

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NEWS REPORTS ON “OCCUPY CENTRAL” CAMPAIGN FROM CHINA DAILY AND THE NEW YORK TIMES

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Abstract

News language is not value-free reflection of the facts and news discourse is always endowed with ideological power. This study involves a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the news reports on “Occupy Central” Campaign from *China Daily* and *The New York Times*, employing Fairclough’s Three-dimensional model as framework and Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), the Theory of Appraisal of Martin and Rose as analytical tools in the analysis. The analysis found various attitudes through language use. In addition, language use in news discourse is not value-free, but it is an ideological investment with reporter’s own view and attitude towards the reported issues and people involved with. Those ideological differences determine how the news media produce different news reports while narrating the same event.

Key words: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), Appraisal, ideologies, discourse, news reports

Introduction

Fairclough (1992a, p.161) argues that “Newspapers tend to offer sometimes contending (though often harmonizing) versions of the truth... This myth underpins the ideological work of the media: offering images of and the categories for reality, positioning and shaping social subjects, and contributing for the most part to social control and reproduction.” In other words, news reports are not as objective and neutral as they claim to be. Given the existence of differences while narrating the same event, readers should be aware of the unsupported and prejudiced news reports in order to prevent negative influence on their opinions, beliefs and ideologies.

As Chinese linguist, Xin (辛斌, 2005) suggests that ideology is an internally consistent system of beliefs and judgments, which serves to describe, explain, interpret and justify the situation of historic-social group, class or community and which, in so doing, serves to establish and sustain or to challenge and subvert the existing social order or relations of power in particular social context. Therefore, understanding how the news media use different characteristics of language and how the news discourse is constructed, in what kind of context and situation, might provide an approach to explore the interrelationship between news discourse and ideology. In addition, it might give a better understanding about the meanings that beyond the discourse itself.

Therefore, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is one of the major approaches that adopted in this study to tease out the intended meanings in the news reports. it will be investigated that whether news reports about the 'Occupy Central' campaign are reported objectively and neutrally selected from *China Daily* and *The New York Times* throughout the present study.

Literature Review

CDA was first proposed in the late 1970s (Fowler, 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979), while Fairclough's *Language and Power* (1989) was considered as the landmark publication for the beginning of CDA. Fairclough 'defined' CDA as that which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and process; to investigate how much practices events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

Van Dijk (2001, p.352) described critical discourse analysis from social and interactive perspectives, he sees CDA as a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse dominance, and enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. Thus, CDA investigates, and aims at illustrating, "a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power-relations" (Wodak, 1996, pp. 17-20).

Among other well-established approaches to CDA, Fairclough's three-dimensional model has become central to CDA over the past decades or so

years. In *Critical Language Study*, Fairclough (1989, pp. 4-5) describes his approach as “a contribution to the general rising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language”. “CDA looks to establish connections between properties of texts, features of discourse practice (text production, consumption, and distribution), and wider socio-cultural practice” (Fairclough, 1995, p.87). The main three stages in CDA which embodies the relationship of three crucial components of discourse are as follows:

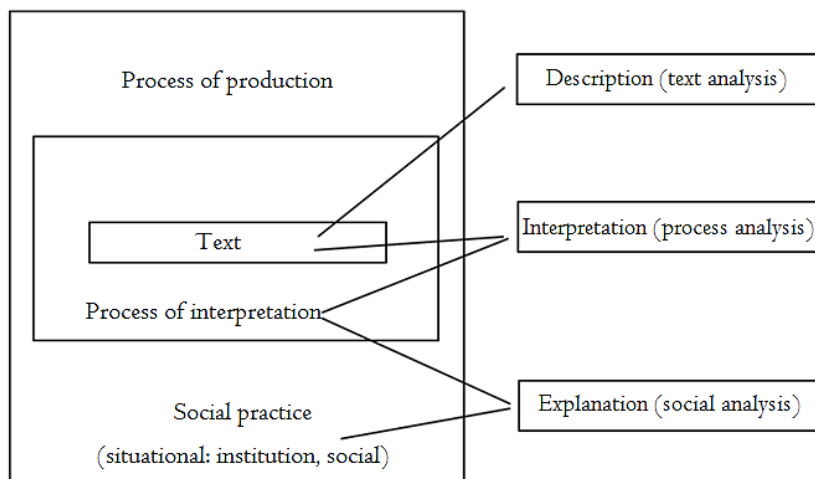


Figure I: Three-Dimensional View of Discourse Analysis
(Fairclough, 1995a)

