other* respectively, which create the impression of "not many". More than half of those voices from other origins (21 out of 38, 55%) are quantified by expressions communicating or suggesting the meaning of "many", such as *many* (10), *most* (3), *growing* (1), and *increasingly* (1). There are still some others (6) which are quantified by exact figures, e.g., ***130*** *House members*. By contrast, in CD, only 7 of the total 17 aggregated voices are from the US, and 3 of them are quantified by *some*: ***Some*** *US legislators*, ***some*** *130 US congressmen*, and ***some*** *US* *legislators and economists.* The rhetorical function of the quantifier *some* is particularly evident here in the example of ***some*** *130 US congressmen,* because the figure of US congressman, as has been mentioned above, is the exact number of 130 in NYT. It is used in this example mainly to put into question the exact figures and create the impression of being "not that many". Another strategy identified in CD is the distinction between politicians and economists, as can be seen in the example ***many*** *US politicians and* ***a few*** *economists.* This contrasting way of quantification is interesting because it suggests that the Renminbi issue is only a problem raised by many American politicians, but it is not supported by many experts in economy, thus questioning the legitimacy of the accusation. However, sources from China and other origins also demonstrate the frequent use of quantifying expressions communicating the meaning of "many", such as *many* (4), *a number of* (4), and *most* (1). Typical examples are ***most*** *Chinese economists*, and ***many*** *Chinese industry leaders*.

Objectivization

Both newspapers show similar preferences for objectivization, which is characterized by the representation of a voice as a place or thing, e.g., the use of *China* and *Beijing* to represent the voices from Chinese and the Chinese government. Van Leeuwen (2008: 47) identifies several functions for the use of objectivization, such as "backgrounding the identity and/or role of social actors", "lending impersonal authority or force to an action or quality of a social actor", and "adding positive or negative connotations to an action or utterance of a social actor". He further points out that objectivization or impersonalization is typical of bureaucratic language. Both newspapers are characterized by similar preferences for this way of representation. Typical examples are *China*, *the Ministry of Commerce*, and *Custom figures*. They are given voices because of the power of these institutions as well as the factual status of represented discourses. As the second most frequently used way of representation, objectivization serves to construct an impersonal and rational stance of two newspapers.

6.4 Summary

This chapter examines one important discursive practice of news reporting—the recontextualization of different discourses in news reporting. Based on the corpus-assisted analysis of the whole corpora as well as the manual analysis of selected sample texts, this chapter has revealed both similarities and differences in their ways of recontextualizing different discourses. The corpus-assisted analysis has demonstrated that CD tends to present an impersonal stance by frequently using these general communicative expressions, especially the neutral verb *said*. Manual analysis has demonstrated both similarities and differences in their ways of discourse representation. In spite of their stylistic variations in discourse representation, the present analysis shows that CD demonstrates much similarity with NYT in the overall choice of different representing strategies, such as modalities, the status and origins of sources, and their representations. However, differences have also been identified in their preferences for particular strategies. These differences and similarities in recontextualization strategies also shed light on the “hybridized” nature of CD: while incorporating the discursive practices of western journalism, it is still shaded by traditional Chinese journalism practices. They suggest CD’s particular way of stancetaking in its representation of the currency dispute.

Chapter 7 Attitudinal Stance: Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

7.1 Introduction

In view of the prevalence of conceptual metaphors in language, this chapter is devoted to the examination of metaphorical construction of the currency dispute in order to expose the attitudinal stance of each newspaper towards the issue as well as their cognitive bases. It starts with an introduction of the analytic method of critical metaphor analysis (hereafter CMA). Then it gives an overview of the dominant metaphor themes identified in two newspapers before giving a close examination of their realizations in two newspapers. Therefore, this chapter addresses both dominant metaphor themes and metaphorical expressions in two newspapers.

7.2 Critical metaphor analysis

The present analysis relies on the analytic method of CMA proposed by Charteris-Black (2004), which is characterized by an emphasis on the interdependence of semantic, pragmatic and cognitive dimensions of conceptual metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2004: 1). CMA argues that metaphor is inherently a persuasive act. It is closely related to evaluation, because it is "also concerned with both the articulation of points of view and of how we feel about them" (Charteris-Black, 2004: 11). Evaluation can be expressed explicitly and implicitly, and metaphor constitutes an important implicit way of evaluation. It is more manipulative and conventional in that it "taps into an accepted communal system of values" and becomes more acceptable. Conceptual metaphor thus provides another dimension for us to investigate particular ways of stancetaking.

The three-stage analysis of CMA is adapted for the present analysis. It involves metaphor identification, interpretation, and explanation. For Charteris-Black (2004), metaphor identification involves two steps. The first step is to identify metaphor keywords through qualitative examination of a small sample of texts. The second step involves a close examination of the use of each metaphor keyword to determine whether they are metaphorical or not. In the present study, in order to identify these metaphors that are closely related to the currency dispute, I start with the target domain by analyzing the concordance lines of three keywords which are used interchangeably to refer to Chinese yuan—*yuan*, *Renminbi*, and *currency*. Detailed information about the actual and normalized frequencies of each keyword is summarized in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Frequencies of three keywords in two corpora

	CD		**NYT**	
Types	**freq.**	**Norm.**	**freq.**	**Norm.**
yuan	1337	10007	604	2536
Renminbi	338	2530	495	2078
currency	753	5636	1649	6924
Total	**2428**	**18173**	**2748**	**11539**

Since two newspapers have different preferences for three terms, it is more accurate to analyze the three terms together rather than just one selected term. However, it is both impractical and unnecessary to analyze all the concordance lines of all three keywords, so a total of 500 concordance lines are randomly sampled for each newspaper, with 200 for both *yuan* and *currency* and 100 for *Renminbi* in view of the overall distribution of the three keywords in two newspapers. However, the identification of metaphorical expressions is not without problems (Semino, 2002; Semino & Short, 2004), and for the present study, Semino's (2002) criteria in the identification and quantification of metaphorical expressions are adopted. All those expressions that can be analyzed in terms of a mapping between two separate domains are identified as “metaphorical”. All metaphorically used words related to the same source domain in a concordance line are characterized as one instance of metaphorical expressions.

Metaphor interpretation refers to the interpretation of these metaphors in terms of their underlying cognitive modals as well as their pragmatic significances (Charteris-Black, 2004: 37-38). For the present analysis, each of these metaphors is interpreted in terms of their cognitive modals and quantified. These cognitive models represent different ways of conceptualizing the different aspects of the currency dispute. They are also examined in terms of the evaluative meanings they may convey. However, unlike Charteris-Black (2004), the examination of evaluative meanings is not confined to the identification of these linguistic metaphors which express evaluative meanings. Instead, these metaphorical expressions are also closely examined in their specific contexts in order to detect the evaluative meanings they may convey to their target readers.

Metaphor explanation addresses the explanation of the use of these metaphors in terms of their persuasive functions as well as the social agency that is involved in their production. The identification of their discourse functions allows us to expose their ideological and rhetorical motivation. For the present analysis, the use of these metaphors and their pragmatic significances are explained in terms of their roles in stance construction, the function and nature of each newspaper as well as the socio-political contexts where they are situated.

Therefore, a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses is adopted. Qualitative analyses are made on the identification of each metaphorical expression as well as the determination of their evaluative meanings in each concordance line, while quantitative analyses address the quantification of these metaphor themes as well as each type of evaluative meanings and their distribution in two newspapers.

