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Diploma thesis

The Influence of the Media in a
Case of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands
Dispute



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Abstract

Diploma thesis is analysing newspapers articles issued between September 2012 and December 2021, and their influence on Chinese citizens. Articles are primarily about dispute of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands in East China Sea. Author is analysing emotionally coloured words, primarily nouns, adjectives, and verbs which could be found in two most read English-written Chinese newspapers – People’s Daily and Global Times. For the analysis of these words, critical discursive analysis was used, primarily works of Norman Fairclough and Paul Kowert. The main question asked by the author is, what kind of language is used in the articles. The hypothesis is that these articles are using emotionally coloured words which can have influence on its readers.

In the first part of the diploma thesis, author is dealing with critical discursive analysis, in the second part, author is dealing with the articles, how were they chosen, topics which are included in the articles, and analysis of the words used in them. The author concludes that articles which have been analysed really include emotionally coloured words which can influence their readers.

Abstrakt

Diplomová práce se zabývá analýzou novinových článků od září 2012, do prosince 2021, a jejich vlivem na čínské občany, které se týkají sporu o Senkaku/Diaoyu ostrovy ve Východočínském moři. Konkrétně autor analyzuje emocionálně zbarvená slova, především podstatná jména, přídavná jména, a slovesa, která byla nalezena v nejčtenějších anglicky psaných čínských novinách – People’s Daily a Global Times. K analýze těchto slov byla využita teorie kritické diskurzivní analýzy, především práce Normana Fairclougha a Paula Kowerta. Hlavní otázkou, kterou si autor klade je, jaký jazyk je v těchto článcích používán. Hypotézou autora je, že tyto články používají emocionálně zbarvená slova, která mají vliv na své čtenáře.

V první části diplomové práce se autor zabývá teorií kritické diskurzivní analýzy, ve druhé části se autor zabývá především články, jejich výběrem, tématy, která jsou v článcích zahrnutá, a analýzou jednotlivých slov v nich použitých. Autor dochází k závěru, že v článcích, jež byly analyzovány, se nacházejí emocionálně zbarvená slova, která mají na své čtenáře vliv.

Keywords

Senkaku Islands, Diaoyu Islands, China, Japan, Critical Discourse Analysis, emotionally coloured words, newspapers

Klíčová slova

Senkaku ostrovy, Diaoyu ostrovy, Čína, Japonsko, kritická diskurzivní analýza, emocionálně zbarvená slova, noviny

Title

The Influence of the Media in a Case of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands Dispute

Název práce

Vliv médií ve sporu o Senkaku/Diaoyu ostrovy

Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on 25th July 2022

Iveta Poláčková

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank my thesis supervisor for his valuable advice and constructive criticism, thanks to which I was able to write this diploma thesis. I would also like to thank my family and loved ones for their support during my studies.

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Introduction of the Topic

“Senkaku” in Japan, “Diaoyu” Islands in China have been a source of contention between the two countries for more than 50 years. Five small islands and three small rocky outcroppings in north-east of Taiwan and west of Okinawa play an important role because of historical grievances, economic interests, and national identity issues. Both countries claim this small territory to be an integral part of their land, and neither is willing to give up. The United States of America (USA) and Taiwan also play their own role in the dispute.

It is important to mention some history regarding the context of the dispute. After the Second World War, Nansei Islands (Japanese Empire) or Ryukyu Islands, including the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, were occupied by the US armed forces. Six years later, in 1951, this area was included under the US Administration Area under the article 3 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Twenty years later, Nansei or Ryukyu Islands were returned to Japanese administration under the Okinawa Revision Treaty. But the turning point occurred back in 1969, when the United Nation Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) report was released. This report hinted that there might be rich oil reserves in the waters surrounding Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands which could be possibly similar to the Persian Gulf reserves.¹ This document was followed by the Chinese government announcement in December 1971 through “*People’s Daily*” newspaper that these islands are part of mainland China.

Since the 60s, the dispute between People’s Republic of China (PRC) and Japan have been on and off. There have been several episodes when the conflict was escalating more. One between 1970-1972; 1978; and the last one in 20th century back between 1996-1997. The first one followed the ECAFE’s report about the possible oil reserves and it sparked because of Japanese ambassador in Taipei who delivered a note to the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs which stated that the Senkaku Islands are part of Japan’s territory. In 1978, several Chinese fishing vessels appeared near Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, which was reflected in Japanese media.² Conflict in

1 CHANSORIA, Monika, 2019. 1969 Report by UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East : A Turning Point in the Historical Debate over Senkaku Islands. *irdb.nii.ac.jp*. Online. 22 August 2019. Vol. 2, no. 3. Available from: <https://irdb.nii.ac.jp/en/02975/0004120495>

2 STONE, Andrew C, CHIU, Hungdah and WU, Chih-Yu, 1992. *Catalog of publications of the Occasional papers-reprints series in contemporary Asian studies (1977-1991), Maryland studies in East Asian law and politics series and other publications in international law*. Baltimore: School Of Law Univ. Of Maryland.

1996 was even followed by anti-Japanese sentiment that swept in China because of installation of an aluminum lighthouse by the Japanese right-wing political organization.³

In the beginning of 21st century, in 2012, the dispute got more intense and escalated mainly due to the fact that Japan's officials announce that Senkaku Islands were bought from Kurihara family who owned the Islands since the 70s and that they are officially part of Japan's territory. This action was followed by the White Paper issued by China's government stating that Japan's government "grossly violated China's territorial sovereignty" when it "grabbed" the Islands.⁴ Nationalization of the Islands was followed by anti-Japanese protest in several towns across China. People have been attacking Japanese restaurants or demolishing cars made in Japan.⁵

Several accidents have happened since then. Both countries have been sending boats, fishing vessels to the Island to provoke one another.

Back in February 2021, Japanese citizens have protested PRC's actions since it passed the regulation saying that Chinese coast guard can use weapons against foreign ships which would illegally enter its waters.⁶

There are several reasons why the author chose the topic of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute. The topic of China's economic rising has been reflected more and more in the past few years. Several scholars, such as John Mearsheimer, has proposed that this rise will not be peaceful at all. On the other hand, China sees its rise as a natural development since they have suffered from Second World War. China wants to become a global power and wants to become a hegemon on the Asian continent. The Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute is just one of several disputes. Author is interested in the English written news regarding this topic because of the research of the language used in the articles, since scholars have noted that this dispute has

³ STONE, Andrew C, CHIU, Hungdah and WU, Chih-Yu, 1992. *Catalog of publications of the Occasional papers-reprints series in contemporary Asian studies (1977-1991), Maryland studies in East Asian law and politics series and other publications in international law*. Baltimore: School Of Law Univ. Of Maryland.

⁴ Diaoyu Dao, an Inherent Territory of China, 2012. *english.www.gov.cn*. Online. [Accessed 5 January 2022]. Available from: http://english.www.gov.cn/archive/white_paper/2014/08/23/content_281474983043212.htm

⁵ Anti-Japan protests across China over islands dispute, 2012. *BBC News*. Online. [Accessed 5 January 2022]. Available from: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-19312226>

⁶ LENDON, Brad and GEORGE, Steve, 2021. Analysis: The long arm of China's new maritime law risks causing conflict with US and Japan. *CNN*. Online. 3 September 2021. Available from: <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/09/03/china/coast-guard-law-mic-intl-hnk/index.html>

mainly political background and that this is a nationalistic dispute⁷ because if we look at China's side, this dispute might remind them of Japan's past aggression during Second World War because of the way China's government refer to it in its official documents. The role of language in various social theories has been more emphasized in the past few decades. This topic is important also because since we have several disputes which are similar to the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute (such as the Spratly Islands dispute), we might be able to see a similarity to our studied case.

⁷ STONE, Andrew C, CHIU, Hungdah and WU, Chih-Yu, 1992. *Catalog of publications of the Occasional papers-reprints series in contemporary Asian studies (1977-1991), Maryland studies in East Asian law and politics series and other publications in international law*. Baltimore: School Of Law Univ. Of Maryland.

Research Questions and Goals of Diploma Thesis

The topic of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute have been followed and monitored in China and in foreign news around the world. The main goal set by the author is to focus on articles from China's three chosen internet media and to focus on texts and their meaning in connection to Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute.

The diploma thesis should answer the following question:

What language do Chinese media use when referring to the Senkaku/Diaoyu conflict?"

Because author presupposes that the chosen media use emotionally coloured words, tested hypothesis is following:

Chinese media often use emotionally coloured words in order to stir national sentiment and support the Chinese government.

To answer the question, author must define, what is meant by China? China is understood as a territory of mainland China, including Hong Kong, excluding Taiwan. This is because Taiwan itself has its own interests in the dispute and claims the territory itself. As such, Taiwan is considered as an independent country with its own internet media which should be part of separate research. Taiwan and its interests are not a topic of the diploma thesis.

There are several countries involved in the dispute, directly or indirectly. First country which should be mentioned is Japan. As has been said in the introduction part, the dispute is primary between PRC and Japan. Japan has claimed the territory since the 1970s, since the ECAFE report release. In 2012 the Islands were nationalized, and the conflict was (de)escalating on and off. The third country involved has also already been mentioned, is Taiwan. Taiwan has its own interests in the dispute because claiming the Islands would eventually help the Taiwan gain status of independent country since PCR is claiming Taiwan as a part of mainland China.

1. Methodology

1. 1. Constructivism, Critical Discourse Analysis, and agenda-setting

The CDA theory is closely connected to the social constructivism and agenda-setting theory, and it is important to introduce them briefly. Social constructivism, according to Marianne Jorgensen and Louise J. Phillips, is an umbrella term for new theories about culture and society, in which discursive analysis belongs. Social constructionist approaches reject totalizing and universalizing theories, such as Marxism or psychoanalysis. One of the main premises is that our knowledge should not be treated as an objective truth because it is shaped by or historical and cultural background. Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe add to this that discourse constructs the social world in meaning because of the fundamental instability of language, meaning can never be fixed. What also must be noted is that social construction has social consequences in terms of discursive analysis which means that everything is contingent – and that is something which is often criticized by other academics because if everything is contingent, then everything is in continuous change and there are no regularities in our lives.

Constructivism is an approach towards social science which has appeared back in mid- to late 1980s, during the Cold War and has challenged the previous theories (such as realism and liberalism) and their assumptions of power production in the context of the Cold War. That is because the traditional approaches were not able to predict the end and the outcomes of the Cold War. Scholars of constructivism were interested in explaining the change on the international level while emphasizing the role of social dimension, which is something what was missing in the rationalists' approaches. The one thing which constructivism has in common with the traditional approaches in the international relations is the acknowledgment of the role of the states, which are the main actors in the international relations. These states have their own interests, they are not rational actors, and if we know what these interests are, we can predict their behavior on the international level.

Structuralists were avoiding the topic of language in their early works, mainly because they

wanted to create a distance from poststructuralists⁸ but eventually, they acknowledged the importance because it is fundamentally social and without it, we would not be able to think, communicate with one another and attribute meaning to objects or situations.

Very often, the term CDA is being changed for the Critical Linguistic (CL). Their roots lie in the classical rhetoric, linguistics, and sociolinguistics⁹ and both approaches are dealing with the concepts of power, ideology, and hierarchy which are the core concepts of both approaches. The methods of CL were used by Fairclough in his early work, back in 1989, before methods of CDA were developed. Same goes for van Dijk, who traced the origins of linguistic interest in units larger than sentences and in context-dependency of meanings.¹⁰ Scholars who have been interested in CL have contributed that the relationship between language and society is complex and thus requires interdisciplinary research on the levels in theory, in practice and in the work itself. What these two approaches have in common is that both are trying to avoid a simple deterministic relation between the texts and the social.¹¹ We can say that CL was somehow a base for CDA, back in the mid-1980s.