Any discourse analysis that involves language implies theory of how ‘language’ works. The linguistic framework used by Fairclough is that of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The SFL theory regards language as an instrument used to perform various functions in social interaction. Hence, SFL not only aims to explain how individuals use language and how language is structured for its different usages (Eggins, 2004), but also it tries to investigate the relationship between language and social relations. There are two main perspectives that are used in SFL as follows:

- Levels of language such as phonology, lexis and grammar, discourse and social context (the strata of language).
- The general functions of language in social context are to represent our experience, to enact our relationships and to organize discourse as meaningful texts (the metafunctions).

(adapted from Halliday, 1989)

Being a component of SFL, Systematic Functional Grammar (SFG) is a form of grammatical description originally developed by Halliday. According to him, SFG is a way of describing lexical and grammatical choices from the system of 'wording' to describe how language is being used in a given context (Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2006). This theory enables language to make explicit connections between social context (context of culture and context of situation), meaning, grammar (lexico-grammar), and text.

Halliday emphasized that language cannot be isolated from the meaning, language is served to accomplish certain social functions. From Halliday's view, all language involves three metafunctions. Namely, they are ideational (to represent our experience to others), interpersonal (to enact our social relationships), and textual function (to organize our enactments and representations as meaningful texts). As Martin and Rose (2007, p. 7) further elaborate:

As social discourse unfolds, these three functions are interwoven with each other, so that we can achieve all three social functions simultaneously. In other words we can look at any piece of discourse from any of these three perspectives, and identify different functions realized by different patterns of meaning.

However, although all speakers of a language have an equal range of meaning making resources, some of those meanings are unequally distributed (Martin & Rose, 2007). In this sense, SFL has provides the tools for CDA to investigate the way by which access to meaning is distributed (Martin & Rose, 2007). Generally, practitioners of CDA adopted Transitivity, and Interpersonal metafunctions of language, and in particular the subsystem of Appraisal as analytical tools to analyze discourses, to help reveal what hidden meanings beyond the surface of the discourse (Martin & Rose, 2007; White, 2004).

"... transitivity is the systemic linguistic term for exploring the ideational function of grammar at the level of the clause" (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 177). However, the term 'transitivity' is different from traditional grammar, here, it not only based on grammar but also on meaning that refers to the whole clause rather than just the verb and its object. Halliday (2009, p. 106) sees "The transitivity system construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process type". The system of transitivity is the major way in which grammar creates representation (Eggins, 2004, p. 213) from the 'flow of events' (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2006, p. 170) we experience. Within transitivity, there are altogether six types of processes: material

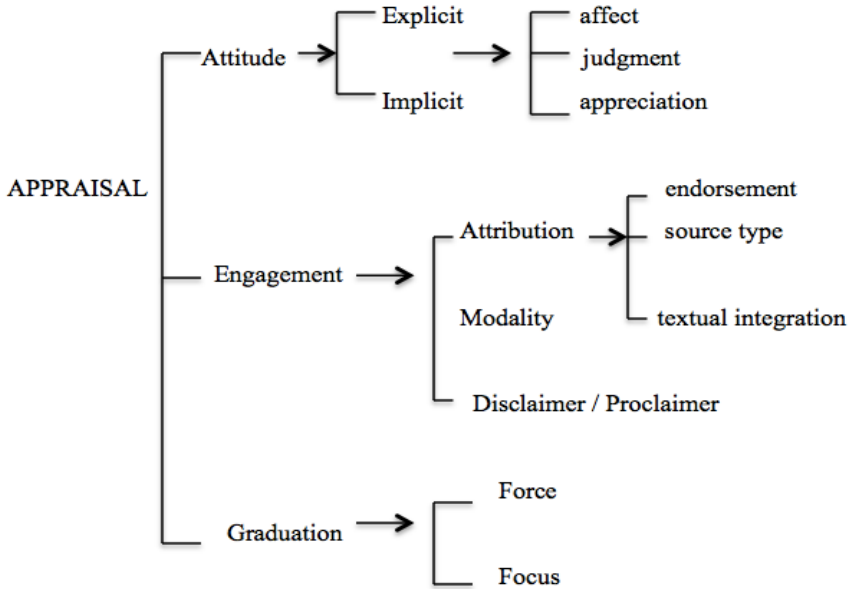
process, mental process, relational process, behavioral process, verbal process and existential process. By analyzing transitivity, we can see how the events are presented by different participants and can help readers to expose the ideology and reporter's attitude that embedded in the news discourse.