7.3 Findings

Four dominant types of conceptual metaphors have been identified in two newspapers through a close examination of 500 concordance lines of the three keywords: PHYSICAL MOVEMENT, HEALTH/STRENGTH, PHYSICAL CONFLICT/WAR, and MACHINE. They are used respectively to conceptualize the following aspects of the currency dispute: exchange rate change, the state of Renminbi's value, the currency dispute, and the exchange rate system. Examples are as follows:

Type 1: EXCHANGE REATE CHANGE IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT:

(1) US President Barack Obama believes that China's currency will **rise** by a large margin and… (CD, 2010/06/29)

Type 2: THE STATE OF RENMINBI'S VALUE IS A STATE OF HEALTH/STRENGTH:

(2) Zhou Xiaochuan, the governor of China's central bank, also seemed to lend support to the idea of a **stronger** currency… (NYT, 2010/4/14)

Type 3: THE CURRENCY DISPUTE IS A PHYSICAL CONFLICT/WAR:

(3) …critics accuse the United States and other rich nations of **waging** an international currency **war** that harks to the protectionist… (NYT, 2010/10/20)

Type 4: EXCHANGE RATE SYSTEM IS A MACHINE:

(4) China **depegged** its currency from the greenback in July 2005… (CD, 2008/01/16)

This result is congruent to a large extent with findings of previous studies on metaphors in financial or business discourses (e.g., Charteris-Black, 2004: 134-169; Charteris-Black & Musolff, 2003; M. White, 2003). Charteris-Black (2004: 136) argues that the use of biological and mechanistic metaphors “has long been of importance in persuasive writing about economics”. In their comparative study of metaphors for euro trading in English and German financial reporting, Charteris-Black and Musolff (2003) demonstrate that euro trading tends to be conceptualized in terms of UP/DOWN MOVEMENT and HEALTH/STRENGTH metaphors in both English and German financial reporting. Besides, some other studies have also demonstrated that financial news discourse is characterized by a dominance of PHYSICAL COMBAT or WAR metaphors (Koller, 2003). As Eubanks (2005) argues, metaphors are “at least partly constituted intertextually”, which are shared, distributed and reinforced by members of a discourse community (cited in Koller et al., 2008: 142). The presence of these four types of metaphors in two newspapers suggests that they function as the cognitive bases for the common understanding of the currency dispute. It is these shared cognitive bases that provide the coherence for the exchange rate debate. As Eubanks (2000: 21) argues, “conceptual metaphor is a shared cognitive, cultural resource”.

Table 7.2 Four dominant metaphor themes in CD and NYT

	CD		**NYT**	
Types	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**
PHYSICAL MOVEMENT	90	36%	157	57%
MACHINE	48	19%	38	14%
HEALTH/STRENGTH	53	21%	40	14%
PHYSICAL CONFLICT/WAR	62	25%	42	15%
Total	**253**	**100%**	**277**	**100%**

Detailed information about their use in two newspapers is summarized in Table 7.2. Two newspapers do not show much difference in the total frequencies of these metaphors. As regards the distribution of the four metaphor themes in each newspaper, they also show similar trends, with PHYSICAL MOVEMENT metaphors taking the lead, followed in turn by PHYSICAL CONFLICT/WAR, HEALTH/STRENGTH, and MACHINE metaphors. It is unsurprising that PHYSICAL MOVEMENT metaphors are the most frequently used in both newspapers, since our data are concerned primarily with the issue of Renminbi appreciation. The actualized and/or potential changes in the value of the Renminbi thus have the greatest reader appeal and deserve the primary attention. A comparison of the internal significance of each type in both newspapers, however, reveals different preferences. NYT is distinctive for its preference for PHYSICAL MOVEMENT metaphors, while CD tends to puts slightly more emphasis on PHYSICAL CONFLICT/WAR, HEALTH/STRENGTH, and MACHINE metaphors. It suggests that NYT is concerned more about the change in the value of the Renminbi, while CD cares more about the nature of the exchange rate system, the state of the Renminbi as well as the conflictual nature of the currency dispute. This is consistent with the different positions of China and the US in the currency dispute. Since the US wants the Renminbi value to change, the emphasis on PHYSICAL MOVEMENT metaphors in NYT helps to express the US's request for Renminbi appreciation. However, since China is on the defensive side, the emphasis on PHYSICAL CONFLICT/WAR, HEALTH/STRENGTH, and MACHINE metaphors can help China to defend its stance in the currency dispute. In other words, CD is concerned about not only the change in the Renminbi value but also the nature of the exchange rate system, the state of the Renminbi as well as the seriousness of the conflict. In order to support this judgment, the following sections give a close examination of the above four dominant metaphor themes.

7.3.1 EXCHANGE RATE CHANGE IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT

Charteris-Black (2004: 158) argues that "a main communicative goal of financial reporters is to discuss changing market values since these are highly newsworthy". The function of this type of metaphors is to enable news reporters to talk about the abstract process of change in terms of the concrete processes of physical movements, thus facilitating the understanding of non-specialist readers.

Three types of movement can be distinguished for those metaphorical expressions: (a) upward movement (Upward); (b) downward movement (Downward), and (c) stability or movement without specific directions (stable/uncertain) (see Appendix 4). Type (a) is typically realized by word types such as *rise*, *high*, *go up*, and *hike*, whereas Type (b) is instantiated by word types such as *low*, *fall*, *slide*, and *drop*. Type (c) differs from the above two types in that it refers to movement without specified directions. Typical instantiated word types are *fluctuate* and *float*. There are still some tokens communicating the meaning of "stability", realized mainly by the word type *stable*/*stability*. They are also classified into Type (c) because of the unknown direction of movement. Table 7.3 summarizes the findings about the three types of movement in two newspapers.

Table 7.3 Types of movement metaphors in CD and NYT

	CD		NYT	
Types	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**
Type (a): Upward	49	54%	97	62%
Type (b): Downward	7	8%	27	17%
Type (c): Stable/uncertain	34	38%	33	21%
Total	**90**	**100%**	**157**	**100%**

Two newspapers show similar trends in their emphases on three types of movement, with the upward movement taking the lead, followed by downward movement and stability/movement with uncertain directions. This suggests that the rise in the value of the Renminbi is the main focus in both newspapers. This is easy to understand, because the main concern of the currency debate is whether the Renminbi should appreciate or not. This also explains why metaphorical expressions referring to the downward movement are the least frequently used in both newspapers. An interesting finding can be made by comparing the share of each type in both newspapers: NYT prefers to use Types (a) and (b), while CD prefers to use Type (c). This can be interpreted in terms of the rhetorical needs of two newspapers. The high emphasis on Type (a) in NYT, represented by the overwhelming use of the word type *rise* (76), reflects the US government's continuous request for Renminbi appreciation. On the other hand, in order to push the Chinese government to let the Renminbi appreciate, it also repeatedly accuses the Chinese government of deliberately controlling Renminbi's value at a low level. In contrast, the high emphasis on Type (c) suggests that CD highlights the stability in Renminbi's value, which can be witnessed in the most frequently used word type *stable*/*stability* (10) in CD.