As many concepts in social sciences, it is difficult find a unified definition of the term critical discourse analysis. There is nothing like a unified definition, scholars add something new to the definition of others, or remove something which is not fitting into their own definition. Author has chosen one definition of CDA - according to the Van Dijk, CDA "*primarily studies the way social abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.*"¹² The reason why it is hard to find a definition for CDA is that CDA is interdisciplinary approach towards research and there are many ways how to use the method. Discourse analysis cannot be conducted within a linguistic and discursive framework only, that is the fact.¹³ Because scholars interested in CDA are looking for solutions of the social problem, they have to be interested in many social sciences, such as political science, sociology,

8 WODAK, Ruth and MEYER, Michael, 2016. *Methods of critical discourse studies*. London; Thousand Oaks, California: Sage. ISBN 9781446282403.

9 Ibid

10 Ibid

11 Ibid

12 VAN DIJK, Teun, 2008. *Discourse and power*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. ISBN 9780230574083.

13 DUNMIRE, Patricia L., 2012. Political Discourse Analysis: Exploring the Language of Politics and the Politics of Language. *Language and Linguistics Compass*. November 2012. Vol. 6, no. 11, p. 735–751. DOI 10.1002/lnc3.365.

etc.

Agenda-setting is closely related to the topic of the diploma thesis, and it is important to understand, how it works. The idea of agenda-setting theory has occurred for the first time back in 1922, in a book called *"Public Opinion"*, written by Walter Lippmann.¹⁴ But it was back in 1972, when Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw used the 1968 presidential elections in the US to study North Carolina voters to find out whether there is a connection between the priority issues in public and priority issues set in the mass media.¹⁵ What they found out was that there was a correlation between the prominence which was given the issues from the media with the issues which readers considered as important. The theory of agenda-setting is basically about mass media not being passive, but they rather are telling us that we should be thinking about topic. Simply put, media do not tell us what to think but rather they can tell the readers what to think about. Later, in 1998, McCombs had found out that there is a phenomenon called "framing" which means that media not only tell us what to think about but also how to think about the issues.

The agenda-setting theory works simply. An article which is in the front page of the newspaper will be more important and more read than an article in the middle or in the end of the newspapers. Thus, it will be considered as a more important topic or issue by the reader. Agenda-setting theory is important because it is a theory which has been more discussed recently. Another reason why this theory is important is that the author will be analyzing the newspapers articles.

1. 2. Fairclough and CDA methodology

First, author shall look at the Fairclough's three stages of analysis. The way of how the articles will be examined was adopted based on Fairclough's book called *"Language and Power"*, which was written back in 1989. The book is dealing with the topic of how to properly describe, interpret and explain certain text while using the critical discourse analysis. Fairclough explains the obstacles of analysing the texts on many examples throughout the book while considering

¹⁴ MCCOMBS, Maxwell and VALENZUELA, Sebastián, 2007. The Agenda-Setting Theory. *Cuadernos de Información*. Online. 2007. Vol. 20, no. 20, p. 44–50. Available from: <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=97120369004>

¹⁵ Ibid

that not every scholar who uses CDA is acquainted with the field of linguistics.

Fairclough starts with the fact, that every analysis of the text comprises of three stages – description, interpretation, and explanation, while all three steps are closely linked together. Let us start with the first step – description of the text.

The description of texts themselves is basically considering the formal features of the texts (vocabulary, grammar, textual structure), because the value of textual features become real if they are embedded in social interaction, it is important for scholar to ask himself a several questions. The questions are following:

1. What experiential values do words have?
2. What rational values do words have?
3. What expressive values do words have?
4. What metaphors are used?
5. What experiential value do grammatical features have?
6. What relational value do grammatical features have?
7. What expressive value do grammatical features have?
8. How are (simple) sentences linked together?
9. What interactional conventions are used?
10. What large-scale structures does the text have?¹⁶

Every text is produced and interpreted against a background of common-sense assumptions. Fairclough talks about experiential, rational, and expressive values (plus their combination). What does it mean? Experiential value is simply handling the content and knowledge about the text itself, while relational value is dealing with the relations and social relationships.¹⁷ The last value, expressive one, is concerned with the social identities. Fairclough talks about one more value, which is connective value. As its name says, this value is dealing with the question of how all parts of the texts are connected together. It is important to keep in mind that the relationship between the text itself and the social structures is indirect, mediated by the

¹⁶ FAIRCLOUGH, Norman, 2015. *Language and Power*. London: Taylor Et Francis. ISBN 9781138790964.

¹⁷ Ibid

discourse and the social context of which is the text part of.

Interpretation process is the second step. Every text is dependent on the background assumptions. Fairclough mentions that it is important to consider the process of text production because it is one of the main things while interpreting the text. It is important to interpret the context, situational context, and the text itself. This is not possible without the formal features of the text, because, as Fairclough has written, they are “cues” which activate elements of interpreters’ members’ resources (MR)¹⁸, and that interpretations are generated through the dialectical interplay of cues. Now, what are the MR? They are some kind of background knowledge, which is not precise description because, as Fairclough says, many of the assumptions are ideological, and knowledge is thus a misleading term.

Interpretation is dependent on the situational context, which is alarming for linguists because they see meaning as a purely linguistic property. And thus, linguists try to delimit the context of the text. At the same time, situational context for each discourse includes the system of social and power relationships at societal level (highest level). Because of the dependence, intertextual context requires us to view discourses and texts from a historical perspective, thus historical background is also important for the interpretation. Context also cannot be taken for granted because it does not have to be transparently available to all participants. Thus, we also need to be conscious of how a more powerful participant’s interpretation can be imposed on other participants. This is closely linked to the fact that situations may be differently interpreted if different social orders are being drawn upon as interpretative procedures by different participants, which is common cross-culturally and it underlines the cross-cultural miscommunication.

Situational context is composed of four dimensions:

1. “What is going on?”
2. “Who is involved?”
3. “In what relations?”

18 FAIRCLOUGH, Norman, 2015. *Language and Power*. London: Taylor Et Francis. ISBN 9781138790964.

4. “What’s the role of language?”¹⁹

These four questions are concerned with the specification of activity, topic, and purpose (in general), specification of the situation, dynamic subject positions, and the way of how the language is used in the interpretation part.

The last stage of analysis is explanation stage, which objective is to portray a discourse as part of a social process. Explanation is a matter of seeing a discourse as part of processes of social struggle, within a conditions of relations of power. At this stage, the position of the person who is doing the analysis is following. The interpreter is concerned to explicate what is he/she doing and has to be self-consciousness. It is important to avoid any untheorized assumptions about society or acting as if explanation could be theory-neutral or theory-independent. During the explanation stage, it is important to describe how the social practice is influenced by social structures and what effects discourses can have, either keeping them as they are, or changing them. Of course, social structures which we are focusing, are relations of power and social processes, because that are the main notions of CDA.

Explanation has two dimensions. We can put our emphasis either on process or structure. Fairclough mentions two ways – one is to describe discourses as part of social struggle, the second one is to show what power relationships determine discourses, which are outcome of struggles.

The stages of description, interpretation and explanation will be conducted in the second part of the diploma thesis. Methodology will be applied on the case of Senkaku/Diaoyu Island dispute.

In practice, Kowert in his work has conducted research regarding the relationship between the two countries and found out that it depends on what political dispute is at stake and who has the upper hand in the dispute. In a case of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute, Japan is the one who has the upper hand here, in the way that it does not in many other Sino-Japanese issues because it administers the Islands. In this case, expressions of anger are much more common

¹⁹ Ibid

in this case.²⁰ Of course, Kowert acknowledges the role of historical circumstances in disputes. These historical circumstances have been complicated between China, Japan, and South Korea, especially during and after the World War II. Countries did not forget the actions conducted during this event and that is the reason why the possible cooperation between the countries is complicated. Kowert uses the argument of Victor Cha, who has mentioned the so-called quasi-alliances between Japan and Korea. The United States have their own role in this quasi-alliance because it is in their own interest that the Japan and South Korea would cooperate with them, especially in a time when China is economically growing country.

How does the methodology work in practice? Kowert decided to measure the difference in emotional reaction.²¹ Kowert also talks about emotional complexes and psychopolitik of emotions. Base on the case which will be examined in the diploma thesis, it should be expected that there should also be different emotional “landscapes” on China’s and Japan’s side of the dispute. First of all, it is important to take into account the historical circumstances between the China and Japan in a case of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute. Author will then take the articles from chosen internet newspapers, the chosen period is from the September 2012, when the Islands were nationalized by the Japan’s government, until December 2021.

What articles will be analysed in the second part of the diploma thesis? The articles will be chosen according to the key words referring to the dispute – Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands (depending on which media we are looking at), dispute, nationalization. Articles which will not deal primarily with the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute (only mentioning the dispute related to other topics) will be eliminated from the analysis. In the chosen articles, author will analyse the nouns, verbs, and adjectives which are referring to China or Japan, their actions, policies, or actions in a case of the dispute. Emotions expressed by these adjectives will be observed, their overall frequency as well as the incidence of different kinds of adjectives. Following this analysis, the table of the used adjectives will be done, including the year and internet media in which they have occurred.

Articles were chosen from two English written newspapers in China – “*People’s Daily*”, and “*The*

²⁰ KOWERT, Paul A., 2016. *Role Transformations in Japanese Foreign Relations: Two Dimensions of Emotional Politics in Sino-Japanese Crises*. Georgia: International Studies Association.

²¹ Ibid

Global Times". People's Daily are newspapers which are owned by the Communist Party of China and are currently the most read newspapers in China. Which means that People's Daily is highly prestigious in China and has big influence since it is the most read newspapers in China. The Global Times is the newspaper, which is issued under the People's Daily, thus also has big influence on the Chinese citizens and has wide coverage of social events in China. The Global Times are the second most read newspapers in China. Back in 2017, The Global Times were labeled as "*China's angriest newspaper, which doesn't speak for China*" by Foreign Policy newspaper.²² Both newspapers are similar, and its data and articles are easily accessible.

Literature review

In the first part of the diploma thesis, author has focused on the work of Norman Fairclough and his book called "*Language and Power*", which was written back in 1989, although author has used the third edition from 2015. Fairclough precisely explains the role of power and language in socio-economic relations. Fairclough puts emphasis on the reader to be more conscious about the texts. The chapter which was used for the methodology was the chapter called "*Critical discourse analysis in practice: interpretation, explanation, and the position of the analyst*", in which Fairclough explains the three dimensions of how to properly analyse any text. The chapter was beneficial because it explains the three dimensions for people who do not have any experience with the analysis of the texts, or people who are not acquainted with the field of language. The third edition which has been used for the methodological part of the diploma thesis is not much different from the previous ones, Fairclough has added a chapter regarding the language and its role in the globalization age. Fairclough's work has been used by many scholars because of its clarity, precise explanation of the main concepts of CDA and the use of three-dimension model of CDA.

Another book which was used in the first part was the book written by Ruth Wodak and Michael Mayer called "*Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*". This book was used primarily to understand the main concepts of CDA, the relationship between language and power. Wodak and Mayer has also mentioned the work Fairclough, with whom Wodak has previously worked with. The book is intended for scholars who also have little or no knowledge regarding the topic

²² FISH, Eric, 2017. China's Angriest Newspaper Doesn't Speak for China. *Foreign Policy*. Online. 28 April 2017. Available from: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/28/chinas-angriest-newspaper-doesnt-speak-for-china/>

of CDA or its main concepts. Author would say that it could serve as a guidance of how to further explore the field since it briefly mentioned core books of articles of main CDA scholars. This book also goes deeper into the history of the CDA and its development which is also an important topic for the proper understanding of CDA.

Topic of language in journalism, its usage in national newspaper and its influence on decision-making was reflected in other researchers' work. One of the examples is an article from Guofeng Wang who has described how foreign media interpret Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute in his article called *"Discursive Construction of Territorial Disputes: Foreign Newspaper Reporting on the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands Dispute"*. He uses work from Siegfried Jäger called *"Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis and Dispositive Analysis"*. In this work, Jäger precisely described how one should proceed in the case of writing discursive analysis and he also identified and described the actors which may be included in the discursive analysis. Wang notes that people who read foreign newspapers are strongly influenced by the news since it is mostly the only source of information about the issue. He further mentions how both Japan and China are perceived by international environment and how the perspective of "us" versus "them" is used in articles. He focuses on various newspaper in Japan and China, although he does not focus directly on words which authors use.