On the other hand the interpersonal function is described as the fact that “we use language to interact with other people, to establish and maintain relations with them, to influence their behavior, to express our own viewpoint on things in the world and to elicit or change theirs” Thompson (2004, p. 28). For Halliday (1985) the interpersonal function is a strand of meaning penetrating the whole text which can manifest the writer's role relationship with the readers or the relationship between speakers, and the writer's attitude towards the subject matters. It is about the social world and social relations associated with the situation. The principal grammatical system of the interpersonal metafunction usually includes mood and modality. Modality is partly subordinate to mood in his analysis. Mood usually refers to a grammatical category of verbs which express the subjective attitude of the speaker/writer toward the state of issues described by the utterance and particularly, subject and finite are the two basic components in the mood part. In CDA studies, speakers/writers sometimes need to adjust what they are trying to say or declare to be more forceful or subtle between the interactions with readers. The term 'modality' usually refers to the speakers/ writers view about the truth of a proposition, or its attitude towards certain situation and issues presented by the proposition, which are intermediate degrees to express probabilities and the obligations instead of 'yes' or 'no'. According to Xin Bin (2005), modality analysis in news discourse mainly functions on two aspects: i) to clarify the speaker of the discourse who to what extent can responsible for the truth of the discourse and conduct the obligation or commitment to the future. ii) to understand the social distance and power relationship between the hearer and speaker. As Halliday and Matthiessen (2006, p. 527) pointed out unlike the ideational meanings, which tend to be located at definable locations in the grammatical structure, interpersonal meanings tend to be strung throughout the discourse, by an accumulation of grammatical and lexical features or by other devices such as voice quality and intonation contours. In other words, the grammar of the interpersonal metafunction is more of an accumulation of meaning or prosody of meanings as those meanings are spread throughout the clause and evaluation accumulates through a text through a wide range of lexico-grammatical resources.

Appraisal Framework

However, different audiences may interpret texts in different ways. Hence, one of these ways is through Appraisal. The following figure illustrates the overview of Appraisal framework.

Figure 2: A basic overview of the Appraisal System (Martin & White, 2005; adapted from Foley, 2011)



Generally, Appraisal theory encompasses three types of language phenomena: *attitude*, *engagement* and *graduation*. More specifically, it is concerned with attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of feelings involved and the ways in which values are sources and the readers aligned (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 17).

Consequently, Appraisal framework is an approach to exploring, describing and explaining the way language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positionings and relationships (White, 1998). As one kind of appraisal resources, **Attitude** and **Graduation** play crucial roles in the expression of interpersonal meanings of the language.

The sub-systems of Attitude

Attitude refers to values by which speakers pass judgments and associate emotional or affectual responses with participants and processes (White, 2004). Attitude itself can be classified into three sub-systems as Martin and Rose (2007) portrayed as follows: i.e. *Affect*, *Judgment* and *Appreciation*.

Affect refers to the ways in which people express their feelings in discourse to indicate positive or negative feelings in a direct or implied manner (Martin & Rose, 2007, p.29).

Judgment is the evaluation of human behavior with respect to social norms (White, 2007).

Appreciation can be identified by looking at the manner in which the value of things is constructed through language (Martin & Rose, 2007, p.37).

Graduation is concerned with grading gradable feature of attitudes. Graduation resources could help construe degrees of positivity or negativity of attitudes. Martin and Rose (2007) identify two kinds of resources for amplification: force and focus.

Force is for using words that intensify meanings and vocabulary items that include degrees of intensity. (Foley, 2011, p.135)

Focus is “about resources for making something that is inherently non-gradable gradable, i.e. sharper or softer (Martin & Rose, 2007, p.46).

Prosody of appraisal resources refers to the pattern of choices of appraisal resources in a text which “resonate with one another from one moment to another as a text unfolds” (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 59). Thompson (2004, p. 77) points out that appraisal can be “inscribe” explicitly, which is fairly easy to recognize, but it can also be “evoked”. Throughout prosody analysis, readers can tell the reporter’s attitude towards specific issues and identify meanings behind discourse.