Table 7.4 Evaluation of PHYSICAL MOVEMENT metaphors in CD

	Upward		**Downward**		**Uncertain/stable**		**Total**	
Evaluation	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**
Positive	17	35%	1	14%	21	62%	39	43%
Negative	25	51%	5	71%	9	26%	39	43%
Uncertain/Neutral	7	14%	1	14%	4	12%	12	13%
Total	**49**	**100%**	**7**	**100%**	**34**	**100%**	**90**	**100%**

Table 7.5 Evaluation of PHYSICAL MOVEMENT metaphors in NYT

	Upward		**Downward**		**Uncertain/stable**		**Total**	
Evaluation	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**
Positive	42	43%	1	4%	12	36%	55	35%
Negative	43	44%	25	93%	16	48%	84	54%
Uncertain/Neutral	12	12%	1	4%	5	15%	18	11%
Total	**97**	**100%**	**27**	**100%**	**33**	**100%**	**157**	**100%**

These different preferences can be further supported by the different ways these metaphorical expressions are evaluated in two newspapers. Tables 7.4 and 7.5 summarize respectively the evaluation of three types of movement metaphors in CD and NYT. NYT shows a balanced negative and positive evaluation of the upward movement of Renminbi's value. However, the upward movement is more negatively (51%) than positively (35%) evaluated in CD, which reflects the apparent anti-appreciation stance in CD. As regards the downward movement of Renminbi's value, both newspapers evaluate it in a dominantly negative way. However, due to their limited occurrences, no systematic trend can be identified in CD. In contrast, NYT shows a consistent way of negatively evaluating it in terms of the claim that it is made on purpose, as in the following:

(6) They include placing broad restrictions on imports and intervening heavily in currency markets to hold ***down*** the value of the renminbi… (NYT, 2009/09/17)

(7) The administration has complained that China has kept the value of its currency, the yuan, artificially ***low*** to make its exports cheaper to people paying in dollars. (NYT, 2006/09/02)

This supports my previous assumption that they are used mainly to accuse China of making Renminbi's value low on purpose. Two newspapers also demonstrate competing trends in the evaluation of the stability and movement without specific directions. They are much more positively (62%) than negatively (26%) evaluated in CD. However, NYT shows a reverse trend, with 48% of them negatively evaluated but 36% positively evaluated. This also confirms the previous assumption that CD stresses the stability in the movement of Renminbi's value. However, as regards the overall trend in the evaluation of physical movement metaphors, CD features a surprisingly balanced positive (43%) and negative (43%) evaluation, while NYT is characterized by a preference for negative (54%) rather than positive (35%)

evaluation. This difference can be associated with the critical reporting style of liberal journalism (NYT) and the positive reporting style of authoritarian journalism (CD). Even though the currency dispute is a bad news for China, CD still tries to present it in a positive light by focusing on the positive aspect of the issue in order to construct a positive image of China.

7.3.2 EXCHANGE RATE POLICY IS A MACHINE

Metaphors of MACHINE are a metaphor theme that is slightly more frequently used in CD than in NYT. Previous studies on economic discourse and financial reporting have revealed that metaphors of *mechanical process* are one of the dominant metaphors of economy in contemporary economic discourse (cf. Charteris-Black, 2004: 135-169; Charteris-Black & Musolff, 2003; Charteris-Black & Ennis, 2000). The common presence of MACHINE metaphors can be attributed to the dominant position of mechanical and industrial elements in Western culture as a result of the industrial revolution as well as the central position of mechanical processes in economic activity (M. White, 2003). Mechanical processes and their accompanying lexis have pervaded the economic discourse and become so conventionalized that they can facilitate understanding by contributing to the expression of abstract economic activity.

Two newspapers also show a similar number of word types in this metaphor theme, 15 in CD and 13 in NYT (see Appendix 5). These metaphors are used mainly to conceptualize the working of China's exchange rate system. To conceptualize exchange rate system as a machine entails the necessity of control, so it can be expected that metaphors of this kind are used in a positive way in CD but in a negative way in NYT. At the core of the issue is the pegging of Chinese yuan to the US dollar and the convertibility of the yuan in the international market, as the most frequently used word types—*peg* and *convertible*—in both newspapers suggest. Different evaluative meanings can be detected through their choice of word types.

NYT gives a negative evaluation of Chinese pegging of the yuan to the dollar, as can be witnessed in these used word types such as *fix*, *tie*, *link*, *lock* and *yoke*, which all carry the implicature that the yuan is rigidly pegged to the dollar without changes. This negative attitudinal stance is also supported by a close examination of the use of peg/repegged in its context. Examples are as follows.

(8) "To have one country **pegging** their currency at a certain level instead of letting it float is dishonest," he said. (NYT, 2010/03/17)

Therefore, NYT's frequent use of this type of machine metaphors is mainly to criticize the Chinese government's practice of refusing to let the Renminbi appreciate. This negative attitudinal stance is also echoed by the use of another word type *overhaul* in NYT, which indicates that the machine of China's exchange rate system does not work appropriately and awaits thorough check and repair.

However, although *peg*, as a word type, is also most frequently used in CD, it occurs with terms such as *no longer*, *end*, and *drop* to report the Chinese government's practice of changing the peg of the yuan to the dollar. From this perspective, it is used to emphasize China's positive stance towards changing its exchange rate policy, as in the following:

(9) In a long-awaited but unexpected move, China yesterday announced that its currency will no longer be **pegged** to the US dollar. (CD, 2008/02/27)

This is also supported by the use of some other word types such as *resilience* and *elasticity*, which emphasize the flexibility of exchange rate system. While NYT emphasizes the *overhaul* of exchange rate system, CD prioritizes the use of *adjust*, which communicates the meaning of making some changes on the exchange rate machine. Therefore, apart from their differences in preferences, CD and NYT also differ in the choice of different word types to construct their respective attitudinal stances towards the Chinese exchange rate system.

7.3.3 THE STATE OF RENMINBI'S VALUE IS A STATE OF HEALTH/STRENGTH

Another important cluster of metaphors is related to this conceptual metaphor. 11 types are identified in CD, but only 7 types are identified in NYT (see Appendix 6). Their total frequencies in CD (53) are also slightly higher than those in NYT (40), which suggests that they are more favored in CD than in NYT. The most frequently used word type in both newspapers is *stronger/strengthen*. The frequent use of the comparative form and the verb form of *strong* carries the presupposition that the yuan is conceptualized as in a poor state of health. This is also supported by the frequent use of the type *weak*/*weaken* in two newspapers. The conceptualization of the yuan as in a poor state of health suggests that it is a patient waiting for remedy. This is also revealed in the use of the types like *distortion* and *woe*, which all suggest that the Renminbi is in pain. For the US, the Chinese government is responsible for the remedy of the poor state of health of the Renminbi. Therefore, NYT repeatedly use the comparative form and verb form of *strong* to emphasize that the health of the Renminbi should be improved. Although this request for a good state of health for the Renminbi by the US government makes the metaphors of *weak/weakening* yuan all negatively evaluated in NYT, the evaluation of a *stronger* yuan is not completely optimistic. In fact, 11 of the 20 tokens are negatively evaluated in terms of primarily the effect of Renminbi appreciation, as in the following:

(10) But there are two main reasons that a **stronger** renminbi probably will <u>not lead to a rapid hiring increase</u> in the United States. (NYT, 2010/09/22)

This suggests that NYT tends to present a relatively balanced view of Renminbi appreciation. However, in terms of the evaluation of all the metaphors in this type, NYT is characterized by a typical critical style, with 60% of them negatively evaluated but 38% of them positively evaluated (see Table 7.6). This is congruent with the overall critical style of liberal journalism as well as the critical stance towards Renminbi appreciation.

Table 7.6 Evaluation of STATE OF HEALTH/STRENTH metaphors in CD and NYT

	NYT		CD	
Types	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**
Positive	15	38%	31	58%
Negative	24	60%	17	32%
Neutral/unknown	1	3%	5	9%
Total	**40**	**100%**	**53**	**100%**

In contrast, CD prefers positive evaluation (58%) to negative evaluation (32%), which is also consistent with CD's positive reporting style. The yuan's poor state of health is certainly not a problem, because only 2 out of the 9 tokens of the type *weak/weaken* are negatively evaluated, as in the following:

(11) A **weaker** yuan will <u>prevent exports from further deteriorating</u>, Li said.