The analysis of language used in newspapers regarding the topic of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute has been reflected in another works since the 2012, when the Islands were nationalized by Japan's government. Authors have been usually interested in the "us" versus "them" perspective, using the examples of foreign newspapers and Chinese/Japanese newspapers written in English. One of these authors are Jin-De Huang and Li-Bing Wang from Minnan Normal University who have written an article called *"A Contrastive Analysis of News Report on Current Affairs from the CDA Perspective: With Coverage on Diaoyu Islands Issue as an Example"*. In this article from 2014, authors are using the same methodology as is used in this diploma thesis (Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA), plus authors are using the Halliday's systemic functional grammar. The work is using China Daily and The Washington Post's articles reporting the events in 2012. Authors have found out that although the media are claiming to be objective, there is a hidden ideology in both chosen newspapers.

Another author who has focused on this topic is Xiaoping Wu in an article from 2017 called *“Framing, reframing and the transformation of stance in news translation: a case study of the translation of news on the China–Japan dispute”*. Wu examines Chinese translated news reports from Reference News and their original English texts from the influential news agencies headquarters in the UK, Canada, and the US.²³ Author focuses on the period between 17 July 2012 and 14 January 2013. What Wu has found out was, that institutional protocols play a crucial role in the reframing of stance to be more pro-China and less pro-Japan. Wu also notes that it is important to go beyond translation studies when researching news translation.

A book called *“The Dispute Over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands: How Media Narratives Shape Public Opinion and Challenge the Global Order”*, edited by Thomas A. Hollihan has a chapter called *“US Media Coverage of the Diaoyu/Senkaku Dispute”*, written by Hollihan. As the name of the chapter indicates, author has mainly focused on the US coverage of the dispute in the New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Christian Science Monitor, Time, Forbes, Bloomberg News, and the Economist newspapers. Hollihan has mainly focused on the US citizens and their perception of the dispute as an economic threat to the world. Hollihan has also focused on the nationalization of the Islands in 2012.

Last work regarding the topic of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands is an article *“Discursive Construction of territorial disputes: foreign newspaper reporting on the Diaoyu/ Senkaku Islands dispute”* written by Guofeng Wang in 2017, who has focused on the period since 2011 to 2013. Wang has focused on the five Western newspapers. What can be seen in this article is that the author does not focus only on the UK or the US newspapers but also on the French newspapers Le Monde and the German Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung newspapers. Wang has found out that there are similarities between the coverage of the newspapers, although the German news are more focused on the alliance between the US and Japan. Similarly, to the Jin-De Huang and Li-Bing Wang’s article, Wang has also suggested that there is a hidden ideology in the articles reporting the dispute and that *“the ways in which newspaper media depict and thereby construct a territorial conflict will differ depending on whether or not a specific news outlet*

²³ WU, Xiaoping, 2017. Framing, reframing and the transformation of stance in news translation: a case study of the translation of news on the China–Japan dispute. *Language and Intercultural Communication*. 28 March 2017. Vol. 18, no. 2, p. 257–274. DOI 10.1080/14708477.2017.1304951.

represents the interests of a primary disputant or those of a third-party or non-involved country.”²⁴

As can be seen in the above-mentioned articles and books, none of them has focused primarily only on the newspapers written in English in China and all of them have been focusing on the shorter period. Most of the works have been focused on the topic of “us” versus “them” and on the perception of the citizens of foreign countries, not on the Chinese citizens. That would be the main difference between the articles and books and between this diploma thesis.

24 WANG, Guofeng, 2017. Discursive Construction of territorial disputes: foreign newspaper reporting on the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands dispute. *Social Semiotics*. 21 February 2017. Vol. 27, no. 5, p. 567–585. DOI 10.1080/10350330.2017.1292621.

2. The Global Times and People's Daily Newspapers

As has been mentioned in the theoretical part, author is analysing two biggest English written newspapers in China – The Global Times, and People's Daily, while The Global Times officially belong under the directions of People's Daily. The time range in which the articles are analysed in between September 2012, when Japan nationalized the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, until December 2020.

Articles were selected based on their relevance. Articles which primarily did not deal with the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute, were eliminated from the analysis. On People's Daily website, 70 articles which are primarily dealing with the dispute were found, although on The Global Times included 375 articles. Some of the articles were excluded, these are articles informing about "daily patrols" which are being conducted in the waters surrounding the Islands. The reason for this decision is that these articles were descriptive and of informative character. Articles of this type typically include the information regarding which ships entered these waters. Information included in these articles are being officially provided by the State Oceanic Administration (SOA). All these articles have same content, typically have only two paragraphs, the second paragraph might be slightly different, since it includes names of the ships.²⁵ Articles of this type also include information regarding Taiwan and their fishing vessels sailing near Diaoyu Islands.²⁶ In People's Daily, 22 articles of this kind were included in our examined period, while in the Global Times, it is exactly 105 articles. First articles of this kind have been released back in October 2012, while informing that this patrol mission has been conducted on a regular basis and it is being conducted in China's territorial waters, and thus China has a right to do so.

As has been said in the methodological part of the thesis, text production is important for the interpretation process regarding the CDA. Most of our analysed articles have no author and only mention the information, that article have been written by "Agencies" or "Xinhua". What does it mean? Xinhua is a biggest news agency in China, which covers news from each province in the country but also news around the world since Xinhua has its offices abroad. Altogether,

²⁵ China patrols Diaoyu Islands - People's Daily Online, 2012. *en.people.cn*. Online. [Accessed 30 May 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n/2014/1004/c90785-8790925.html>

²⁶ Taiwan fishing vessel sails to Diaoyu Island - Global Times, 2013. *www.globaltimes.cn*. Online. [Accessed 30 May 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201301/757948.shtml>

there are 144 bureaus worldwide, 33 in China.²⁷ As the author has observed, words “Agencies” and “Xinhua” has been used as synonymous in the analysed articles. In some cases, articles include note in the end, which says that “Xinhua has contributed to the story”.

Xinhua’s development begun back in the 1930s and was closely tied with so-called “Party journalism”.²⁸ Xinhua was responsible for issuing Communist newspapers, which continued after the establishment of People’s Republic of China back in 1949 and was called as a “mouthpiece”²⁹ of Chinese Communist Party (CCP, Party). Its main purpose was to present the voice of the CCP and to exercise its control over the news which were issued in the individual regions. Its position has changed due to the process of marketization. Nowadays, according to Xin Xin, Party press is represented by the People’s Daily due to partial deregulation.³⁰ This is caused by the differences of logic of the market and logic of the CCP.³¹

2. 1. Historical Context

Explanation of the historical context of the dispute is part of the explanation process, as has been explained earlier. It is also important to note once again that context cannot be taken as granted because it does not have to be transparently available to everyone. In the analysed articles, authors often mention history of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute. There are several treaties which has been signed between China, Japan, and the US throughout the 20th century which have to be mentioned since in almost every analysed article, some of the treaties is mentioned. This is because China considers some of them being more relevant and important than others.

One of them is the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which has been signed back in 1895, and Japanese government claims that Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands have nothing to do with this treaty and thus, Chinese government cannot invoke to it. The treaty was signed after China’s defeat following the first Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895). The treaty stated that China must (among other

²⁷ Xinhua News Agency, 2012. *AFP.com*. Online. [Accessed 30 May 2022]. Available from: <https://www.afp.com/en/products/partners/xinhua-news-agency>

²⁸ XIN, Xin, 2006. A developing market in news: Xinhua News Agency and Chinese newspapers. *Media, Culture & Society*. Online. January 2006. Vol. 28, no. 1, p. 45–66. [Accessed 5 December 2019].

DOI 10.1177/0163443706059285.

²⁹ Ibid

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ Ibid

conditions) cede island of Formosa (Taiwan), “together with all islands appertaining or belonging to the said island”³² to Japan. Since China considers the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands to be part of its inherent territory and it is closer to Taiwan (354 kilometres from Taiwan) than it is to Japan (410 kilometres from Okinawa prefecture), China understands the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, according to the Treaty of Shimonoseki, to be part of Formosa. But since Japan considers the Islands to be terra nullius, it does not recognize it in the way as China does. Newspapers which are analysed here, are very often referring to this document.

Another two documents which are being mentioned in the articles, are the Cairo Declaration (signed on December 1943), and the Potsdam Declaration (signed in July 1945). These two treaties are also recognized by the Chinese government but not by Japanese one because of the same reason as in the case of the Shimonoseki Treaty. Japan claims that Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands have not been under the Chinese administration before and were terra nullius. As the dates when the treaties were signed suggest, both were signed during the World War II. Japan was an aggressor during the war and thus had to give up the territory which was gained during the time.

Last two treaties which has been signed are the San Francisco Peace Treaty, which has been signed back in September 1951, and the Ryukyu Transferring Agreement, signed in June 1971. The latter one of them is a bilateral treaty signed between the US and Japan. The difference between the previously mentioned treaties and San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Ryukyu Transferring Agreement is that the last two of them are not recognized by the Chinese government. Reasons for this position is following. San Francisco Peace Treaty treats Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands as part of the Nansei Islands. Although Article 10 says that “*Japan renounces all special rights and interests in China*”³³, which is an article referred to by China, Article 3 of the treaty says the following: “*Japan will concur in any proposal of the United States to the United Nations to place under its trusteeship system, with the United States as the sole administering authority, Nansei Shoto south of 29 north latitude (including the Ryukyu Islands*

32 Treaty of Shimonoseki, 1895 | US-China Institute, [no date]. *china.usc.edu*. Online. Available from: <https://china.usc.edu/treaty-shimonoseki-1895>

33 *Treaty of Peace with Japan (with two declarations)*. Signed at San Francisco, on 8 September 1951, 1951. Online. [Accessed 1 June 2022]. Available from: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%20136/volume-136-i-1832-english.pdf?fbclid=IwAR2TqX95zCsyer4Fu9uNreb9tkwGvAkmlT2pPjSq45nF4XswaxanFUoyJfc>

and the Daito Islands).”³⁴ Thus, Nansei Islands were put under the US administration at the time and both governments assumed that the above-mentioned territory will later put back under the Japanese administration.

This eventually happened due to the Ryukyu Transferring Agreement in 1971, recalling the Article 3 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty.³⁵ Japan took full responsibility and authority over the territory, their territorial waters, and all properties which were owned by the government of the US.³⁶ Another thing which is mentioned by this document is the fact that both sides agreed that the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security (MOFA), a bilateral treaty signed by Japan and the US, applies to this territory.³⁷

MOFA is another document which is very often mentioned, especially in the Global Times newspaper in connection to the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute. The Treaty was signed in January 1960 and is described as “a relic of a Cold War”,³⁸ or as “a product of a Cold War”³⁹ and is not respected by the Chinese authorities as something which should determine the relations between China and Japan. The treaty was supposedly signed to for purpose of maintaining the international peace.⁴⁰ On the basis of MOFA, Article 3, both sides should cooperate, aid each other, and eventually resist armed attacks together, subject to their constitutional provisions.⁴¹ On the basis of signing MOFA, San Francisco Peace Treaty expired upon the entering of MOFA into force.⁴²

To sum up this part, we have several treaties which are often mentioned by Global Times and People’s Daily newspapers, three of them being respected by Chinese government, the rest of

34 Ibid

35 Text of U.S.-Japanese Treaty Restoring Okinawa and Nearby Islands to Tokyo, 1971. *The New York Times*. Online. Available from: <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/06/18/archives/text-of-usjapanese-treaty-restoring-okinawa-and-nearby-islands-to.html>

36 Text of U.S.-Japanese Treaty Restoring Okinawa and Nearby Islands to Tokyo, 1971. *The New York Times*. Online. Available from: <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/06/18/archives/text-of-usjapanese-treaty-restoring-okinawa-and-nearby-islands-to.html>

37 Ibid

38 China lodges representation over Tokyo survey of Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. *www.globaltimes.cn*. Online. [Accessed 4 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/730826.shtml>

39 China opposes US bill concerning Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. *www.globaltimes.cn*. Online. [Accessed 4 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201212/748079.shtml>

40 MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF JAPAN, 1960. MOFA: Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. *www.mofa.go.jp*. Online. 19 January 1960. Available from: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q&a/ref/1.html>

41 Ibid

42 Ibid

them are being rejected. Upon those which are being acknowledged, are Treaty of Shimonoseki, Cairo Declaration, and the Potsdam Declaration, which have acknowledged Japan as a country who have occupied Chinese territory. San Francisco Peace Treaty, Ryukyu Transferring Agreement, and the MOFA are treaties which are interpreted by each country differently, which can be attributed to the vague definition of the territory mentioned in the documents. All of these above-mentioned treaties are mentioned very often in the articles to show Japan as the one who interprets the documents in its own, wrongful way. They are sometimes mentioned in connection to Germany, which is showed as an example of a country which has dealt correctly with its own historical issues of militaristic aggression.⁴³

In the next part of the diploma thesis, author will look into the individual articles issued by Global Times and the People's daily newspapers.