In addition, Hoey’s theory of **Lexical Priming** is a theoretical support to the importance of lexis in language. His theory proposes that lexical structure determines grammar rather than the reverse, which invites readers to ponder on the critical role of lexical priming in language use (Hoey, 2005, p. xiii). Hoey points out that traditional grammar fails to address the naturalness of language, however, in the Lexical Priming theory, *collocation*

is one aspect that associates with words occurred in corpora more than random distribution. Particularly, collocation is closely related to the psychological phenomenon of priming, namely that arises from the repeat use of encounters with a word under various contexts, which reinforces an idea of the occurrence pattern that seems natural. These encounters make possible the construction of mental concordances in which certain words frequently co-occur and thus prime each other (Hoey, 2005, p.xiii).

Employing the theory of Lexical Priming, it can be empirically investigated throughout the techniques of corpus linguistic and provides opportunities for more reliable supporting evidence to present a clear picture of what priming in the context of language occurrence and explore the possible meanings behind the repeated encounters in news discourse.

Research Methodology

This study analyzed the selected news reports about the “Occupy Central” Campaign from *China Daily* and *The New York Times* posing the following research question:

What are the underlying ideological differences expressed in the linguistic features of news reports in the *China Daily* and *The New York Times*?

The present study chooses six news samples about the “Occupy Central” Campaign from *China Daily* and *The New York Times* from the on-line version of both newspapers.

Data Analysis

Transitivity

Fairclough (1989, p. 120) states that “there is always a choice between different grammatical processes and participant types, and the selection that is made can be ideologically significant”. For Halliday (1985, p. 106) the transitivity system construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types. The transitivity analysis enables us to probe into how a reader’s or listener’s perception of the meaning of a text is pushed in a particular direction and how the linguistic structure of a text effectively encodes a particular ‘world-view’. Identifying the different six types of verbs in *China Daily* and *The New York Times*, the following table shows the occurrences of processes types in the selected sample news.

Table 1: Distribution of process types in the sample news reports

	<i>China Daily</i>			<i>The New York Times</i>		
Process Types	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Sample 4	Sample 5	Sample 6
Material	48.4%	59.7%	72.5%	54.0%	45.6%	28.6%
Mental	12.9%	7.5%	2.5%	5.3%	5.8%	14.3%
Relational	21.0%	29.8%	20.0%	16.8%	20.3%	24.5%
Verbal	17.7%	1.5%	5.0%	22.1%	26.1%	28.6%

According to this table, the main process types are distributed unevenly. There is a dominance of Material process as would be expected in ‘report’ writing, followed by Relational and Verbal process. Generally, the news is supposed to reflect facts objectively and to do this quotes from others to support any statements tend to be highlighted. It is of interest that ‘verbal’ processes are much more dominant in *The New York Times*.

Modality

Fowler (1991a) interpreted modality as ‘comment’ or ‘attitude’, which is ascribable to the source of the text, and explicit or implicit in the linguistic stance taken by speaker/writer. Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, p. 526) state that “modality is a rich resource for speakers to intrude their own views into the discourse: their assessments of what is likely or typical, their judgments of the rights and wrongs of the situation and of where other people stand in this regard.” It is through the degree of modality that news reporters express their views and attitudes on the event or the people involved.

Table 3: Distribution of modal verbs in China Daily and The New York Times

	<i>China Daily</i>			<i>The New York Times</i>		
	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Sample 4	Sample 5	Sample 6
Numbers	9	13	9	37	12	13
Total	31			62		
Percentage	33.3%			66.7%		

We can see that modality in *The New York Times* occupies a large percentage, 66.7%, while *China Daily* has a much lower percentage. Although both of the newspapers adopt modal verbs with different degree of force, such as “must”, “should”, “will” and “can” etc, by employing high degree of modal verbs in *China Daily* the focus is more on assuming more control from the Central government in dealing with the “Occupy” campaign, however, from the perspective of, *The New York Times* the modal operators embody a sense of distrust and doubt about Chinese official’s capacity to handle this protest.