(CD, 2010/10/28)

In other words, CD is concerned not about the state of health of the yuan, but about the potential impact of the yuan exchange rate. In terms of the *stronger* state of yuan, 7 of them are negatively evaluated, 6 positively evaluated. This reflects that CD also emphasizes both the positive and negative aspects of Renminbi appreciation. *Stronger* yuan is often negatively evaluated in terms of its effect and performance, but positively evaluated in terms of its benefits. This reflects the contradiction in CD. As has been discussed in Chapter 4, this can be explained in terms of the dilemma of the Chinese government on the issue. On the one hand, it wants to reject the US government's request for Renminbi appreciation by highlighting the potential impact of Renminbi appreciation; on the other hand, it also seeks to appease the public and justify its policy change when it allows the Renminbi to appreciate.

Apart from the conceptualization of the state of Renminbi's value as a state of strength, CD also conceptualizes the Renminbi as a patient, who suffers from the pressure from other counties. This is realized by word types such as *alleviate*, *ease*, *mitigate*, and *symptom*. However, the majority of these word types communicate the positive evaluation of Renminbi's sufferings, suggesting that the state is turning better, as in the following

> (12) This will lead to more efficient use of resources, **alleviate** pressure on the renminbi, make monetary policy more independent… (CD, 2005/08/05)

7.3.4 THE CURRENCY DISPUTE IS A PHYSICAL CONFLICT/WAR

The dominance of WAR/PHYSICAL CONFLICT metaphors in business media discourse has been demonstrated and discussed in a number of studies (e.g., Koller, 2003; Eubanks, 2000; Charteris-Black and Musolff, 2003; Charteris-Black &Ennis, 2001). Koller (2003: 6) suggests that this is because the source domain of WAR metaphor is not uniform, varying from physical violence to military strategy. She attributes this phenomenon to the fact that war originates from fighting in the course of human history. In their study of metaphorical construction of euro trading in English and German financial reporting, Charteris-Black and Musolff (2004: 146) found that English financial reporting is characterized by the frequent use of metaphorical expressions related to the source domains of boxing and war, so they use the term PHYSICAL COMBAT to characterize this kind of aggressive behaviors related to war, boxing and other types of aggressive behaviors. While acknowledging the various source domains of WAR metaphors, these studies fail to address the potential functions they serve in business media discourse. The present analysis shows that the alternation between PHYSICAL CONFLICT and WAR metaphors actually serves different rhetorical and ideological significances in the representations of the currency dispute between China and the US.

As mentioned above, more metaphors of this type are used in CD (62) than in NYT (42) (see Appendix6). They are realized by word types such as *impact*, *war*, *fight*, *regime*, *attack*, *tension*, etc. Examples are as follows:

> (13) The passage of the bill may seriously affect China's currency reforms, potentially leading to a trade **war** between the two sides… (CD, 2011/10/08)

> (14) But even without the currency **fight**, the economics of sock-making here are shifting. (NYT, 2010/11/22)

Metaphors of PHYSICAL CONFLICT and WAR can be discussed together because they share much similarity in conceptual schemata. Both involve two opposing parties fighting each other in a certain circumstance, for a certain purpose, and with some consequences. Their differences reside primarily in the fierceness and the scale of the conflict. As a result of this, they are often instantiated by the same metaphorical expressions, such as *impact*, *damage*, *hurt*, *harm*, and *threaten*. These expressions can be assigned to either the WAR or the PHYSICAL CONFLICT metaphors, so it is sometimes very hard to make a clear distinction between them in analysis (Charteris-Black and Musolff, 2003). There are still some metaphorical expressions which can be distinctively identified as solely WAR or PHYSICAL CONFLICT metaphors. Typical word types for WAR metaphors are *war*, *regime*, *front*, *survival*, and *rally*, while those for PHYSICAL CONFLICT metaphors are *fight*, *lash*, *pinch*, *squeeze*, and *hit*. Table 7.7 summarizes the use of three types of metaphorical expressions in CD and NYT: PHYSICAL CONFLICT metaphors, WAR metaphors, and both.

Table 7.7 Sub-categories of PHYSICAL CONFLICT/WAR metaphors

	CD		NYT	
Types	**freq.**	**%**	**freq.**	**%**
PHYSICAL CONFLICT	8	13%	17	40%
WAR	33	53%	19	45%
Both	21	34%	6	14%
Total	**62**	**100%**	**42**	**100%**

The two newspapers show apparent differences in the choice of PHYSICAL CONFLICT and WAR metaphors. CD is characterized by a high preference for WAR metaphors (53%) but a low preference for PHYSICAL CONFLICT metaphors (13%). In contrast, NYT shows a similar preference for both types of metaphors. This difference suggests that CD tends to conceptualize the currency dispute in a much fiercer way than does NYT.

This can be further confirmed by their different ways of using these metaphors. NYT conceptualizes the US government's action towards China mainly as a physical conflict, realized by metaphorical expressions such as *fight*, *chide*, *lash*, *assail*, *wiggle*, and *wrangle*, as in the following:

(15) Since taking office, Mr. Obama has been reluctant to publicly **assail** China on its currency. (NYT, 2009/11/14)

(16) Meanwhile, the American companies most likely to oppose Washington's currency **fight** with Beijing are businesses like PS Brands… (NYT, 2010/11/17)

However, tokens of this type do not appear in CD, which, instead, repeatedly conceptualizes the dispute as well as the US's actions against China as a war. This can be witnessed in some frequently used word types, such as *attack*, *ammunition*, *defend*, *front*, and *rally*. Examples are as follows:

(17) That has provided some foreign nations, including the United States, with **ammunition** to pressure China to allow its currency to rise… (CD, 2011/01/25)

(18) Top brass at international hotel chains are closely watching developments on the currency **front**. (CD, 2010/07/06)

Besides, CD is also noted for its special emphasis on the use of this type of metaphors to dramatize the impact of the currency dispute, especially Renminbi appreciation. It accounts for 45% of all these metaphorical expressions (28 out of 62) in CD but only 26% of (11 out of 42) those in NYT. While both newspapers feature the use of these metaphorical expressions which can be assigned to either PHYSICAL CONFLICT or WAR metaphor, such as *impact*, *damage*, and *hurt*, CD shows a preference for WAR metaphors and some PHYSICAL CONFLICT metaphors which carry strong forces to sensationalize the impact, such as *war*, *cut*, *batter*, *survival*, and *blow*, as in the following:

(19) The dispute between the US and emerging countries is seen to be a possible prelude to a global currency **war**. (CD, 2010/10/25)

(20) … said Liu Jun, chief executive of the company, adding that profits will be **cut** <u>sharply</u> if the yuan appreciates. (CD, 2010/06/25)

In contrast, NYT prefers some PHYSICAL CONFLICT metaphors which imply the small impact of the currency dispute or Renminbi appreciation, such as *squeeze* and *pinch*, as in the following:

(21) Big American multinational manufacturing companies can feel the **pinch** of

dollar-renminbi fluctuations. (NYT, 2010/11/16)

(22) …while the slight rise in the renminbi that the authorities are now permitting will **squeeze** margins for exporters. (NYT, 2010/06/30)

These differences in conceptualizations as well as preferences are certainly not accidental. They indicate two newspapers' different rhetorical purposes of downplaying and overplaying the fierceness of the conflict. NYT's preference for PHYSICAL CONFLICT metaphors serves to downplay the fierceness of the conflict between China and the US as well as the aggressiveness of the US government's action. The conceptualization of the dispute as a physical conflict activates a win-or-lose schema, so it justifies the US's action because the loss of a fight is a shame. However, CD tends to use WAR metaphors to highlight that China is under attack from the US, and this can easily arouse the collective memory of China's history of being colonized by Western countries. A WAR metaphor conceptualizes China as the victim and the US as the aggressor. It activates a life-or-death schema, and turns the question of Renminbi appreciation into a question whether China can resist the aggression from the US or not. Through playing up nationalistic feelings, it entertains the dominant ideology of anti-Americanism that has long been cultivated in Chinese media in the last two decades (Lee, 2003a). Therefore, it can legitimize China's rejection of the US government's request for any move in the currency issue.

