A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED NEWS ARTICLES ON THE SYRIAN CONFLICT FROM AMERICAN AND CHINESE MEDIA

BY

MS. WANEERAT THANAPHOKHAI

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN ENGLISH FOR CAREERS
LANGUAGE INSTITUTE THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY
ACADEMIC YEAR 2015

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Approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts in English for Careers

on June 30, 2016

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Thesis Title	A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED NEWS ARTICLES ON THE SYRIAN CONFLICT FROM AMERICAN AND CHINESE MEDIA
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Degree	Master of Arts
Major Field/Faculty/University	English for Careers Language Institute Thammasat University
Thesis Advisor	Assoc. Prof. Supong Tangkiengsirisin, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

Critical discourse analysis views that the use of language has deep connection with social structure. Different linguistic structures are not only selected to describe certain phenomena, but to serve their unique social functions. Based largely on M. A. K. Halliday's functional grammar (1994, 2004), this study examines how the same event — the Syrian conflict — has been covered by two ideologically opposed news agencies in US and China, namely, *The New York Times* and *China Daily*. Through investigating the ideational and interpersonal elements of various linguistic forms applied in news articles from different news agencies including: lexical structure, transitivity, transformation, and evaluation, the analyst reveals that they not only help to forge completely different images of the turmoil, but to serve a distinct social function which is to justify the foreign policy of the nation that each news organization belongs to. Therefore, critical discourse analysis (one of the under-developed disciplines in Thailand) is used to unveil the social values embedded in language use, encourage audiences to view discourse critically and comprehend the diversity of linguistic patterns from a deeper level of social perspective.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, linguistic structure, social values

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Each piece of work is propped up by numerous supports; so is the current one. Thus, my wholehearted thankfulness goes to:

First, the thesis advisor, Ajarn Supong Tangkiengsirisin, who offered advice to help nurture the confidence when the analyst needed it the most, pointed to the right direction when she was bewildered by obstacles, guided her through the process when she was overwhelmed by the relevant materials. Ajarn acted as a beacon for his advisee to navigate the tremendous wave of challenges and difficulties. Together with the insightful suggestions from the other two committee members, Ajarn Ketvalee Porkaew and Ajarn Maneenun Rhurakvit, they helped the researcher to reach her intended destination.

Next, the lecturers of the taught-course — New Reporting, Ajarn Alongkorn Parivudhiphongs and Ajarn Krittiya Wongtavaviman, who not only taught the analyst the knowledge of news writing, but sparked her interest in critical analysis, and more importantly, inspired her to embrace a new challenge by choosing to complete a thesis instead of independent study.

Besides the help from advisor and lecturers, completing a piece of research needs a lot of searching and reading, while libraries serve this exact purpose, librarians help to humanize the exhausting hunting by providing genuine friendliness and benign facilitation. Special thanks to staff members in the Pridi library at Thammasat University, the Liberal arts library at Chulalongkorn University and the Central library at Mahidol University among others.

Then, the researcher's dear family members, not only because their love offers her a harbor called home but their vision pushes her to move forward. Especially, her father, Mr. Thaworn Thanaphokhai, who helped her to find a topic she was passionate about. Without such passion, it would have been impossible to pull through such a formidable task.

Even though there is limited space left for the researcher to express her appreciation to all the people who have helped her, she still hopes that this small piece of acknowledgement could stand for the carrier pigeon to send her true gratefulness to all of those to whom she feels deeply indebted.

Ms. Waneerat Thanaphokhai

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTUION

In this chapter, the researcher first ushers in the background and purpose of the study — which is to help boost the under-conducted critical analysis in Thailand. Then, she articulates the research questions. Finally, after mentioning some limits of the study, she describes the organization of the analysis.

1.1 Background of the study

Language is a kind of code that people use to make sense of the world and communicate with each other. Children are not able to mention any object with a precise word until they are taught to do so. They later learn rules of grammar which allows them to describe concepts or phenomena in certain linguistic patterns. As they grow up in a society, they gradually get the sense to select various linguistic structures in the use of language within different social settings.

There are always alternative expressions to represent the same concept or phenomenon, as synonyms, roundabout linguistic forms within the same language or different expressions in foreign languages (see more details from chapter two). But a question can arise as to why people choose one form of linguistic structure rather than another in speaking or writing, and whether such linguistic form just responds to the appropriateness in terms of social etiquette, or it is related to deeper social causes.

Critical linguists, such as Fowler (1991), Hodge and Kress (1979), prefer the latter tendency. They assert that the variants of linguistic structure not only respond to certain social context appropriately, but more essentially to social construction. For them, choosing certain types of linguistic patterns in the use of language is impacted by social and economic factors. Examples of minute differences in the pronunciation of /r/ in Labor's study (1972), distinguished pronouns' usage of T or U in Brown and Gilman's analysis (1972), and varied dialects in a bilinguistic community in Fishman (1968) and Rubin's research (1968) (see more examples from chapter two) further show that the ability to select certain linguistic forms to fit certain social circumstances is a product of social structure (Halliday, 1970). Just as Halliday has

stated that since language is learned in contexts of interaction, and since the structure of language in use is responsive to the communicative needs of these interactions (of course reflecting wider social patterning), the structure of a language should generally be seen as having been formed in response to the structure of the society that uses it (Halliday, 1973, p 72-102).