News sources and modes of Discourse Representation

As for the analysis of discursive practice, Halliday proposed the concept of ‘intertextuality’ into CDA studies. It was described by Fairclough (1992b, p. 84) as “the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which maybe explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth”. In Fairclough’s model of CDA, intertextuality analysis provides means to go beyond the analysis of the surface of the linguistic itself, the analysis goes further from the aspects of text production, distribution and consumption. For Fairclough discursive practice focuses on what is traditionally known as “speech reporting”, which is often realized by the sources of the news

Xin (辛斌, 2005) classified news sources into three categories, namely they are: identified sources, ambiguous sources and unidentified sources. In news reporting, the those preferable sources are fore-grounded, while other sources are either ignored or given less prominence. Consequently, the analysis of news sources can help to show the ideology embodied in the news discourse as indicated in the following table:

Table 4: Distribution of News Sources

		<i>China Daily</i>			<i>The New York Times</i>		
Source		Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Sample 4	Sample 5	Sample 6
Identified	No.	1	1	7	12	8	8
	%	50%	50%	77.8%	66.7%	80%	53.3%
Ambiguous	No.	1	1	2	5	2	6
	%	50%	50%	22.2%	27.8%	20%	40%

Unidentified	No.	0	0	0	1	0	1
	%	0%	0%	0%	5.5%	0%	6.7
Total	No.	2	1	9	18	10	15
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In the *China Daily*, the reporters have a preference to use identified news sources and no unidentified sources. In contrast, *The New York Times* employs all three kinds of news sources with identified and ambiguous sources frequently used. However, what is interesting is the very few sources cited by *China Daily* compared to *The New York Times*. Perhaps one conclusion that could be drawn from this is that *China Daily* reflected the single authoritative voice of the Central Government.

Social context

The different newspapers situate their content in political, cultural, and historical contexts. Wodak (1996, p. 24) indicated that analysis aims to “transcend the pure linguistic dimension and to include more or less systematically the historical, political and sociological dimension in the analysis, theory and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion” (Wodak, 1996, p.24).

Hence, by putting the news text and discursive practice in the context of institutional, situational and wider social context or “context of culture”, such back-grounding can help identify the different news reports in this study. Indeed, “the press as an organization, its function and operation are controlled by another social organization---government (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1973, p. 2). In this sense, news reports can often be at the service of government in expressing certain ideologies and attitudes.

Traditionally, the relationship between China and western countries has exerted an influence on the news reports in the context of Hong Kong, the political, cultural and even linguistic interpretation that the Chinese and American governments take will affect whether the news reports in terms of the objectivity of the reporting.

On one hand, from the perspective of western media “Occupy Central” campaign is an event that people fight for in an attempt to attain ‘true democracy’ and it is part of the progress of human civilization. On the other hand, news reports in China Daily represent the government’s own political interest and stance in reference to this campaign. It was directly

pointed out “Occupy Central” is illegal and as such will ruin the financial and social stability of Hong Kong and must be ended. To sum up, different representations about the same event in the two newspapers are mainly driven by ideology differences as reflected in the texts themselves.

Appraisal Analysis

A more detailed textual analysis and will then be necessary to identify the attitudinal elements deployed reflecting the stance and attitude in reporting the issue. For the convenience of analysis, Attitude resources were marked and abbreviated as follows;

Table 6: Abbreviations and symbols used in the analysis

Attitudinal elements and types of evaluation	Negative (-)
<i>affect</i> = <i>aff</i>	Positive (+)
<i>judgment</i> = <i>judg</i>	Graduation or degree
<i>appreciation</i> = <i>app</i>	(↑)□ up-grading
<i>graduation</i> = <i>grad</i> .	(↓) low-grading
exp= explicit or overtly inscribed evaluation	(≈) neutral (neither positive nor negative)
imp= evoked or implicit evaluation	

Based on the above tables, some examples have been extracted from *China Daily* and *The New York Times* to help tease out possible meanings and hidden attitude in the news discourse.

Extract I:

Deployment of Affect resources in the news samples from China Daily (CD) and The New York Times (NYT)

CD 1) He now *hopes* [*exp: -aff: insecurity: Tai*] the central government will discuss their less-radical demands for "true democracy".

CD 2) The *frustration* of the radical opposition [*exp: -aff: unhappiness: radical opposition*] came to light.

CD 3) *What a shame* [exp: -aff: dissatisfaction↑: pan-democrats] their performance so far has been so appalling.

NYT 4) They said the limits set by Beijing for selection of the city’s leader, the chief executive, *made a mockery* [exp: -aff: dissatisfaction↑: opposition forces] of the “one person, one vote” principle that had been promised to Hong Kong.