7.4 Summary

To sum up, based on CMA, this chapter has identified four dominant metaphor themes used by two newspapers in their respective construction of the currency dispute: PHYSICAL MOVEMENT, HEALTH/STRENGTH, and PHYSICAL CONFLICT/WAR, MACHINE. This shows that two newspapers share similar cognitive bases in their conceptualizations of the currency dispute. However, a close examination of specific uses of these metaphors in their contexts has revealed that these dominant metaphor themes are recontextualized, appropriated and manipulated to construct their different ideological stances towards the issue, which in turn contributes to the construction of their different professional personae. NYT shows a particular preference for PHYSICAL MOVEMENT metaphors, while CD is characterized by the slightly higher emphasis on MACHINE, HEALTH/STRENGTH, and PHYSICAL CONFLICT/WAR metaphors. Besides, NYT shows an apparent supportive stance towards Renminbi appreciation by highlighting the upward and downward movement of Renminbi's value, the wrong conditions of the currency exchange rate machine as well as the poor state of the health of Renminbi. It downplays the fierceness of the conflict as well as the impact of Renminbi appreciation by conceptualizing the currency dispute primarily as a fight. On the contrary, CD features an anti-appreciation stance by emphasizing the stability of Renminbi's value, the adjustment of the exchange rate machine, and the consequences of the changing state of Renminbi's value. It also dramatizes and sensationalizes the fierceness of the currency dispute as well as the consequences of Renminbi appreciation by conceptualizing the currency dispute more as a war. Besides, the semantic prosodies of these metaphorical expressions also reveal that CD is distinguished for a positive reporting style, while NYT features a critical reporting style. Therefore, CMA in this chapter has identified not only the cognitive bases of two newspapers but also their pragmatic and rhetorical uses of conceptual metaphors in the construction of their respective attitudinal stance towards the issue.

Chapter 8 Conclusion and Discussions

8.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a summary of the key findings of this research based on analyses in previous chapters, followed by discussions on the social factors contributing to the competing and hybridized nature of CD and on the implications for future CDA studies on China's media discourse. The chapter concludes with suggestions for future research.

8.2 Summary of the main findings

This section summarizes the key findings of this research centered on the four research questions raised in Chapter 3.

Question 1: How do CD and NYT construct their respective attitudinal stance towards the issue?

The analysis of key SMCs as well as conceptual metaphors in two newspapers shows both similarities and differences in their construction of attitudinal stance. Key SMC analysis reveals that different SMCs are employed by two newspapers to construct their respective attitudinal stances towards the issue. CD exhibits a positive prosody via the use of explicit evaluative SMCs with positive connotation, while NYT displays an apparent negative prosody via the deployment of explicit evaluative SMCs with negative meanings. Besides, the two newspapers also have different emphases laid on the types of evaluative meanings communicated, with CD on institutional affect but NYT on personal affect. Evoked attitudinal stance analysis reveals that the two newspapers have different preferences for some SMCs which suggest their different values and ideologies. NYT stresses that the Renminbi exchange rate is deliberately manipulated by the Chinese government, and that it will appreciate spontaneously without the control of the Chinese government. It emphasizes the importance of playing by the rules, indicating that China is not observing the rule as the US is. All these reflect the hegemonic presence of neoliberal ideology, which values free market and the role of rules and law. In contrast, CD acknowledges the necessity for exchange rate reform on the one hand, but underlines the significance of stability in exchange rate policies on the other hand. It insists that China's exchange rate reform must suit the needs of domestic economic development, and must be implemented under government control and in accordance with China's national interests. CD also tends to justify the controlled reform in China's exchange rate mechanism by stressing that such changes should not cause serious problems to businesses inside China, and to reject the US's push for Renminbi appreciation, arguing that Renminbi revaluation will not help solving the domestic issues in the US.

As regards the metaphorical construction of the currency dispute, the two newspapers frequently use four dominant metaphor themes: PHYSICAL MOVEMENT, MACHINE, HEALTH/STRENGTH, and PHYSICAL CONFLICT/WAR. They are used in turn to conceptualize four target domains closely related to four aspects of the currency dispute: exchange rate change, exchange rate system, the state of Renminbi's value, and the dispute itself. The use of these metaphor themes can be attributed to either the conventional features of economic discourse or the particular nature of the currency dispute. Although the two newspapers show similar trends in the use of four types of conceptual metaphor themes, they differ in both their preferences for them and their linguistic realizations. NYT exhibits a particular preference for physical movement metaphors, while CD pays slightly more emphasis on machine, physical conflict/war, and health/strength metaphors. Besides, CD presents a negative evaluation of the upward movement of Renminbi's value and a dominantly positive evaluation of the health/strength of the Renminbi. Conversely, NYT projects a relatively balanced negative and positive evaluation of the upward movement of Renminbi's value and a dominantly negative evaluation of the health/strength of the

Renminbi. This reflects their different stance towards Renminbi appreciation as well as the state of the Renminbi. In addition, NYT tends to describe the currency dispute as a fight in order to downplay the fierceness of the conflict and to justify the push for Renminbi appreciation. CD prefers to view the currency dispute as a war to escalate the conflict, exaggerate the impact of Renminbi appreciation, and play up nationalistic feelings towards the US. It can be viewed as rhetoric strategies for deterring the US from exerting further pressure for Renminbi appreciation, and justifying Chinese government's stance in the currency dispute.

Question 2: How do they position themselves with respect to their putative readers?

The analysis of positioning also reveals similarities and differences in the deployment of pronouns, modals and stance adverbs between the two newspapers. The two newspapers display similar trends in the use of several main pronouns in English, with third person pronouns, *it* in particular, taking the dominant share. However, CD shows a preference for the first person plural pronoun *we*, NYT for the second person pronoun *you*. This suggests that NYT tends to be more dialogic than CD. The two newspapers also show great differences in the use of modals. CD tends to use more modals than NYT, especially the modal verb *will* which refers to future plans or making predictions. Differences can also be identified in their use of three groups of modals: volition/prediction, obligation/necessity, and permission/possibility/ability. The findings suggest that CD places more emphasis on the first two types, while NYT focuses more on the third type. This shows that CD tends to be more authoritarian and face threatening than NYT. Besides, the analysis of stance adverbs indicates that NYT uses more epistemic and attitude stance adverbs than CD does. Further detailed analyses reveal that CD has a preference for certainty stance adverbs, while the preference of NYT is likelihood stance adverbs. This also suggests that CD tends to be more authoritarian than NYT, which can also be witnessed in the choice of specific stance adverbs in each category. All these findings combine to indicate that compared with NYT, CD still features a higher writer-reader power distance, a narrower dialogic space between alternative points of view, and, above all, a more face-threatening and authoritarian style.

Question 3: How do they show alignment and disalignment with certain groups of voices?

Both newspapers feature frequent recontextualization of other voices in the representation of the currency dispute. However, the corpus-assisted analysis in the present study shows that CD relies more on the recontextualization of others' speeches than NYT in the representation of the currency dispute. Furthermore, CD shows a preference for the use of neutral speech expressions, while NYT uses more speech act expressions. This suggests that CD favors less interference with others' speeches than NYT, which is congruent with Yao's (2002) point that Chinese newspapers prefer presentation, while Western newspapers prefer representation. Detailed qualitative analysis shows that while the two newspapers show similar trends in the choice of modalities in discourse representation, with ID taking the lead, followed by DD and MD, CD shows preference for DD, while NYT inclines more towards ID. Both newspapers give the dominant share of voices to authority figures, which can be attributed to the particular nature of the issue. However, CD gives the dominant share of voices to experts, while NYT gives it to officials. As regards the origins of these voices, both newspapers give an equal share of voices to those from their own side and those from other sides. Nevertheless, CD gives the second largest share of voices to those from third parties, NYT to those from China. In terms of the representations of these voices, NYT uses more aggregations and collectivizations, CD more individualizations, genericizations, and objectivizations, although individualization takes the largest share in both newspapers. These differences are indicative of their preferences for aligning or disaligning with these voices, which reveal both their different journalistic conventions as well as their different rhetorical needs in stance construction.