2. 2. People's Daily Articles

People's Daily, which is under direct control of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, is currently the most read newspapers in the country. Between the 2012 and 2021, 70 articles could be found which are primarily about the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute. The biggest difference between Global Times and People's Daily can be found in a fact, that while number of articles which have been issued in Global Times were declining throughout the times, in People's Daily it was the opposite.

Since Global Times are under the People's Daily, the two newspapers have a lot in common. Identical articles, informing about the daily patrols in both newspapers were excluded from the analysis. As an example can serve an article about the "Diaoyu Islands-themed restaurant" which signage has been removed back in January 2015. Both articles have been issued in the same day (January 26, 2015).^{44 45} Both articles talk about patriotism which this restaurant is

⁴³ Hotline mechanism important to prevent Diaoyu time bomb exploding - Global Times, 2015. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 4 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201501/900310.shtml>

⁴⁴ SIQI, Cao, 2015. Signage of Diaoyu Islands-themed restaurant removed - Global Times. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. 26 January 2015. [Accessed 13 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201501/903921.shtml>

⁴⁵ Signage of Diaoyu Islands-themed restaurant removed - People's Daily Online, 2015. en.people.cn. Online. [Accessed 13 June 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n/2015/0126/c90882-8840876.html>

spurring. Article talks also about the owner of the restaurant, Lu, or about its location.

When it comes to authors of the analysed articles, most of the articles are said to be written by “Global Times” or “Xinhua”. In case of some articles, sentence “*Xinhua contributed to the story.*” can be found as well. We can see a same pattern as in a case of Global Times. This makes sense since Global Times are under the People’s Daily administration.

Although Global Times were very active in issuing articles back in 2012, when the islands were nationalized, People’s Daily were more active since 2014. Back in 2012, there has been only information regarding the daily patrols which have been excluded. Although articles were not issued so much often, author would say that articles issued less often in People’s Daily but regarding greater problems. As has been said above, in Global Times, parts of many articles very often repeated but this cannot be seen in People’s Daily. But one thing which can readers observe is that many articles are very similar to the ones issued in Global Times. Because of this fact, phrases which are being used in Global Times and which are mentioned in the end of the previous chapter, can be also seen in People’s Daily articles.

Topics which have been displayed in People’s Daily are similar but not the same as in Global Times. For example, People’s Daily have focused more on the website launch, which has been done in December 2014. There have been several articles about the website, about Japanese reactions, about launching in different languages, while in Global Times it has been only two articles informing about it.

2. 2. 1. Topics included in People’s Daily

In the following paragraphs, author would like to elaborate more on the topics which have been included in People’s Daily articles throughout the years.

As has been said, articles from 2012 have been excluded since they were only informing about the daily patrols in territorial waters surrounding the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. Although, People’s Daily was issuing articles which were elaborating more on the patrols. Information about fines that have been distributed, or just statements about the fact that China is just protecting its territory and maritime rights. It is important to say that during the 2013, there has not been a single article issued, according to People’s Daily online archive.

First articles which can be found are from November 2014. Articles from this period are urging Japan to properly handle its history, same case as in the articles from Global Times. Article about a store opened that year in Baoding can be found. This store, which includes exhibition about national sovereignty, according to its owner was supposed to “spur public’s patriotism”⁴⁶. This article aims to show unity among leaders of mainland China and Taiwan, since the article also mentions James CY Soong, who was chairman of a Taiwan’s First People Party.

The main new of 2014, was a launch of a website claiming sovereignty of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, about which Global Times has also informed. Launch of this website was a hot topic even in 2015. There have been several reasons for this. One was the fact, that in December, when the website was launched, it did not include English, so the website could not “spread the Diaoyu messages”, because the international community needs to see the facts, as the articles claim. English was added in March 2015, followed by French, Spanish, German, Russian, and Arabic languages in August the same year. Another reason for this was that Japan demanded to shut down the website because the information included there, were “out of context”.

Another topic, which was also included in Global Times, was a discovery of a new maps. This time it was a map from 1969, which, according to Hong Lei, was proving the Chinese sovereignty, and long-term effective administration over Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands.⁴⁷ Again, Japan called this document “out of context”. People’s Daily mentioned that Japan should be cautious about releasing documents similar to the ones which are being released by Chinese Foreign Ministry.⁴⁸ This issue was repeated again in April 2016, when China claimed, that its authorities have collected over 750 documents which are clearly proving that the islands belong to mainland China and that they were never terra nullius. At the same time, China accused Japanese government of quoting the mentioned documents “out of context” and warned Japan of doing so. This was after another two maps, allegedly from 19th century were discovered by

⁴⁶ Diaoyu Islands-themed store aims to “spur patriotism” - People’s Daily Online, 2014. *en.people.cn*. Online. [Accessed 14 June 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n/2014/1219/c90882-8824985.html>

⁴⁷ Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman: 1969 map proves Diaoyu Islands belong to China - People’s Daily Online, 2015. *en.people.cn*. Online. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n/2015/0319/c90883-8865707.html>

⁴⁸ Japan’s Diaoyu Islands documents “out of context” - People’s Daily Online, 2015. *en.people.cn*. Online. [Accessed 16 June 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n/2015/0409/c90883-8875535.html>

Chinese American living in New York, were discovered in August 2015.⁴⁹ Another map was allegedly discovered in August 2017. The article claimed that the ancient map which was discovered by a Japanese historian Norio Kuboi proves that the islands belong to Dokdo Islands.⁵⁰ What this article fails to mention is the information about the origins of the map. There are no further information regarding from which century the map is or where it was found. Article further claims that Kuboi is being criticized in Japan for his opinions regarding the dispute.

Another big topic which has occurred in 2015 was a statement made by Lee Teng-hui, former Taiwanese leader, who said that Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands belong to Japanese territory during his visit to Japan back in July 2015.⁵¹ In article, which was issued in August, People's Daily issued an article which stated that Lee has to apologize for the statement. Article did not forget to mention that Lee is a former chairman of Kuomintang, and his statements has not been consistent throughout the time, while he is clearly pro-Japanese.⁵²

In September the same year, museum dedicated to the islands was opened in Liugong Island in Weihai, which was another attempt to spur patriotism in mainland China and in Taiwan. At the same time, the SOA announced its plan is to make the museum a permanent establishment because it is important to preserve the history and guard dignity.⁵³ Later, Japan

Back in 2017, topic which resonated the most in People's Daily was the fact that Japanese government decided that it is time to start teaching about Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands and its history. This included information that the islands were always terra nullius, and it is under the Japanese administration. Again, China demanded Japan to face its history and said that its

49 Two 19th Century Maps Show Exactly whom the Diaoyu Islands Belong to - People's Daily Online, 2015. *en.people.cn*. Online. [Accessed 16 June 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n/2015/0807/c90000-8932598.html>

50 YAN, Li, 2017. Ancient map of Japan adds further evidence to China's ownership over Diaoyu Islands - People's Daily Online. *en.people.cn*. Online. 24 August 2017. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n3/2017/0824/c90000-9259862.html>

51 Taiwan president slams Lee for saying Senkakus belong to Japan, 2015. *The Japan Times*. Online. [Accessed 16 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/08/03/national/politics-diplomacy/taiwan-president-slams-lee-for-saying-senkakus-belong-to-japan/>

52 Lee Teng-hui should apologize for Diaoyu Islands statement: Taiwan leader - People's Daily Online, 2015. *en.people.cn*. Online. [Accessed 16 June 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n/2015/0803/c90785-8930601.html>

53 China opens first museum dedicated to Diaoyu Islands - People's Daily Online, 2015. *en.people.cn*. Online. [Accessed 16 June 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n/2015/0908/c90000-8947071.html>

administration will firmly respond to any challenges to its sovereignty.

Another great topic in People's Daily was MOFA and its applicability to the islands. People's Daily released an information about American people not being happy about the US and its involvement in the dispute. The problem with this is that the article did not name anything concrete, about who has done the research or from where does this information is. The article does not refer to any specific research, only mentions an information that "*more than 60 percent of Americans oppose the US involvement in Diaoyu Islands dispute.*"⁵⁴ It is hard to trust certain information when no source is specified. The appeal to not include the islands under MOFA was several times repeated, in August 2017, MOFA was titled as a "product of a Cold War" and both Japan and the US were called as a parties which are not involved in a dispute in South China Sea and thus both countries should stop making wrong remarks and do more for the regional stability.⁵⁵

2. 3. Global Times Articles

The Global Times newspapers are issued under the People's Daily and are the second most read newspapers in China. During the time period, which is being analysed, Global Times have issued 375 articles regarding the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute, out of which 105 articles were excluded because of the repetition of information regarding the patrols in the territorial waters surrounding the Islands.

We can say that during our time period, the frequency of publishing was declining, while the year 2012 was most frequent, which can be attributed to the fact, that the nationalization of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands shocked Chinese people and government, and media wanted to highlight the topic as much as they could. Throughout the years, the situation around the dispute has stabilized, and the dispute was sometimes overshadowed by other global situations, such as the annexation of Crimea back in 2014, or the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020.

⁵⁴ More than 60 percent of Americans oppose U.S. involvement in Diaoyu Islands dispute - People's Daily Online, 2015. *en.people.cn*. Online. [Accessed 16 June 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n/2015/1023/c98649-8966133.html>

⁵⁵ China: Japan should not claim Diaoyu Islands with US-Japan Security Treaty - People's Daily Online, 2017. *en.people.cn*. Online. [Accessed 16 June 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n3/2017/0818/c90883-9257375.html>

China and Japan have somehow learnt how to cooperate in the situation and at some point, tried to cease the tension, such as in the November 2014, when the so-called Four Point Agreement was signed, in which both sides agreed to restore bilateral relations and mutual trust, and solve the dispute through the dialogue. Although, some scholars draw attention to the differences between the Chinese and Japanese translation to English. While China included agreement on “facing history squarely” in the text, Japan speaks of “looking towards the future”.⁵⁶

2. 3. 1. Topics included in the articles

There are several topics which are being repeated throughout the years since the Japanese nationalization of the islands. These topics include history of Diaoyu Islands from Chinese point of view and relationship between China and Japan. Another topics are protests which take place around the world or pointing out who the real aggressor is in this dispute. Following paragraphs will elaborate more on the topics.

September 2012 was the most active month in a sense of issuing the articles. Global Times issued up to 7 articles per day, sometimes repeating the articles, or parts of individual articles, from previous days. The most important topic in September 2012 was pointing out who is the aggressor in this dispute, while urging Japan to “*correct its wrongdoing*”, or to “*correct its mistakes*”,^{57 58} and blaming the US for its role in the dispute.