Therefore, linguistic forms serve their social functions, or in other terms, they are the realization of certain social meanings (Fowler, et al, 1979). Different social values can be encoded in distinguished linguistic patterns. The selection of a certain linguistic form itself is significant. Moreover, the selection made by language-users is not random but systematic, and answers the meaning and values that a society assigns to it. However, most of these language-users, would intuitively pick up an existing model which seems to fit the social norms to which they learn to adapt through the process of socialization rather than actually realize the social meaning embedded in the use of language.

These are the reasons for adopting critical discourse analysis in this study. Social meanings are usually not clearly included in the statements of speech or written texts, but implicitly through certain linguistic structures, such as passive transformation and nominalization (see more details from chapter two), which can conceal or mystificate agents and responsibility and bear certain social meaning (Fairclough ,1995a). But most language-users are not conscious to such meaning. Therefore, critical analysis is designed to reveal or demystify the social meaning encoded in the use of language by analyzing the linguistic structure. Critical study is not only intended to raise the awareness of language-users, but provide tools for them to decode social values impregnated in linguistic forms.

1.2 Purpose of the study

In Thailand, there are few theses conducted, especially by graduate students who study English as a foreign language, in the area of critical discourse analysis (e.g. Sriwimon, 2007; Zupasit, 2010; Chantarawandi 2010). Critical analysis is to understand language from deeper social perspectives. Traditional teaching, especially for a foreign language such as English, pays more attention to the literal meaning of words and sentences, and explanation of grammatical rules. Even though such

teaching is crucial to improve learners' ability in communication, critical linguistics is more important to help students understand social structure and the society they are living in. For this reason, the current researcher applies frameworks, largely based on Halliday's ideational and interpersonal functions, including lexical and grammatical critical discourse analysis, in an effort to introduce knowledge of critical linguistics into what most students feel familiar with: while they learn the interpretation of words, grammar, and sentences literally, the frameworks in this study would lead them to recognize the social function of vocabulary, grammar and clause types (see more details in chapter two). In doing so, the researcher hopes to encourage more students, especially graduate students to pay more attention to critical analysis of language use, and even be interested in conducting research in this realm. Even though the current researcher has a desire to dedicate her own effort to the under-conducted critical research in Thailand, she believes that such a gap could be better filled with contributions from more analysts.

Keeping in mind that the targeted audience for this study includes graduate and undergraduate students or anyone else interested in language, particularly those who learn English as a foreign language, and may or may not have an advanced knowledge of linguistics, the current researcher minimizes linguistic terms used in this research. But it would be impossible to delete them all. A few that are considered to be important will be defined in a later section.

In addition, the linguistic material for analysis in this study is largely drawn from mass media, particularly from printed media (as to why media language has been chosen and how the printed media material has been selected, see more details in chapter three). Through examining some easily accessible media language for her audience, the current analyst hopes to raise their attention to critical linguistics, starting with language frequently used in their daily lives.

1.3 Research questions

(1) What different linguistic forms are employed by *The New York Times* and *China Daily* in representing the Syrian war?

(2) What social meaning is embedded in these options?

1.4 Definition of linguistic terms

The following linguistic terms may not sound familiar for some language-users, but they are used in a quite common sense way in this study as explained below.

Clause

A clause is a simple sentence, as opposed to a complex sentence which combines a number of clauses. For instance, 'she is healthy' is a clause; 'she is healthy because she exercises everyday' is a complex sentence which includes the clause 'she is healthy'. Clauses have three main types of element: process (usually realized as verbs), participants (subjects, objects, etc.), and circumstances (commonly realized as adverbs) (Eggins, 1994; Halliday, 1994; Quirk et al, 1995).

Discourse

Discourse is used across the social sciences in a variety of ways. In the current study, discourse is used in a general sense for language as an element of social life which is also related to other elements. And critical discourse analysis in this study means to recover the social meaning by analyzing linguistic structure adopted in the language use (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fowler et al, 1979).

Genre

According to Oxford English dictionary, genre is defined as a particular style or category of works of art; especially, a type of literary work characterized by a particular form, style or purpose. In this study, genre is taken in its most generic meaning as kind or sort (http://csmt.uchicago.edu/glossary2004/genre.htm).

Ideology

Ideology in this study is used in a very general sense of 'idea', 'belief', 'value', 'theories' and 'propositions' (Fowler, 1991).

1.5 Limitations of the study

In this study, the material selected for analysis is from media, or more specifically from one type of printed media — online newspapers. The linguistic dimension is the focus for the analysis. The tool for the research comes from one specific linguistic model — critical linguistics. In order to give a full treatment of one level, the current researcher has to pay less attention to other dimensions of analysis, for example, she has largely ignored the graphic format of the page, a dimension

which is critically important to the organization of newspaper text messages. Also, style and size of words, the use of photographs, drawings, cartoons, tables, maps, captions, etc. are all very important in newspaper representation, and these factors can have some influence on language or particularly linguistic structures. However, due to the limitation of time, and the fact that newspaper discourse in so complex, concentrating on one dimension will inevitably lead to neglect of others if the researcher also wants to keep her paper within a suitable length for graduate study.