Question 4: How do these particular ways of evaluation, positioning, and alignment reveal CD as a competing and hybridized discourse?

From the above analyses, conclusion can be drawn that CD represents a competing and hybridized discourse. On the one hand, it remains by and large a typical authoritarian newspaper and aligns with the dominant interests of the Chinese government by always defending the government's stance towards the issue. No matter what policy changes the Chinese government makes, CD always seeks to highlight the upsides and underplay the downsides. Meanwhile, it repudiates the US's call for Renminbi appreciation, accusing the US of using the Renminbi exchange rate issue to shift the blame for its own economic woes, questioning the effectiveness of Renminbi appreciation, and dramatizing the consequences of the currency dispute. Therefore, its function as a typical government mouthpiece remains unchanged, since it still serves as a platform for building positive images for the Chinese government and its policies and a channel for competing with different voices from other countries. Consequently, it still features a positive and authoritarian reporting style and a high power distance between writers and readers. Even though the currency dispute is a negative issue for China when it is raised between China and the US, CD still tries to view the issue in a positive light. The choice of pronouns, modals, and stance adverbs also shows that it is still characterized by a higher power distance and a less "dialogic" style than NYT. In terms of discourse representation, under the influence of traditional Chinese-language newspapers, it still tends to use comparatively more DD and prefers less interference with others' original words than NYT.

On the other hand, CD also shows the influences of liberal journalism as well as globalism. While refusing the request for Renminbi appreciation, CD also acknowledges the necessity for change and reform in Renminbi exchange rate policies. Behind CD's representations is the neoliberal common ground, which reflects China's desire for joining the neo-liberal world order (Lee, 2003). However, this neoliberal ideology is appropriated to suit the needs of the Chinese government, i.e., "neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics" (Harvey, 2005: 120). Hence the neoliberal discourse in CD often occurs with nationalistic discourse, emphasizing that change in the exchange rate regime must take place gradually to meet the needs of Chinese economic development and to keep in line with the national interests. The primary dispute over the Renminbi exchange rate resides in the ways of Renminbi appreciation rather than the necessity for appreciation. Therefore, the neoliberal hegemony behind the US's push for Renminbi appreciation is rarely questioned and challenged. The conflict between the necessity for change and the refusal to change is resolved through presenting future plans and making predictions, which is evident in the overwhelming use of the prediction/volition modals. Moreover, the reporting styles that used to characterize the traditional liberal journalism are also incorporated in CD in order to construct an image of impartiality and rationality. My analyses have demonstrated that CD and NYT have many similarities in the overall use of some grammatical patterns, such as pronouns, the choice of modalities of discourse representation, the choice of modals, stance adverbs, as well as the choice of metaphor themes. However, it also demonstrates preferences for expert voices, the choice of neutral speech verbs, the relatively balanced treatment of the voices from China and those from other origins, and genericized and individualized representations of these voices. These different practices show that CD represents a hybridized discourse to a certain extent.

8.3 Discussions

The following section discusses the socio-historical causes for CD as a competing and hybridized discourse and dwell on the implications of the present study for CDA studies on contemporary Chinese media discourse before proposing some directions for future research.

8.2.1 CD as a competing and hybridized discourse

This research has drawn attention to the special role and function of CD in China's media systems, arguing that it represents a competing and hybridized discourse. The understanding of CD as a competing discourse is based on CD's special role and functions in Chinese media systems. As a product of China's opening up, CD shoulders the responsibility of communicating Chinese voices and introducing Chinese political, economical and cultural progress and other related information to foreigners inside and outside China since its very birth (Cheng, 1995; Yu, 2011). As the first and also, for a long time, the only national English-language newspaper, it has played a leading and unparalleled role in China's external communication and propaganda. The rising status of China in the international arena and its increasing integration with the rest of the world in the 21st century have called for a new role in communicating Chinese voices, i.e. competing with dominant Western voices in international affairs in order to enhance China's image and justify its interests. The understanding of CD, or English-language media in China, is inseparable from the understanding of this competing function. As Zhao (2012: 173) argues, apart from comparing media systems "within the relative confines of national political economies and cultures", comparative media studies should also address "the dynamics of hybridization and contestation between different media systems and political cultures". The study of CD as a competing discourse, especially in its representations of issues of international significances, can reveal how it competes with Western media in communicating Chinese voices, constructing a positive image for China and justifying and legitimizing Chinese government policies, and how globalism and nationalism compete to shape its discourse (Lee, 2003a).

This competing function of CD also contributes to a hybridized discourse (Guo & Huang, 2002). Despite its claimed daily circulation of 900, 000 copies worldwide, the influence of CD in the international arena is still far from satisfactory (Zhu, 2004). The fierce competition between international and domestic media thus pushes English media in China to improve its traditional authoritarian reporting styles through appropriating the popular liberal reporting styles to enhance their communication effectiveness. The last two decades have witnessed several reforms and changes in Chinese media systems, especially the English-language media system. Since its birth in 1981, CD has undergone five changes in both its layout and reporting styles, three of which took place in the last decade (Li, 2004; Liu & Zhao, 2010). In 2010, CD made its fifth and also the biggest revamp in its 29-year history in order to create “a cosmopolitan and sophisticated look to go with its rich content and its unique status as the country’s national English-language newspaper” (CD, 2010/03/01). It means that CD has deviated from the traditional reporting styles of authoritarian journalism to report news in a way familiar to foreign readers (Zhu, 2004). Therefore, the study of CD as a hybridized discourse can reveal the interplay of traditional Chinese authoritarian journalism and dominant liberal journalism as well as to what extent CD has deviated from the former and moved towards the latter.

In order to identify this competing and hybridized nature of CD, the present study has established an integrated analytic framework by incorporating the notion of discourse system and the concept of stancetaking into the sociocognitive approach in CDA. The basic argument is that newspapers from different media systems differ not so much in the choice of language forms as in their particular ways of stancetaking. Through a comparative study of the representations of the Sino-US currency dispute in CD and NYT, the present study has revealed that CD is still different from NYT in their ways of stance construction. CD still maintains a positive reporting style, displaying a preference for adjectives with abstract meanings, and a high writer-reader power distance. These features which used to characterize typical authoritarian reporting styles still weaken the communication effects (cf. Wu, 2003; Duan & Zhou, 2007). While appropriating the discursive practice of incorporating different voices from liberal journalism, CD remains weak in the relatively balanced representations of supportive and opposite voices (Shan, 2008; Wu, 2003). As a result, these voices from different sides are often used to support the same idea, while opposite voices often do not get the chance of appearing in these news reports. Besides, contemporary liberal news media in the West such as NYT have gradually moved away from traditional impersonal reporting style to a more personal reporting style. CD's emphasis on the objectivity of news reporting and direct discourse representation also affect the direct communication between reporters and readers and reduces its readability. In this sense, there is still a wide gap between CD's news reporting and mainstream liberal news reporting in Western societies.