Another distinctive theme, which began to show in September 2012, but was also being repeated throughout the years, is finding of new documents, dated back to 15th century, which are supposed to prove that the Diaoyu Islands always belonged to China, and was never terra nullius. First information about finding another documents was announced by Global Times on September 19. Article from this day has announced that there have been several documents

⁵⁶ TIEZZI, Shannon, 2014. A China-Japan Breakthrough: A Primer on Their 4 Point Consensus. *thediplomat.com*. Online. 7 November 2014. Available from: <https://thediplomat.com/2014/11/a-china-japan-breakthrough-a-primer-on-their-4-point-consensus/>

⁵⁷ China urges settling Diaoyu dispute through negotiations - Global Times, 2012. *www.globaltimes.cn*. Online. [Accessed 5 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/733052.shtml>

⁵⁸ Patrolling Diaoyu Islands shows China’s clear-cut sovereign determination - Global Times, 2012. *www.globaltimes.cn*. Online. [Accessed 5 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/733196.shtml>

found by Chinese citizens living in Huston, US, including ones which are dated back to 15th century, to 1403.⁵⁹ This article also includes parts of letter, which has been written by these citizens to Japanese Consulate General. This letter includes mentioning of Japanese aggression during World War II, and also a remark that Japan should give up all of its territory in Pacific because of its crimes committed during this period.⁶⁰

As can be seen, one topic which is involved almost in every article which has been analysed, is China's history regarding the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, or its relationship with Japan. This pattern can be seen in the articles itself, usually in the end of the article, historical point is made to highlight the fact, that Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands are *"inherent part of Chinese territory since ancient times, and China has indisputable sovereignty over them."*^{61 62 63} This includes mentioning of the documents and treaties mentioned previously in this text, or the "wrongdoing" of Japan in the past, which Japanese government should pay attention to. For example, several days after Japan nationalized Senkaku/Diaoyu Island, exactly on 18th September 2012, Chinese people were remembering the anniversary of Japanese invasion of Manchuria. This was seen as a great opportunity, to call Japanese authorities out to cease *"all unilateral, irresponsible and provocative actions"* regarding the islands.⁶⁴ The article than continues with informing about the protests which took place in the US, in front of the Japanese embassy.

The protests which take place abroad, foreign media and their support of China, and its claim on the disputed territory are another great topic mentioned in the Global Times. This includes Kenyan newspapers releasing "historical facts" on October 15, 2012, regarding the ownership of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, which according to these newspapers belong to China. Another

⁵⁹ Chinese in Houston present written protest over Diaoyu Islands to Japanese Consulate General - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 6 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/734084.shtml>

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹ Diaoyu Islands photos, documents exhibited - Global Times, 2015. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 6 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201508/937114.shtml>

⁶² China publishes pamphlet on Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 6 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/734403.shtml>

⁶³ Chinese literary, art circles condemn Japan's "purchase" of Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 6 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/733323.shtml>

⁶⁴ Overseas Chinese protest in Washington D.C. against Japan's provocations over Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/733592.shtml>

great example is mentioning foreign scholars or Chinese scholars living abroad and their work, which support Chinese claims. One of the examples can be an article written on September 26, 2012, called “*Scholars defend China’s sovereignty over Diaoyu Islands*”⁶⁵. This article does not name anyone specifically, only mentions that over 50 scholars from mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong gathered together to discuss the dispute.⁶⁶ Since all of the mentioned territory belong to China, we can assume that these scholars support China’s claims. This includes the document of Chris D. Nebe, German producer, and director, called “Diaoyu Islands – The Truth”, which was released back in 2014. Nebe in his 42-minute-long document supports Chinese claims on the islands and he is being cheered for this in China.

Last topic which should be mentioned in this chapter is definitely support of Chinese citizens in their “protests” against the Japanese “occupation” of islands. Although the two newspapers which are being analysed are calling for peaceful protests, there has been cases when Chinese citizens attacked for example properties, such as cars, of Japanese people living in China. There have been also cases when Chinese people opened a Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands themed restaurant, serving food called after various army equipment. This is a case of a “Diaoyu Islands Malatang Noodle Shop”, which was opened back in 2015, and which menu included for example “hand grenades”, or “heavy artillery”.⁶⁷ Owners of this restaurant were cheered for their patriotism. Another reason why Malatang Noodle Shop caught the newspaper’s attention was that UK newspapers The Times wrote an article about it. Newspapers have also informed its readers that the nearby Japanese owner of his own restaurant has absolutely no problem with Diaoyu Islands themed restaurant.

2. 3. 2. Structure and grammar

Structure and grammar are another aspects which are important when it comes to interpretation of the text. As Fairclough suggests, the text’s vocabulary, grammar and textual

⁶⁵Scholars defend China’s sovereignty over Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 13 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/735522.shtml>

⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ SIQI, Cao, 2015. Signage of Diaoyu Islands-themed restaurant removed - Global Times. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. 26 January 2015. [Accessed 13 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201501/903921.shtml>

structure are important for understanding and interpreting the texts as such.

Since People's Daily is under the administration of Global Times, it is no surprise that structure and grammar used in both of the chosen newspapers are very similar. When it comes to the structure of the articles, similarities between articles could be found. All articles have several paragraphs, which are of a shorter character. The first paragraph is always a short information elaborating more on the headline. This is usually followed by quotes, or indirect speech, of different people, while these people do not have to be necessarily named. Paragraphs about history are very often displayed in the end of the article. Some of the articles can include some sort of video, or link to a video which is repeating the article. An article from August 2015 about two maps from 19th century can serve as an example.⁶⁸ Articles which include concrete name of an author of the article, can include caricature depicting the situation or a certain person.

As has been already said above, articles which have been analysed in People's Daily and Global Times, use same phrases and words repeatedly. Several articles could be found just repeating shortly the previous article in a short period of time. As an example, two articles published in December 2012 about US bill concerning Diaoyu Islands can serve.⁶⁹ Both articles were published on the same day (4th December) thus have different text, saying the same thing. In short, article is about Chinese Foreign Minister opposing a bill which was passed through the US Senate which simply states that the US do not take any position regarding the dispute but acknowledge the Japanese rights to administrate the islands. Both of the articles talk about Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Hong Lei at the time, who repeats in both of the articles that *"The Diaoyu Islands and its affiliated islets have always been the inherent part of China since the ancient times, and China has undisputed sovereignty over the Diaoyu Islands."*⁷⁰

As another example can serve two very almost identical articles from January 2013, informing

⁶⁸ RONG, Liu, 2015. Two 19th Century Maps Show Exactly whom the Diaoyu Islands Belong to - People's Daily Online. *en.people.cn*. Online. 7 August 2015. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n/2015/0807/c90000-8932598.html>

⁶⁹ China opposes US bill concerning Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. *www.globaltimes.cn*. Online. [Accessed 4 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201212/748079.shtml>;
US Senate backs Japan over Diaoyu - Global Times, 2012. *www.globaltimes.cn*. Online. [Accessed 13 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201212/747811.shtml>

⁷⁰ China opposes US bill concerning Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. *www.globaltimes.cn*. Online. [Accessed 4 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201212/748079.shtml>

about Chinese plans of mapping the territory of the islands.⁷¹ Both articles inform about the individual stages of mapping the territory. The second article, published on January 16, also mentions additional information, that although the bilateral relations have been facing a difficult situation, both countries are trying to maintain the communication on how to solve the problem on diplomatic level.

Language used in the analysed articles is kept very simple, because the chosen newspapers should be accessible for anyone, thus everyone can understand what chosen article is saying. No slang, or academic words are being used. But one thing which can be observed is that articles which have been analysed are very often using emotional words, usually showing negative information about the China's attitude. It is important to identify lexical categories in the articles. Lexical features such as reported, indirect speech which alternates with direct speech throughout the texts. Another features which can be observed throughout the articles are above-mentioned emotional words, negative and positive words, paraphrases, or modal words. Another important aspect is intertextual context and elements. All of these lexical categories will be examined later on.

As the author has explained, whole parts of the articles have been repeating throughout the articles. Individual words which have been used are no exception. Several words and sentences have already been mentioned, such as *"The Diaoyu Islands have been China's territories since ancient times."* Sentences like this are not written directly by the author of the article but are rather put as someone else's words. These direct citations are often quoted by spokesmen or spokeswomanes in both Global Times and People's Daily, most often Hong Lei, or Geng Yansheng, Foreign Ministry spokesmen during the time.

One pattern which can be seen while analysing the articles is that there have been several established phrases, references to certain actions, throughout the years. These include phrases such as: *"inherent territory"*, *"right-leaning tendency"*, *"correct its wrongdoing"*, etc. These phrases will be examined later on. One of the patterns which could be found is also often mentioning of significant dates, days, anniversaries, and other important events. This pattern

⁷¹ China to survey Diaoyu Islands: FM spokesman - Global Times, 2013. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 13 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201301/756175.shtml>; China plans Diaoyu Islands mapping - Global Times, 2013. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 13 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201301/755964.shtml>

can be called as using of a symbolism. The same is applied to mentioning foreign countries or Europe as whole. Europe serves as an example of dealing with its past very well handled in connection with the World War II.

In the next part of the diploma thesis, author will be examining lexicological features, reported speech, modality, and emotionally coloured words, which are included in the analysed articles.

2. 4. Analysis of the Lexicological Features

In order to understand the language, its usage and influence in selected People's Daily and Global Times articles, it is important to understand the lexicological features included in the articles while using the analytical tools of CDA. Features such as direct, indirect speech, paraphrases, statement words, etc. will be examined.

Since the above-mentioned lexicological features are more part of linguistic field, individual features will be defined at first. After definition, table with frequency of appearance will be included to show the lexicological feature in practice. Tables will help to explain function of the observed lexicological feature in the selected articles.

2.4.1. Reported, Indirect Speech

Reported, or indirect speech occurs often in the People's Daily and Global Times' articles. Reported speech focuses more on the context of what someone else said rather than focusing on the direct words said by a given person/people. Simply put, it is reporting something without direct citation of the news. Although according to Florian Coulmas, we distinguish between two types of reported speech. These two types include direct quoting and indirect quoting. The former one refers to situation when the indirect speech is supposed to evoke the original speech situation.⁷²

As has been discussed in the previous chapter, quoting, more specifically indirect quoting, has been used a lot throughout the articles, while the most quoted people were Foreign Ministry spokesmen – Hong Lei, and Qin Gang. Another frequently quoted people are Defence Ministry spokesmen – Geng Yansheng and Yang Yujun. Function of the quotes used in the articles is very simple. It is being used to put emphasis on the information regarding the dispute which should be self-evident to the readers, and which should not be doubted. According to Charles N. Li, indirect speech is one of the forms of evidentiality in English grammar.⁷³ In the indirect quotes, many of the emotionally coloured words have been used which are mentioned in the following chapter's tables. Here are examples of the indirect speech used in the analysed articles:

⁷² FLORIAN COULMAS, 1986. *Direct and indirect speech*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter. ISBN 9780899251769.

⁷³ Ibid

1. "Any unilateral action by Japan regarding the Diaoyu Islands is illegal and invalid," spokesman Hong Lei said at a routine press briefing."⁷⁴

2. "The Chinese government's determination to safeguard its sovereignty over the Diaoyu Islands is unswerving, Foreign Ministry spokesman Hong Lei said Wednesday."⁷⁵

3. "It will be a "severe provocation to China," said defense ministry spokesperson Geng Yansheng, adding that China will take resolute measures to strike back."⁷⁶

4. "The Chinese military will continue its patrols and military training in the areas concerned," Yang said."⁷⁷

In a case of example number 4, the following paragraph was informing about Tokyo's decision of "purchasing" and "nationalization" of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands while both words were in quoting marks indicating that Chinese administration are definitely not approving this step. The article was also informing about the fact that this decision seriously strained bilateral relations.⁷⁸

The role of reported, or indirect speech in the articles is evident. It is being used to put emphasis on the information which are considered as self-evident to the authors of the articles. While reading them, it affirms the readers, that China is the true owner of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands.