NYT 5) “Hong Kong people are *right to feel betrayed*. [exp: -aff: insecurity↑: Hong kong people]

NYT 6) The tight reins on Hong Kong politics *reflect a fear* [exp: -aff: insecurity↑: Hong Kong politics] among leaders in Beijing

NYT 7) “They are *afraid* [exp:-aff: insecurity↑: central government officers] that *caving in* to Hong Kong would show weakness,”

NYT 8) The Chinese government *fears* [imp: -aff: insecurity↑: Chinese government] that direct nominations would allow candidates hostile to Beijing,

From these extracts CD reporters’ attitude toward the “Occupy” Campaign are quite negative and explicit, it is *shameful* for protesters to continue the demonstration. While in NYT, , by using “*fears*” “*afraid*”, “*reflect a fear*”, the Chinese government are appraised negatively with indicating an inability to cope with the campaign. Moreover, “*feel betrayed*” “*made a mockery*” shows a sense of anger and distrust towards the Chinese government.

Extract II:

Deployment of Judgment resources in the news samples from CD and NYT

CD 9) Tai gave the impression he *was waving the white flag* before the battle had begun. [imp: -judg: capacity↑: Tai]

CD 10) Global Times, a popular tabloid published by People's Daily, said in a recent editorial “*the radical opposition in Hong Kong is a paper tiger*”. [imp: -judg: capacity↓: radical opposition]

CD 11) The NPCSC dealt the **illegal** movement another heavy blow with the decision on the 2017 CE election by universal suffrage. [imp: -judg: propriety↑: NPCSC]

CD 12) Tai told Bloomberg their threat of protest action had **failed to obtain any concessions** from the central government "up to this point". [imp: -judg: capacity↑: radical opposition]

CD 13) I have reiterated in this column that "Occupy" **wasn't a pure campaign for true democracy**; [imp: -judg: normality↓: the "Occupy" campaign]

CD 14) Now the SAR is facing another **dramatic chapter** in its development. [imp: -judg: normality↑: Hong Kong]

CD 15) It is *quite unrealistic* [exp: -judg: normality↑: continue the campaign] for the demonstrators to continue their **illegal** actions, [exp: -judg: propriety↑: actions]

NYT 16) "We are no longer willing to be **docile subjects**," [imp: -judg: propriety≈: Hong Kong people] Benny Tai, a co-founder of Occupy Central and an associate professor of law at the University of Hong Kong, told the crowd.

NYT 17) Political weakness will **encourage Hong Kong to demand more** [imp: -judg: propriety↑: political weakness] and will **give opponents of the party's rule** [exp: -judg: capacity↑: political weakness] in China *great* confidence to *challenge the party*."

NYT 18) Democracy advocates expect that the new committee, like the existing one, will exclude candidates seen as **unfavorable** by Beijing. [exp: -judg: normality↑: candidates]

NYT 19) "As far as I can see, **the government has no capacity to offer a deal the democrats will take in this**," he said. [imp: -judg: capacity↓: the government]

China Daily defined the "Occupy" as an **illegal** event, it **wasn't a pure campaign for true democracy**, the Central government suggests it is an **unrealistic** decision for protesters to continue this movement, since the pan-democrats **failed to obtain any concessions from the Central government**. Chinese government regarded "**the radical opposition in Hong Kong is a**

paper tiger”, it would never compromise itself to the protesters. Hence, the “Occupy” and its demonstrators are evaluated by *China Daily* negatively and fairly explicitly. *The New York Times*, the appraisal is mainly focused on the Chinese government and not the campaign. Based on the judgments made by NYT, the impression given is that the Central government is **incapable** of handling this issue, lacking trust and support from the local Hong Kong people.

Extract III:

Deployment of Appreciation resources in the news samples from CD and NYT

20) The NPCSC decision meant any attempt to use “Occupy” as a weapon to force Beijing into some kind of compromise over “genuine universal suffrage”, [imp: -app: implication↑: the campaign] had failed.

21) In admitting that the strategy to win concessions from Beijing on election reform had failed and support for “Occupy” was waning, [imp: -app: implication↓: the strategy]

22) But, in a sense the “Occupy” campaign is also ushering in a new era of significant change in the city. [imp: +app: social significance↑: the implication of “Occupy” campaign]

23) It is an anti-China movement aimed at turning the Hong Kong SAR of the People's Republic of China into an independent political entity. [exp: -app: impact↑: the “Occupy” campaign]

24) Hong Kong's political landscape will doubtless undergo significant change. [imp: +app: social significance↑: Hongkong's political landscape]

25) the central government “fully affirms and supports” [exp: graduation: for↑] the Hong Kong SAR Government's current efforts to maintain social order and safeguard the rule of law as a foundation of stability in Hong Kong. [imp: +app: social significance↑: Hong Kong government]