This is hardly surprising, because the primary function of CD as a government mouthpiece or a channel for external communication by and large remains unchanged. While audience design and reader appeals serve as the external forces for its changing styles, the main causes for these changes are self-motivated. The hybridized trend is more a process of appropriation and heterogenization than a process of colonization and homogenization. The appropriation of liberal discourse only takes place within the confines of its special function in China's media systems, so it is characterized by "a relationship of containment between what is ideologically creative and what is ideologically determining, the former developing only within limits set down by the latter" (Fairclough, 1989: 196). No matter what kind of compromises it has made to appeal to foreign audience, the changes it can make will still be limited as long as its role in Chinese socio-political structure remains unchanged. While appropriating the liberal reporting style, CD always insists that it is to serve the Chinese government's interests (Cheng, 1995). As Zhao (2012) argues, China's media system, instead of being assimilated into the liberal modal, has become as entrenched as the Western media system as a result of its adaptive and resilient nature. My interview with a senior editor in CD also confirms that the control from the central government in the release of the news is by no means loosened. They still have to receive constant instructions from the top as regards the content and practices of news reporting.

However, this hybridized trend does help to turn the traditional propaganda discourse into a hegemonic discourse. According to Zhao (2012: 51), "while the current discourse is more diverse and less manipulative, it is important to recognize its new mobilizing and disciplinary role and the new relations of power it serves to establish and legitimize". The hybridized nature has become the norm of English-language media in China (Guo & Huang, 2002), or Chinese media discourse (Wu & Liu, 2011). Although it does not necessarily weaken existing power relations, it "tends to dent and declassify party journalism discourse" (Guo & Huang, 2002: 119). The study of CD as a competing and hybridized discourse thus helps to explicate the complicated relations between ideology and discourse and capture the ideological contradiction and contestation in this special newspaper in China's media systems.

8.2.2 Implications for CDA studies on Chinese media discourse

This research proposes to incorporate the concept of stancetaking into CDA based on the understanding that stancetaking is also ideologically significant. Different attitudinal stances cannot be simply reduced to ideological significances, even though they may be ideologically grounded and constitutive. There is a dialectical relation between ideology and stancetaking. Stancetaking is the actualization and instantiation of certain aspects of ideology, and the popularization and conventionalization of particular stances may turn them into ideologies (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009). The significance of this concept resides in its role in illuminating not only the differences of ideologically different newspapers but also the stance differences of ideologically similar newspapers. It is thus argued that not all stance differences can be reduced to ideological differences, because different representations of the same issue may stem from primarily stance differences rather than ideological differences. This distinction is crucial to the understanding of the differences between newspapers from different systems as well as the different representations of the same issue by newspapers in the same or similar media systems. This can help to overcome the weaknesses of previous CDA studies which attribute almost all differences in representations to ideological differences, thus reducing ideologies simply to discourse representations (Block et al., 2012).

In the present study, while the hegemony of neoliberal ideology can be identified in both CD and NYT, they are entertained, appropriated and recontextualized by CD and NYT to construct their respective stances towards the Renminbi issue. Furthermore, CD adapts the authoritarian ideology underlying Chinese journalism to the interest of foreign readers. It is argued that CDA studies should not be confined to "critical analyses of discourse to highly integrated, Late Modern, and post-industrial, densely semiotised First-World societies" (Blommaert, 2005: 35). The study of Chinese media discourse can be one of primary focuses in CDA studies, in view of the rising status of China in the international arena, the dramatic social transformations that China is undergoing and the unique functions of media in China. As Lee (2003a: 1) suggests, "China and its media have been caught in the crosscurrents of nationalism and globalism". These competing forces of nationalism and globalism and their influences on Chinese media discourse should be one of our primary concerns in the studies on Chinese media discourse. On the one hand, it can help to illuminate how contradictions and ambiguities co-exist in the Chinese media and how competing discourses can be recontextualized, appropriated and manipulated to advance China's own interests. On the other hand, it can also reveal how these competing forces and discourses can in turn shape the Chinese media market, discourse and ideology and contribute to their future development, and how they can shed light on the process of contestation and coalition between conflicting forces inside and outside China (Lee, 2003a: 1). The present study has demonstrated how CD appropriated the neoliberal ideology and the liberal reporting practice to justify the Chinese government's stance in the currency dispute. CDA studies on Chinese media discourse, therefore, do not have to follow in the West by setting the primary focuses on some topics of primary concerns to Western countries such as racism, prejudices and inequalities (see Shi-xu, 2009, 2013). More importantly, it should take into account the distinctions between Chinese and Western media systems and be able to account for how they interact and influence each other in China's context, how China's media discourses change and evolve in this globalizing context in particular. Although it is still hard to predict where and to what extent this kind of changes will go (Pan, 2000), studies of this type can at least show how media discourses are intertwined with the changing social and political contexts at this crucial transitional stage of China. This research thus argues for a new agenda for CDA studies, i.e., to address Chinese media discourse in this globalizing context.

Lastly, this research has demonstrated the significance of historical context in the understanding and interpretation of Chinese media discourse. Blommaert (2005: 37) argues that CDA is characterized by its “closure to a particular time frame”. With its primary focus on linguistic analysis, CDA often focuses on here-and-now communication. The present study has revealed that while a comparative analysis can reveal significant differences in lexico-grammatical as well as thematic choices, the interpretation of these differences must be anchored in the historical background and the wider context of Chinese media discourse. A good command of the historical background of Chinese media discourse will enable us to make the right judgment about the progress it has made as well as the actual causes behind these changes. As Blommaert (2005: 37) suggests, “power and inequality have long histories of becoming; so have the linguistic repertoires of people; so too have social structures and systems such as capitalism and its many transformations”. An in-depth understanding of contemporary Chinese media, as Zhao (2012) argues, can only be achieved by reference not only to the authoritarian control in China but also to the historical functions of the media in China’s development.

8.2.3 Suggestions for future research

Due to the constraints of time and scope, this research only compares and contrasts the representations of a single issue—the currency dispute—in CD and NYT in order to find out how the competing and hybridized nature of the former can be revealed through discourse analysis. However, the study of Chinese media in a globalizing context should not just stop here, and further studies should be conducted to generate more illuminating and insightful findings. At this stage, some directions are proposed for future research.

Firstly, since the present study focuses only on the currency dispute, the representations of other contentious issues such as human rights, terrorism and financial crisis can also be compared and analyzed to test the effectiveness of the present analytic framework, to verify whether the competing and hybridized nature of CD can be revealed in the representations of these issues, and to explore the influences of socio-political contexts and the nature of these issues on their representations in CD (Flowerdew, 1997; Heisey, 2008; Cheng & Lam, 2010). It is very likely that these studies will generate more systematic findings about the relations between socio-political contexts, events, and particular ways of stancetaking.

Secondly, while drawing attention to the distinct role of CD or English-language media in China's media systems, this research does not delve into how the same issue is represented in Chinese-language and other English-language newspapers in China. It is felt that a comparison of the representations of the same issue by Chinese-language and English-language newspapers may reveal the influence of different groups of target readers on their reporting strategies and ways of stancetaking. Studies of this kind will complement the present study by providing more solid linguistic evidences for the different functions of the English-language and Chinese-language newspapers in China as well as their particular ways of recontextualizing, appropriating and manipulating different discourses to cater to different target audience.

Last but not the least, the integrated analytic framework maybe applied to comparing newspapers in contemporary China, which have been pushed and pulled in different directions by different political, market, and professional forces (He, 2003; Huang & Lee, 2003; Lee, 2003a). Since China is now at a crucial transitional stage, how its media perform under the influences of competing forces should merit our attention, because it will not only illuminate how these different forces compete to shape the ideology and discourse of Chinese newspapers to different degrees but also suggest Chinese news media's future directions of development (e.g., Wu & Liu, 2011). It is argued that China's media, albeit authoritarian, should not be regarded as a monolithic system, especially in this transitional stage of China. The present analytic framework can provide an effective tool for exploring how they deviate from the dominant authoritarian newspapers and differ from each other in contemporary China's media system, thus offering a more comprehensive understanding of China's media and their roles in China's socio-political development.