2. 4. 2. Modality

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, modality is simply put a meaning which is expressed by modal verbs.⁷⁹ According to Michael Halliday, we can distinguish three "degrees" of values

⁷⁴ China lodges representation over Tokyo survey of Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 4 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/730826.shtml>

⁷⁵ China's will to safeguard sovereignty over Diaoyu Islands unswerving: FM - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 9 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/731270.shtml>

⁷⁶ China responds to Japan with ship patrol near Diaoyu - Global Times, 2013. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 9 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201310/820975.shtml>

⁷⁷ China notes Japanese military activity near Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2014. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 9 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201404/856639.shtml>

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ CAMBRIDGE DICTIONARY, 2022. Modality. dictionary.cambridge.org. Online. 2022. Available from: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/modality>

when it comes to modality. These are: high, median, and low value.⁸⁰ The most important difference between these values for this analysis is the inclination, willingness to do something. In a case of high value modality, the inclination is determined. This includes words such as “must”. In a case of median value, the inclination is keen, which includes words such as “should”. In the last case, the low value one, the inclination is willing. This includes modality “could”.

When it comes to modality, it is important to identify who is a subject in the given case, such as in case of reported/direct speech. This is also called as orientation of modality. The orientation simply means to whom or what the modality refers to. It is important to note that no short forms (such as “can’t”, or “won’t”) were not use. Only formal forms of modalities have been used.

VALUE	MODALITY	GLOBAL TIMES	PEOPLE’S DAILY
		OCCURRENCE	OCCURRENCE
HIGH	Must	34	4
	Ought to	2	-
	Shall	18	19
	Has to	5	3
MEDIUM	Have to	3	-
	Will	262	35
	Should	184	35
	Can	35	13
	Cannot	25	9
LOW	Need to	5 ⁸¹	1
	May	32	4
	Might	8	3
	Could	35	7
	Would	152	13

Figure 1. Modalities, source: Author

As can be seen from the table, modalities have been frequently used in the articles. While analysing the articles, author could not oversee certain patterns. For example, in Global Times, when it comes to modality “can” and its negative form “cannot”, in the case when Japan was

⁸⁰ RUI, Zhai and JINGXIA, Liu, 2018. The Study on the Interpersonal Meanings of Modality in Micro-blogging English News Discourse by the case of “Donald Trump’s Muslim Entry Ban.” *Advances in Language and Literary Studies*. 30 April 2018. Vol. 9, no. 2, p. 110. DOI 10.7575/aiac.all.v.9n.2p.110.

⁸¹ Modality “Need to” was used as a subject both to China and Japan.

the subject, the negative form has been used in 23 cases, while in a case of a modality “can”, it has been only nine times. When it comes to China as a subject in a case of “can” and “cannot”, the exact opposite pattern can be observed. The modality “can” have been used 26 times in case of China being the subject to this modality, while in the case of “cannot” it has been only two times. One more thing which is interesting in a case of Japan and modality “can” is, that it is often used phrase “can never”. It is also important to note that in three cases out of 25 of modality “can”, the subjects were both China and Japan, referring to possible joint cooperation.

When it comes to high value modality “must”, in case of Global Times articles, Japan was the subject in 19 cases. When it comes to this modality, the word “must”, was often used to refer to Japan as a country, which must face its history, which must take actions and correct its wrongdoing. While when China was a subject (in 11 cases), it was often related to the situation in which China “must” protect its territory and “must” take actions in this dispute. Although in People’s daily this modality was used only on four cases, the same pattern can be seen.

Same pattern can be seen in a case of words “have to” and “has to”. These two modalities have been used in a case of Japan being the subject, referring to the urge to Japan having to “face its history”, or to accept that Diaoyu Islands are part of China’s inherent territory. This includes statement from May 2016, when People’s Daily article written by Liu Jiangyong called “Evidence proves that Diaoyu Islands are Chinese territory” stated: *“It should be noted that in the Japanese version of the Cairo Declaration, it is stipulated that Japan has to return all the territories stolen from the Qing court to the Republic of China, which means all the territories Japan stole from China before and after the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki.”*⁸²

2. 4. 3. Emotionally Coloured Words

Emotionally coloured words can be defined as simply put words which are supposed to represent some type of emotion. The hypothesis of this diploma thesis is that Global Times and People’s Daily are using emotionally coloured words to stir national sentiment and support Chinese government. Author has been looking through texts of the articles from 2012 to 2021 to identify these words. Author has found nouns, adjectives, and verbs, which are definitely

⁸² JIANGYONG, Liu, 2016. People’s Daily: Evidence proves that Diaoyu Island is Chinese territory - People’s Daily Online. *en.people.cn*. Online. 4 May 2016. [Accessed 4 July 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n3/2016/0504/c98649-9053223.html>

emotionally coloured, and which are supposed to draw attention to the text. One special category of words which is being included in this chapter are legalistic words which are being used in the articles. Following subsection is dealing with legalistic words.

2. 4. 3. 1. Nouns

Author will start with the emotionally coloured and pejorative nouns.

NOUN	GLOBAL TIMES	PEOPLE'S DAILY
	OCCURRENCE	OCCURRENCE
Aggressor	1	-
Arrogance	2	-
Atrocity	1	-
Benefit	4	1
Caution	4	1
Confrontation	20	-
Cruelty	1	-
Damage	17	-
Dignity	6	1
Expansionism	8	-
Farce	12	1
Harm	12	5
Illusion	8	1
Intervention	5	-
Invasion	18	2
Issue	139	50
Militarism	11	2
Mockery	2	-
Occupation	18	4
Patriotism	10	3
Problem	21	2
Propaganda	4	5
Provocation	80	8
"Purchase" ⁸³	174	2
Ramification	1	-
Right-wing activists	7	-
Right-wing forces	14	2
Rightist mentality	3	-
Stability	43	13
Tension	104	10
Threat	36	4
Tolerance	1	-
Wrong path	2	2

Figure 2. Emotionally Coloured Nouns⁸⁴, source: Author

⁸³ In a case of word "purchase ", quoting marks are included in the table because this word is always listed inside them.

⁸⁴ Words which are being used in the Figure 2 are given in a singular.

As can be seen from the table, emotionally coloured nouns are used much more often in Global Times than in the People's Daily. As has been said previously, People's Daily are focused only on the "greater" topics regarding the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. This includes information regarding the launching of the website about the islands, information regarding the US and their stance in this dispute, information about what China sees as violation of maritime rights, etc. Author supposes that because bigger emphasis on news like this is put, authors of these articles are trying to avoid any emotionally coloured words.

Words which can be seen in Figure 2 are mixture of negative and positive emotionally coloured words. The pattern which was observed by the author is that the negative ones are connected with description of Japan, while the positive ones are connected to description of China. The most used noun is "purchase". Although this word itself is not emotional, in the case of the analysed articles, this word has been used in a pejorative sense. The word "purchase" is always used with reference to Japanese government purchasing the islands from Kurihara family back in September 2012. The author supposes that the reason why this word is in quoting marks is to express China's disagreement with this term, since Japan came up with this term and with the argument that Japanese administration is purchasing this territory from the above-mentioned family. Important to note is that in 97 cases, this word has been used only between September and December 2012.

Here are examples of this word being used in sentences:

1. *"Liang said Japan is to be blamed for "heating up" the Diaoyu Islands issue as the Japanese government decided to "purchase" the islands.* ⁸⁵

This sentence is from an article from September 2012, in which Liang Guanglie, Chinese defense chief, warned Japanese administration from "further action" in Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute. In the article, Liang also mentions that Chinese administration hopes for diplomatic resolution, but one thing must be clear to others and that is, that Japan is to blame for the escalation.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Chinese defense chief wants peaceful resolution over Diaoyu Islands but warns of "further actions" - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 5 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/733854.shtml>

⁸⁶ Ibid

2. *"Relations between Japan and China have soured since the Japanese government said it would "purchase" part of the Diaoyu Islands in the East China Sea in 2012."*⁸⁷

This sentence comes from an article published in the beginning of 2013 and it was put in the end of the article to inform about the maritime exercises and why they must be conducted. In the article, Foreign Ministry spokesman, Hong Lei, is mentioned, who said that these exercises must be conducted although Japan is against actions of this kind because in the beginning of this year, the islands were already under the Japanese administration.

3. *"A series of actions by the Japanese government, including the so-called "purchase" of the Diaoyu Islands, show that Japan has not abandoned its militarism and is going farther on a dangerous path, the letter said."*⁸⁸

This last example from the Global Times which author wants to mention, is from February 2013 and it includes another emotionally coloured word – “militarism” – which is always mentioned in the articles in connection to Japan and its past, to be more concrete, with the World War II.

4. *"In 2012, Tokyo moved unilaterally to "purchase" and "nationalize" the Diaoyu Islands, seriously straining China-Japan relations."*⁸⁹

This example comes from People’s Daily article issued in March 2015. This sentence was put in the end of the article, as an additional information to the historical context. As can be seen, “purchase” is used together with the word “nationalization”, which in this context also has a pejorative meaning.

Another words, which is very much used is a word “issue”. Again, this word is used in pejorative meaning when it comes to Japan as a subject. “Issue” is used also to refer to the dispute over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands but also to refer to Japan and its actions in the dispute. Here are some examples:

⁸⁷ China alert to Japanese Diaoyu Islands escalation - Global Times, 2013. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 5 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201301/756286.shtml>

⁸⁸ Overseas Chinese group in US lodges protest against Japan over Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2013. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 5 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201302/763243.shtml>

⁸⁹ China rejects Japanese request to shut down Diaoyu Islands website - People’s Daily Online, 2015. en.people.cn. Online. [Accessed 6 July 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n/2015/0306/c90883-8858317.html>

1. *“Japan's position on the issue is also an outright denial of the outcomes of the victory of the World Anti-Fascist War and constitutes a grave challenge to the post-war international order as well as the purposes and principles of the UN charter, he said.”*⁹⁰

2. *“Japan's occupation of the islands are “illegal and invalid.” Its provocations on the issue are “unjustified,” the spokesman said”.*⁹¹

Both examples come are quotes, coming from the Foreign Ministry. The first quote comes from Foreign Minister at the time, Yang Jiechi, the latter one comes from Foreign Ministry spokesman Qin Gang. The latter quote is very often repeated sentence when it comes to reminding the readers who is to blame in this dispute.

“Militarism”, “right-wing tendency”, and “atrocities” are three words which have one thing in common. And that is that they are used in connection to the Japanese history, referring to World War II. With the “right-wing tendency” is closely connected also “right-wing activist” and “rightist mentality” which are phrases referring to Japanese government.

*“The drill, exposing Japan's right-wing militarist ambitions and its failure to reflect on history, was obviously a provocation targeting China, as Japan tries to play a role in the US' attempts to contain China, analysts said.”*⁹²

This sentence is combination of several observed phenomena. One of them being the fact that analysts, who are often being quoted in the articles are not being named, and thus it is hard to verify trustworthiness of the person. Second one is China being keen on blaming Japan for its past and connecting it with the current Japanese administration.

One word, which is in opposite to these three above-mentioned ones, and connected to the “right-wing tendency”, or “rightist mentality” is word “propaganda”. That is because

⁹⁰ Chinese FM refutes Japan's distorted accounts on Diaoyu Islands issue - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 6 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201211/742815.shtml>

⁹¹ China denies US-Japan alliance's Diaoyu Islands bearing - Global Times, 2014. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 6 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201404/856502.shtml>

⁹² XUANZUN, Liu, 2021. Chinese defense minister urges Japan to learn from history, after Japanese forces' mock drills concerning Diaoyu Islands - People's Daily Online. en.people.cn. Online. 28 December 2021. [Accessed 7 July 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n3/2021/1228/c90000-9938121.html>

“propaganda” is referring to the current Japanese administration and its behaviour in the dispute. “Propaganda” is definitely a word which is perceived by readers as a negative one, since propaganda is something which is supposed to get mass of people to think certain way. Global Times and People’s Daily claim in their articles that Japan has launched a propaganda campaign against China, which is unacceptable.

“The Japanese government has deliberately launched a propaganda campaign against China over the Diaoyu Islands issue.”⁹³

This is one example of how “propaganda” is being used in the articles. The title of this article is calling the propaganda being “absurd” since China, according to author of this article, has no interest in fighting a propaganda war launched by Japan over Chinese coast guard vessel.⁹⁴ This can be seen as China playing as a country which was dragged to the unnecessary dispute which could be avoided only if Japan behaved correctly and did not keep on escalating the situation.