26) Xi added that political reform in Hong Kong must follow [exp: -app: social significance↑: political reform] the principle of “One Country, Two Systems”

27) Beijing *has chosen a showdown with a protest movement unlike any it has ever faced on the mainland.* . [imp: -app: social significance↑: Beijing]

28) But Hong Kong *presents special challenges.* [imp: -app: social significance↑: Hong Kong society]

29) In the territory *controlled by the Chinese Communist Party,* [exp: -app: social significance≈: territory] *only* [graduation: force↑] Hong Kong has some space for free speech, some judicial independence, so *it is a mirror for people on the mainland*".

30) "We cannot afford a standstill in our constitutional development or else the prosperity, or stability, of Hong Kong *will be at stake.*" [exp: -app: impact≈: Hong Kong]

31) "The decision of the central government was *a bit tight, with no negotiation,*" [imp: -app: social significance↑: the decision] said Terrence Tang, a masters student in economics.

32) "*Residents may occupy various government departments unless the government responds to their demands by Thursday.*" [imp: -app: social significance≈: residents]

even though the Chinese government has said *the idea is unlawful and politically intolerable.* [exp: -app: social significance↑: the idea of civic nomination]

34) Our government is using a strategy of *letting us stay here but ignoring our demands.* [imp: -app: social significance↑: Hong Kong government] So we have to stay *even longer.*" [imp: -app: impact↑: staying]

The above examples (extract 20-26 are selected from *China Daily*, 27-34 are from *The New York Times*) are Appreciation resources chosen from sample. In general the appreciation made by *China Daily* is quite explicit. The Chinese government points out that "Occupy" campaign is *an anti-China movement aimed at turning the Hong Kong SAR of the People's Republic of China into an independent political entity*, which brings Hong Kong society *significant changes*. It strongly affirms and supports HK SAR governments' efforts to *maintain social order and safeguard the rule of law as*

a foundation of stability in Hong Kong. Thus, following the principle of “One country, Two systems” means that utilized “Occupy” movement as weapon to fight against the Central government had failed and will fail in the end. The implication is to support the Chinese government and show confidence to settle the campaign. The New York Times, on the other hand quotes a lot of complains from protesters and the organizers of the movement to the effect that Hong Kong is controlled by mainland of China, policy implementation in Hong Kong is too tight, with no negotiation. As well as the proposition that Hong Kong might be at stake in the future.

Overall, the analysis of various Attitudinal resources in the extracts indicate that ideological differences are marked in the reporting of the news. For the *New York Times*, the Chinese government and official Chinese authorities the Appraisal is quite negative and explicit, while the campaign is given a positive evaluation. For example The *New York Times* describes *“the movement is very idealist and its worth doing”*. On the other hand, the “Occupy” campaign itself was appraised negatively by *China Daily* in most cases, such as, *“the campaign is illegal”*. The overall impression given is that both newspapers on their local readership rather than a more global one where facts are simply stated to help the reader make up their own minds on the issue

Conclusions

Halliday pointed out that :

A discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text; either an appeal has to be made to some set of non-linguistic conventions, or to some linguistic features that are trivial enough to be accessible without a grammar, like the number of words per sentence (and even the objectivity of these is often illusory); or else the exercise remains a private one in which one explanation is as good as another. A text is a semantic unit, not a grammatical one. But meanings are realized through wordings; and without a theory of wordings--- that is, a grammar--- there is no way of making explicit one’s interpretation of the meaning of text. Thus, the present interest in discourse analysis in fact providing a context within which grammar has central place (1985, pp. xvi-xvii).

To begin with, the selected samples from *China Daily* and *The New York Times* unveil the differences in news reports of “Occupy Central” campaign from the aspects of transitivity, discursive and social practice. As argued, those distinctions in linguistic features between *China Daily* and *The New York Times* are partly rooted in the ideological differences due to its

diverse standpoints because of cultural, political and social differences. This study indicates that news reports are not just about the reflection of the facts, but reconstructs an ideology such that the language used in news reports is not value-free, instead it is embedded in the reporter's view and attitude towards the subject under investigation. This might well involve the national interests and stances of a particular group or government.

Finally, by investigating the relationship between discourse, power and ideology, the present study aimed to raise readers' critical awareness when reading newspaper reports and reflecting on the wider issues of the *what*, *who* is doing the writing and for *whom*.

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