The present study thus represents just an initial attempt towards this end. It is hoped that it can lead to more studies in this direction and more methodological innovations which can capture the special characteristics of Chinese media in transition and in this globalizing context.

Appendix 1 Certainty stance adverbs

Rank	words	Act.	Normal.	Act.	Normal.
1	actually	19	142	37	155
2	basically	17	127	13	55
3	definitely	13	97	7	29
4	really	13	97	41	172
5	certainly	12	90	24	101
6	in fact	12	90	13	55
7	clearly	8	60	27	113
8	fundamentally	6	45	5	21
9	obviously	5	37	5	21
10	of course	4	30	22	92
11	inevitably	4	30	5	21
12	absolutely	3	22	1	4
13	naturally	3	22	5	21
14	surely	3	22	2	8
15	truly	3	22	5	21
16	apparently	2	15	8	34
17	undoubtedly	2	15	4	17
18	noticeably	1	7	0	0
19	visibly	1	7	0	0
20	indeed	1	7	24	101
21	unambiguously	1	7	0	0
22	conspicuously	0	0	1	4
23	distinctly	0	0	1	4
24	admittedly	0	0	1	4
25	conceivably	0	0	1	4
26	inherently	0	0	2	8
Total		**133**	**995**	**254**	**1067**

Appendix 2 Likelihood stance adverbs

Number	words	Act.	Normal.	Act.	Normal.
1	likely	88	659	140	588
2	probably	27	202	42	176
3	possibly	5	37	13	55
4	potentially	3	22	17	71
5	perhaps	2	15	43	181
6	roughly	2	15	12	50
7	kind of	2	15	2	8
8	maybe	1	7	9	38
9	seemingly	1	7	6	25
10	arguably	0	0	3	13
11	presumably	0	0	8	34
12	sort of	0	0	3	13
Total		**131**	**981**	**298**	**1251**

Appendix 3 Evaluation stance adverbs

Rank	words	Act.	Normal.	Act.	Normal.
1	gradually	28	210	36	151
2	hard	25	187	53	223
3	significantly	21	157	30	126
4	necessarily	11	82	6	25
5	artificially	9	67	80	336
6	effectively	7	52	19	80
7	properly	6	45	3	13
8	severely	5	37	3	13
9	unexpectedly	5	37	1	4
10	importantly	4	30	0	0
11	firmly	3	22	3	13
12	unfairly	3	22	18	76
13	badly	2	15	12	50
14	prudently	2	15	0	0
15	stubbornly	2	15	1	4
16	vigorously	2	15	5	21
17	aggressively	1	7	9	38
18	appropriately	1	7	2	8
19	crucially	1	7	0	0
20	deliberately	1	7	12	50
21	negatively	1	7	3	13
22	objectively	1	7	0	0
23	remarkably	1	7	2	8
24	sufficiently	1	7	1	4
25	typically	1	7	6	25
26	understandably	1	7	1	4

27	wrongly	1	7	0	0
28	adequately	0	0	1	4
29	bluntly	0	0	5	21
30	briskly	0	0	4	17
31	comfortably	0	0	3	13
32	improperly	0	0	2	8
33	ludicrously	0	0	1	4
34	accurately	0	0	3	13
35	notoriously	0	0	1	4
36	ordinarily	0	0	1	4
37	overly	0	0	6	25
38	positively	0	0	2	8
39	successfully	0	0	6	25
40	suitably	0	0	3	13
41	unjustly	0	0	1	4
42	unnaturally	0	0	1	4
43	unnecessarily	0	0	2	8
44	unreasonably	0	0	1	4
45	reasonably	0	0	3	13
Total		146	1093	352	1478

Appendix 4 PHYSICAL MOVEMENT metaphors

CD			NYT		
Rank	**Metaphor**	**freq.**	**Rank**	**Metaphor**	**freq.**
1	Rise /raise	27	**1**	rise /raise	76
2	stable/stability	10	**2**	float	10
3	move/movement	9	**3**	fluctuate	10
4	pace	7	**4**	low	10
5	fluctuation	7	**5**	move	8
6	high	6	**6**	hold down	7
7	float	6	**7**	higher	6
8	pave the way	2	**8**	stable/stabilization	4
9	margin of great size	2	**9**	climb	3
10	fall	2	**10**	Depress	3
11	drop	2	**11**	Fall	3
12	advance	1	**12**	Upward	3
13	touch the low end	1	**13**	pace	2
14	step	1	**14**	push down	2
15	on track	1	**15**	Stay	2
16	low	1	**16**	Course	1
17	landmark	1	**17**	drops	1
18	hold down	1	**18**	go up	1
19	hike	1	**19**	Pass	1
20	go up	1	**20**	prop up	1
21	equilibrium	1	**21**	push up	1
			22	slide	1
			23	stride	1
Total		**90**	**Total**		**157**

Appendix 5 MACHINE metaphors in CD and NYT

CD			NYT		
Rank	**Metaphors**	**freq.**	**Rank**	**Metaphors**	**freq.**
1	peg	12	1	peg	17
2	convertible/inconvertible	10	2	convert/convertible	6
3	adjust	5	3	Fix	3
4	mechanism	5	4	overhaul	2
5	driven/driving	3	5	Tie	2
6	spark	3	6	acceleration	1
7	accelerated	1	7	fuel	1
8	buckle	1	8	heated	1
9	elasticity	1	9	ignite	1
10	fuel	1	10	Link	1
11	implementation	1	11	Lock	1
12	linking	1	12	responsive	1
13	put the damper	1	13	Yoke	1
14	resilience	1			
15	system	1			
Total		**47**			**38**

Appendix 6 STATE OF HEALTH/STRENGTH metaphors

CD			NYT		
Rank	**Metaphors**	**Tokens**	**Rank**	**Metaphors**	**Tokens**
1	stronger/strengthen	15	1	stronger/strengthen	20
2	flexible	14	2	weak/weaken	8
3	weak/weaken	9	3	flexible	6
4	alleviate	4	4	ease	2
5	ease	4	5	decline	2
6	decline	2	6	distortion	1
7	exacerbate	1	7	woes	1
8	mitigate	1			
9	symptom	1			
10	vigorous	1			
11	woes	1			
Total		**53**			**40**

Appendix 7 PHYSICAL CONFLICT/WAR metaphors in CD and NYT

CD			NYT		
Rank	**Metaphors**	**freq.**	**Rank**	**Metaphors**	**freq.**
1	impact	9	1	fight	4
2	war	5	2	impact	4
3	regime	4	3	misalign	3
4	attack	3	4	chide	2
5	tension	3	5	realign	2
6	threaten	3	6	tensions	2
7	boost	2	7	war	2
8	damage	2	8	assail	1
9	harm	2	9	at odds	1
10	hit	2	10	battles	1
11	launched	2	11	breaching	1
12	protectionism	2	12	crack down	1
13	target	2	13	cut into	1
14	ammunition	1	14	damage	1
15	backfire	1	15	diplomacy	1
16	batter	1	16	fray	1
17	blow	1	17	haven	1
18	broke	1	18	hurting	1
19	campaign	1	19	lashed	1
20	cut sharply	1	20	perils	1
21	defend	1	21	pinch	1
22	front	1	22	protectionism	1
23	hurt	1	23	rallying	1
24	leeway	1	24	regime	1
25	misaligned	1	25	retaliate	1

26	rally	1	26	spat	1
27	retaliation	1	27	squeeze	1
28	squeeze	1	28	target	1
29	survival	1	29	wiggle	1
30	survive	1	30	wrangling	1
31	tackle	1			
32	tit-for-tat	1			
33	trim	1			
34	ward off	1			
Total		**62**			**42**

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