Another word which is important for the analysis is word “patriotism”. This word is closely connected to one of the topics mentioned in the previous chapter and that is topic regarding the actions of Chinese citizens. Following example shows how it is being used:

“A store meant to call attention to defending the Diaoyu Islands as Chinese territory opened in Baoding, Hebei Province, on Wednesday, with the owner telling the Global Times on Thursday that the store is his effort to “spur the public’s patriotism.”⁹⁵

This quote is from the previously mentioned article about a restaurant which aimed to donate its income to the protection of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. It caught people’s attention since this was not only article which was mentioning the “heroic” action of the owners. Exhibition of historic facts that the islands belong to China was also part of the restaurant. Chen, who is the owner of the restaurant said that he wishes that more people would join them in defending

⁹³ Japan’s propaganda war on Diaoyu absurd - People’s Daily Online, 2015. *en.people.cn*. Online. [Accessed 7 July 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n/2015/1228/c90000-8996177.html>

⁹⁴ *Ibid*

⁹⁵ Diaoyu Islands-themed store aims to “spur patriotism” - People’s Daily Online, 2014. *en.people.cn*. Online. [Accessed 14 June 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n/2014/1219/c90882-8824985.html>

China’s territory.⁹⁶

As can be seen, many emotionally coloured words have been used in analysed articles which are referring to Japan as a country which is doing only wrong actions since the nationalization of the islands in September 2012. Several phrases keep being repeated throughout the articles, such as “illegal and invalid”, or “purchase and nationalize”. Nouns showed in the table are also being used to remind readers about Japan’s history and its “wrongdoing”.

2. 4. 3. 2. Adjectives

After nouns, several emotionally coloured adjectives have been identified.

ADJECTIVE	GLOBAL TIMES OCCURRENCE	PEOPLE’S DAILY OCCURRENCE
Absurd	4	2
Angry	3	-
Candid	4	-
Confrontational	2	-
Confusing	2	-
Cumbersome	1	-
Damaging	4	1
Dangerous	14	3
Deliberately	7	7
Futile	2	-
Gravely	6	-
Imminent	1	-
Inalienable	10	1
Indisputable	29	4
Irresponsible	9	3
Justice-upholding	1	-
Misleading	2	1
Peace-loving	6	-
Rejected	8	2
Solemn	21	1
Stubbornly	2	-
Unreasonable	5	4
Unswerving	8	3
Unyielding	1	-
Vain	5	-
Vague	2	-

⁹⁶ Ibid

Worsening	2	-
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Figure 2. Emotionally Coloured Adjectives, source: Author

Adjectives which have been identified as emotionally coloured in analysed articles are depicted in the table above. As can be seen from this table, more adjectives were identified in the Global Times than in People’s Daily. This can be due to difference of sample size; it is logical that far more adjectives were identified in Global Times than in People’s Daily.

Again, more negative, pejorative than positive adjectives were identified to describe the relationship between China and Japan, or the position of Japan in the dispute. But there is one positively coloured adjective which the author would like to mention in this part and that is the adjective “peace-loving”. This adjective is mentioned in Global Times to refer to the Chinese citizens and their relationship to their country. Here is an example:

*"The Chinese nation is peace-loving, so are its people. China has no intention to impinge on other countries' territorial sovereignty, but will not tolerate any infringement on its own sovereignty by other countries. Long gong is the time when the Chinese nation was bullied by others."*⁹⁷

This article was informing about non-communist political parties in China condemning Japan’s nationalization of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. It is supposed to show Chinese political unity in the dispute. As can be seen, the article is calling Chinese people “peace-loving”, which sounds as the author is giving Chinese people into contrast against Japanese people, who are, simply said, not “peace-loving” but somehow “looking for a trouble”.

Adjective which has to be mentioned is “indisputable”. It is because it keeps being repeated throughout the articles in reference to Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands being part of China’s inherent territory and this fact, according to the newspapers cannot be changed.

1. *"China has indisputable historical and legal evidence in this regard."*⁹⁸

⁹⁷ China’s non-CPC parties condemn Japan’s “purchase” of Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 7 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/733348.shtml>

⁹⁸ FM: Japan stole Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 7 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/736023.shtml>

2. *"China's activities there are reasonable and legitimate," Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng Shuang said at a daily press briefing, adding that China has indisputable sovereignty over the Diaoyu Island and its adjacent islets as well as the Nansha islands.*"⁹⁹

3. *"Indisputable historical records showed the Diaoyu Islands had been an inherent part of the Chinese territory since time immemorial, Kenyan daily The People said Sunday.*"¹⁰⁰

These three examples show how "indisputable" is used in analysed articles. It is being used to refer to Japan as a country which hold Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands without any justification, in contrast to China.

"Irresponsible" is another adjective which is being used in the articles to refer to Japan and its actions. This adjective is being used to somehow put in contrast actions of China, which are being portrayed as completely understandable, meanwhile Japan is being "irresponsible" with its remarks, or actions. Another usage of this adjective is to show the US in a bad light and to show that their support for Japan is "irresponsible" because the US should stay out of the dispute. From the articles it can be seen that authors perceive the US as a third party which is interfering, and strong dissatisfaction can be seen. This can be also because of the US seeing China as a power which rise will not be peaceful. For example, article from May 2014 which was criticizing the US president Barrack Obama and his remarks regarding the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands belonging under the MOFA. Article was mentioning that the US wants to contain China from becoming a maritime power.¹⁰¹ This is of course something with which the Chinese people do not agree with.

1. *"Yang said it is "justifiable" for the Chinese military to provide security in waters under China's jurisdiction, and other countries are "in no position" to make irresponsible remarks in this regard.*"¹⁰²

⁹⁹ China reiterates sovereignty over Diaoyu, Nansha islands - People's Daily Online, 2017. *en.people.cn*. Online. [Accessed 7 July 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n3/2017/0427/c90000-9208384.html>

¹⁰⁰ Historical facts show Diaoyu Islands belong to China: Kenyan paper - Global Times, 2012. *www.globaltimes.cn*. Online. [Accessed 7 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201210/738429.shtml>

¹⁰¹ Chinese analysts criticize US president's remarks on Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2014. *www.globaltimes.cn*. Online. [Accessed 7 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201405/857778.shtml>

¹⁰² Chinese military on guard against Japanese jet activity near Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. *www.globaltimes.cn*. Online. [Accessed 7 July 2022]. Available from:

2. *“The irresponsible US remarks concerning the Diaoyu Islands will worsen, rather than relieve the tension over the issue.”*¹⁰³

Both examples show Japan and the US being dissatisfied with China and its naval power being used in the waters surrounding the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. Because China considers the islands being part of its inherent territory, it is hard for Chinese administration to admit that the patrol missions which are being conducted on a regular basis could be escalating the situation.

“Dangerous” is another adjective which is being used frequently. Again, “dangerous” is another word which is being used to refer to actions which are being done by Japan, or position in the dispute, which is being held by the US, as it has been a case in previously mentioned words. Here are examples:

1. *“Japan’s actions reflect its guilt, and Japan cannot unilaterally deprive the public of its right to know the truth, which is very dangerous, Liu said.”*¹⁰⁴

2. *“As far as we know, however, the so-called US position on the Diaoyu Islands is very dangerous and is not conducive to the security and stability of the Asia-Pacific region.”*¹⁰⁵

3. *“A strategically-minded Japanese government should free itself from the cumbersome bridge of hot-headed sentiment and arrest the dangerous tendency towards rightist mentality.”*¹⁰⁶

As can be seen from the three examples, “dangerous” is being used in combination with other words being listed in the tables. The third example which is talking about Japanese tendency towards rightist mentality is by the author a sharp expression of dissatisfaction with Japanese

<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201212/752615.shtml>

¹⁰³ US sends wrong signal over Diaoyu Islands issue - Global Times, 2013. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 7 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201301/757122.shtml>

¹⁰⁴ XIAOJING, Xing, 2021. China issues report on Diaoyu Islands to “reaffirm sovereign rights, warn Japan and US collusion” - Global Times. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. 26 April 2021. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202104/1222162.shtml>

¹⁰⁵ US position on Diaoyu Islands very dangerous - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 7 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/730963.shtml>

¹⁰⁶ Japan ought to jettison short-sighted tricks on Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 7 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/732181.shtml>

government.

2. 4. 3. 3. Verbs

The following table shows verbs which have been found in the analysed articles and which have been identified as emotionally coloured. Those which are negatively emotionally coloured are always aimed at Japan and the US, such as “occupy” or “escalate”. The verb “cherish” is also aimed at Japan, only to mention Japan as a country which should not further escalate the dispute by its policy but to care more about the “friendly” relationship and de-escalation between the two countries.

VERB	GLOBAL TIMES	PEOPLE’S DAILY
	OCCURRENCE	OCCURRENCE
Attack	16	6
Boil down	5	-
Benefit	8	1
Budge	3	-
Cherish	5	-
Deny	17	2
Escalate	10	1
Exacerbate	2	2
Firmly oppose	20	6
Flare up	4	-
“Hesitate”	1	-
Hype	15	7
Infringe	41	-
Irritate	2	-
Misinterpret	2	1
Occupy	13	-
Reject	17	3
Repent	6	-

Figure 4. Emotionally Coloured Verbs¹⁰⁷, source: Author

First phrase which function should be explained is “firmly oppose”. This phrase is used in the articles and aim at both Japan and the US. In connection to Japan, it is used to refer to the purchase and nationalization of the islands, while in connection to the US, “firmly oppose” is used to refer to MOFA and the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands being under this treaty. Sometimes, warning that actions done by these parties will not be let without answer is included. This includes the escalation of the tensions. Here are examples:

¹⁰⁷ Verbs used in the table are being listed in base form.

1. *"Whatever means the Japanese side uses to "purchase the islands" are illegal and invalid and China firmly opposes such moves, he said, urging Japan to work with the Chinese side to maintain the overall development of the two countries' relations."*¹⁰⁸

2. *"China firmly opposes the Japanese right-wingers' illegal entrance to the waters off the islands, Hong said."*¹⁰⁹

3. *"We firmly oppose putting the Diaoyu Islands within the scope of the US-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security," Foreign Ministry spokesman Qin Gang said at a daily news briefing."*¹¹⁰

Another verb often used is "escalating". It is aimed at both Japan and the US, often used in connection to word "tension" and with information that the dispute will further escalate in case that both countries will not stop with their actions. From the analysed articles, it can be seen that China plays a role of a country which is a victim, and which does not want any escalation. Chinese representatives sometimes challenge the Japanese side to cooperate on the cooperation and to deescalate the dispute.

*"Gen. Zhu noted, "America has the responsibility not to escalate tensions there," and said he is concerned as Japan increases tension."*¹¹¹

*"On March 9, Chinese foreign minister Yang Jiechi urged Tokyo to correct its mistakes over the Diaoyu Islands issue and work with China to prevent tension from escalating and "getting out of control."*¹¹²

One verb which is being used a lot but only aims at Japan, is the verb "occupy". It is being used

¹⁰⁸ China denies US-Japan alliance's Diaoyu Islands bearing - Global Times, 2014. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 6 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201404/856502.shtml>

¹⁰⁹ Chinese surveillance ships will continue Diaoyu Islands patrols: FM - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 8 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201210/736501.shtml>

¹¹⁰ China denies US-Japan alliance's Diaoyu Islands bearing - Global Times, 2014. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 6 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201404/856502.shtml>

¹¹¹ US new secretary of state urged to spell positive change on Diaoyu Islands policy - Global Times, 2013. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 8 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201302/760233.shtml>

¹¹² LINLIN, Liu, 2013. Defense ministry slams Japan radar claim amid Diaoyu Islands spat - Global Times. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. 19 March 2013. [Accessed 8 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201303/768935.shtml>

in the context to call “nationalization” or “purchase” of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands differently. But one thing which can be seen from the articles is that in some context, the occupation is already ongoing meanwhile in other articles, the occupation is not current but possible in near future. Sometimes also the fact that Japan has been occupying Chinese territory during World War II is being mentioned. One thing which is mentioned together with this verb is the emphasis put into informing that the country which has won World War II (China) is being occupied by the country which has lost its battle.

“The Diaoyu Islands in the East China Sea have been an inherent part of Chinese territory since ancient times. Japan occupied them during the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. After World War II, the Diaoyu Islands were returned to China in accordance with such international legal documents as the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Proclamation.”¹¹³

“Japan's occupation of the islands are illegal and invalid. The US-Japan defense treaty, an anachronism of the Cold War, cannot undermine China's territorial sovereignty and legitimate rights.”¹¹⁴

“Diplomacy is the only way to solve the dispute. But if Japan stubbornly sticks to military measures to occupy and defend the islands, it should take responsibility for any escalation of tensions.”¹¹⁵

2. 4. 3. 4. Legalistic words

LEGALISTIC WORDS	GLOBAL TIMES	PEOPLE’S DAILY
	OCCURRENCE	OCCURRENCE
Contract	16	-
Illegal	129	8
Invalid	45	-
Law	127	13

¹¹³ Japan approves new textbooks claiming China’s Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2014. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 8 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201404/852766.shtml>

¹¹⁴ Commentary: Misreading Obama’s commitment over Diaoyu islands is dangerous - Global Times, 2014. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 8 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201404/856586.shtml>

¹¹⁵ ZHOU, Hao, 2012. China slams imminent Diaoyu sale - Global Times. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. 6 September 2012. [Accessed 8 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/731409.shtml>

Legitimate	16	5
Rights	60	10
Sovereignty	420	62

Figure 5. Legalistic Words, source: Author

*"It is illegal, null and void, and cannot change the fact whatsoever that the Diaoyu Islands belong to China."*¹¹⁶ This sentence is very much repeated with slight changes through the period of 2012 to 2021. Legalistic words are being repeated, usually in reference to wrongdoing of Japanese administration in the dispute. With positive and negative words, legalistic words used in the analysed articles are pretty much connected to this phenomenon.

Legalistic is, according to the Cambridge Dictionary, defined as *"giving too much attention to legal rules and details."*¹¹⁷ Global Times together with People's Daily are putting emphasis on the showing who is conducting "wrong" actions in this dispute.

The words which have been identified as legalistic in the analysed articles are always connected either to Japanese territorial claims, or to treaties and documents which have been issued in the past century, blaming Japan of doing actions to intentionally escalate the situation.

The word "illegal" has been used totally 129 times in Global Times articles. The highest occurrence of this word can be observed in connection with this sentence: *"Any unilateral action by Japan regarding the Diaoyu Islands is illegal and invalid."* As can be seen, the word "illegal" is very often put together with the word "invalid". In many cases, authors of the articles are using this word together with adverb to put emphasis on the word "illegal". This includes verbs "totally", or "completely". Such as in these cases: *"The Chinese government and people have resolutely opposed the Japanese government's plans to "nationalize" the Diaoyu Islands, which is completely illegal, Liang said."*¹¹⁸ As another example can serve:

"On December 30, 1971, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a solemn statement,

¹¹⁶ China firmly opposes Japan's so-called name-changing bill concerning Diaoyu Islands - People's Daily Online, 2020. *en.people.cn*. Online. [Accessed 4 July 2022]. Available from: <http://en.people.cn/n3/2020/0623/c90000-9703022.html>

¹¹⁷ CAMBRIDGE DICTIONARY, 2022. legalistic. @CambridgeWords. Online. 29 June 2022. [Accessed 4 July 2022]. Available from: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/legalistic>

¹¹⁸ Chinese defense chief wants peaceful resolution of Diaoyu Islands issue - Global Times, 2012. *www.globaltimes.cn*. Online. [Accessed 4 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/734005.shtml>

*pointing out that "it is completely illegal for the government of the United States and Japan to include China's Diaoyu Dao Islands into the territories to be returned to Japan in the Okinawa Reversion Agreement and that it can by no means change the People's Republic of China's territorial sovereignty over the Diaoyu Dao Islands".*¹¹⁹

Another example is from an article which informed about China's National People's Congress which condemned Japan's decision of purchasing the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands: *"The unilateral actions taken by the Japanese government are totally illegal and invalid according to international law and will never alter, not even in the slightest way, China's territorial sovereignty over the Diaoyu Islands and the affiliated islets," the statement pointed out.*¹²⁰

As can be seen, the word illegal is always pointing to the actions of Japan, often connected to other words in similar meaning to put emphasis on the problem. These words include the above mentioned "illegal and invalid", or "illegal encroachment", "illegally grabbed", or "illegal buying", while the words "grabbed" and "buying" is put into quoting marks.

The word "sovereignty" is used in similar sense as the word "illegal". This is because Global Times is using this word as a proclamation to announce that China is always prepared to defend its own territory. As can be seen from the Figure 2, "sovereignty" has been used 420 times only in Global Times throughout the 2012 to 2021. In 109 cases out of 420, this word has been used in connection to "territorial sovereignty". This phrase was used in connection to China's territorial sovereignty, mostly referring to determination to safeguard Chinese territory and sovereignty over Japanese claims on Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. Other phrases which have been used, is "national sovereignty", which has been used in 19 cases out of 420. Most of these 19 cases have been used in phrase "national sovereignty and territorial integrity". Again, this is supposed to point out the decision of China to safeguard its own territory.

¹¹⁹ Full Text: Diaoyu Dao, an Inherent Territory of China(5) - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 4 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/735265.shtml>

¹²⁰ Taiwan strongly protests Japan's move to "purchase" Diaoyu Islands - Global Times, 2012. www.globaltimes.cn. Online. [Accessed 4 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201209/732475.shtml>

Conclusion

Diploma thesis was dealing with the topic of language used in the People's Daily and Global Times newspapers between September 2012 and December 2021. Diploma thesis was divided into two parts – theoretical and analytical part. Analytical part was divided into four subsections which were discussing historical context, topics which were included in People's Daily and Global Times, and analysis of the lexicological features of the analysed articles. Newspaper articles were chosen according to their relevance and were primarily dealing with the dispute of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. The main research question was following: *“What language do Chinese media use when referring to the Senkaku/Diaoyu conflict?”* Hypothesis was stated as follows: *“Chinese media often use emotionally coloured words in order to stir national sentiment and support the Chinese government.”*

To answer the research question and verify/refute the hypothesis, author was using the CDA theory. CDA is multidisciplinary approach drawing from disciplines such as political science, sociology, or linguistics, and belongs under the constructivism theory which has emerged back in mid 1980s. CDA is primarily dealing with the discourse and its language. Author was mainly drawing theoretical knowledge from Norman Fairclough's book called *“Language and Power”*, which is explaining main three steps in CDA analysis. These steps are following: description, interpretation, and explanation, while all three stages are linked together. In the interpretation stage, it is important to keep in mind that every text is produced and interpreted against a background of common-sense assumptions, which is important to keep in mind because as Fairclough mentions, many of our assumptions are ideological.

Fairclough has mentioned in his book that it is important to consider the process of text production, in the case of Global Times and People's Daily articles, it has been the role of Xinhua, a biggest news agency in China which covers news from each Chinese province plus has its offices abroad. In the past, it has been called as a *“mouthpiece”* of CCP. The reason why it has been analysed in the diploma thesis is that most of the analysed articles do not have author, but Xinhua is listed as an author. Often *“Xinhua has contributed to the story”* is mentioned in the end of these articles.

Description, interpretation, and explanation stages of CDA are interlinked and thus it could not

be taken separately in the analytical part of diploma thesis. First, the author had to identify the main topics which were included in the articles. The topics were similar in both English-written newspapers, which is logical since the Global Times belong under the People's Daily administration and both newspapers are being under the control of Xinhua agency. Articles in the newspapers regarding the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands covered the relationship between China and Japan, while Chinese government urged Japan to correct its wrongdoing in the dispute, history of this relationship while it also included the USA, which were blamed for its involvement in the dispute through the MOFA. It can be concluded that the topic of relationship between these countries was the greatest topic of all. That was mainly to show how Japan is behaving in the eyes of Chinese government and people and to stir not just Chinese citizens patriotism, as has been mentioned in the articles but also to show the whole world, since these are English written newspapers.

Another great topics included were definitely the protests which took place in China but also abroad. People who participated in these protests were praised by the newspapers through reported speech, while quoting these people. With the protests, cultural happenings, such as opening of new restaurants, exhibitions, or launching of the new website is closely connected. Discoveries of new maps was another big topic, which was connected to the history of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands and the relationship between the two countries.

To properly exhibit these topic, specific language was used in the articles, which was analysed in the second part of the diploma thesis. The analysis included reported, or indirect speech, modalities, end emotionally coloured nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Legalistic words have also been displayed in the table.

The role of reported, or indirect speech is evident in the analysed articles. According to Florian Coulmas and Charles N. Li, the quoting of people was used to evoke the original speech situation, and was used to express evidentiality, as it is in the case of English grammar. In the examples which has been used, quoting of Foreign and Defence Ministry spokesmen was used to put emphasis on the fact that Chinese government and people definitely do not approve actions which are being conducted by the Japanese government in this dispute.

In a case of modalities which have been used in the articles, negative forms and high value

modalities have been the most important. It follows from the analysis that high value modalities “must”, “have to”, and “has to” have been used in a cases in which Japan was the subject and connected to need for Japan to correct its actions in the dispute which are seen as unacceptable by the Chinese government. Negative forms such as “cannot” have been also used in the articles, in a cases when Japan has been a subject, it has been clearly demonstrated, that Japan cannot do as it pleases when it comes to this dispute, since Chinese government still considers Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands as its own property.

When it comes to emotionally coloured nouns, adjectives, and verbs which have been included in People’s Daily and Global Times, it is clear that due to the size of sample, more emotionally coloured words have been used in Global Times, in which case the sample was bigger. It can be attributed to the fact that Global Times has been called a “mouthpiece of CCP”. It can be said that all these words have somehow been referring to the Japanese past “wrongdoing” or at the current Japanese government, which has, according to the articles, “right-leaning tendencies”, and has been putting China into the role of victim of these Japanese actions. While describing Japan, negatively emotional coloured words have been used. Positively coloured words have been used to describe actions of Chinese government, or to describe Chinese citizens as “peace-loving” nation.

To answer the research question stated by the author, People’s Daily and Global Times are using language which is aimed to point out all the “wrongdoing” done by Japanese government in the dispute since the nationalization of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands in September 2012. Although the topic was overshadowed by two events – Ukrainian crisis in 2014, and Covid-19 pandemic back in 2020, it is clear that these two English written newspapers are aiming to call out Japan for its actions and at the same time show to its citizens but also to foreign countries that China has a full right of ownership of this territory, which is also displayed by the frequently mentioned phrase that it is “inherent part of Chinese territory since the ancient times”. Articles use emotionally coloured words, but also legalistic words to put greater emphasis on its right, relying also on the legal matters, such as treaties signed in the past century which are recognized by the international institutions, such as Cairo Declaration, Potsdam Declaration, or San Francisco Peace Treaty.

To verify author’s hypothesis, in the analytical part of the diploma thesis, it has been shown

that People's Daily and Global Times use emotionally coloured words which are aiming to spur national sentiment and support for Chinese government. It is the language together with the described topics which have been included in the articles, such as mentioning the historical right to ownership of the islands, or opening of new restaurants, exhibitions in China. Mentioning that Chinese citizens are ready to protect every inch of its territory because of the historical events, such as Japanese occupation during the World War II, or according to the document which are recognized by Chinese government, and which acknowledge this right.

List of Abbreviations

CCP – Chinese Communist Party

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

CL – Critical Linguistic

ECAFE – Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

MOFA – Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security

MR – Member’s Resources

MSA – Maritime Surveillance Agency

PRC – People’s Republic of China

SOA – State Oceanic Administration

USA – United States of America

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