1.6 Organization of the study

The study is divided into five chapters:

The first chapter — introduction — is designed to illustrate the purpose of the study, the kind of research questions that the researcher intends to answer, and limitations of the analysis.

Chapter two — literature review — illustrates the relationship between linguistic structure and social function, and therefore, lays a foundation for the adoption of frameworks to decode social values by examining linguistic forms, and also shows how these frameworks have been applied in previous studies.

Chapter three — methodology — demonstrates reasons for choosing media language for analysis and how example texts have been drawn. In addition, the researcher explains why a qualitative approach is most suitable for the study and reminds her audiences of frameworks, with brief summaries of what has been detailed in chapter two.

Chapter four — results — shows what social meaning the researcher finds from the analysis of vocabulary, transitivity and transformation within the category of ideational function and evaluation within the category of interpersonal function in news representation of the Syrian war from *The New York Times* and *China Daily*, and also how the social values embedded in these linguistic structures serve the ruling party and government in the countries where the newspapers are published.

Chapter five — conclusion and recommendations — not only gives a summary based on the entire analysis but also provides some suggestions as to which areas could be further explored in future studies.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter largely consists of three parts: the first part illustrates the relationship between linguistic structure and social meaning: linguistic structure acts not only as discriminating grid that people put on nature in order to understand the world and communicate with each other, but more importantly, serves its social function. Different social values are constructed through varied linguistic forms. Such illustration actually helps to pave the way for the explanation in the second part of why critical linguistics is needed. In the second part, a more explicit reason for adopting critical discourse analysis is articulated first: to demystify the social value embodied in the language by investigating linguistic structure, then, it is followed by a list of more detailed frameworks, to introduce which aspects of language structure will be investigated, including: transitivity, transformation, lexical structure, modality, and evaluation. The third part demonstrates the application of these frameworks in previous studies.

2.1 Language and representation

Representation of events or ideas needs to be transmitted through certain media (Fowler, 1991). Because each kind of medium has its own structure, working under given circumstances, and bearing certain social meanings or values, the representation is not constructed neutrally without being embedded with any social significance. Different kinds of media have different structural features, bearing different social meanings; even within the same kind of medium, variants of construction still can embody different ideologies. For instance, in news reporting, news writers or editors can choose from still photographs, video or language to represent their stories to audiences. Even within the same kind of option, such as video, different ways of arrangement show different significance. Take one specific example, on the television news, the news anchors usually fill the screen with full-face, head and shoulders at about the camera position or eye level. Such arrangement shows authority. When the news reporter turns away from the camera and towards an interviewee, this shows that

the authority reduces temporarily. Or when recorded outside the news station, anyone when shown far away from the reporter at the central frame or from above is represented as someone with less authority. This example is not mentioned to accuse the camera of lying, but to show that there is no ideologically neutral way to handle it. By managing the shooting techniques of the camera in certain way, the news makers will bring certain social meanings through the process of presentation to their audience. Such principle is also applied to other kinds of media. In the following section, the researcher will look closely at the verbal one — language.

2.1.1 Linguistic structure

People who are interested in language may have wondered why language has the structure that it has, or why real texts are constructed as they are. The answers to these questions fall into two broad categories of 'structural' versus 'functional' (Fowler, 1991).

These questions seem absurd for true structuralists. In Saussure and Bloomfield's tradition, from early to the middle of the 19th century, it makes no sense to ask why questions. Language is just the way it is and has no link to external factors. The linguists' job is to describe it without referring to the non-linguistic world (Saussure, 1974; Bloomfield, 1961). Even in the 1960s, when Chomsky shifted his emphasis by making connection between language and thought, language was still represented as an abstract descriptive and self-regulating system, cut off from its communicative settings (Chomsky, 1972).

However, while the mainstream continued on its structural course, alternative linguistic branches developed and maintained contact with the studies of culture, society, and thought. The anthropological linguists Sapir and Whorf made a series of claims concerning variable effects of different language on the conceptions of reality in different communities. Some of their characteristic statements are briefly mentioned below.

Sapir stated that a new concept would have been extended from old knowledge and would not attain individual life until it was embodied in a new word. With the word, people felt a kind of relief by thinking they held a key to the immediate knowledge and understanding of the concept (Sapir, 1949, p 17). Whorf noted that

people dissected nature along the lines laid down by their native languages. They understood the world by dividing it into categories or types and organized into concepts largely with linguistic patterns in their minds. They agreed to view the world and communicated with others in their community in such a way. This agreement was implicit and unstated, but absolutely obligatory in their communication (Whorf, 1956, p 213-214).

Moreover, a modern structural anthropologist, Edmund Leach, also expressed a similar view: in the physical environment of a child, there were not intrinsically separate 'things'. The child was taught to impose a discriminating grid to distinguish his/her environment into types, labeling them with names. This world was represented by language categories, not vice versa. The child whose mother tongue is English would not know the difference between trees and bushes until s/he was taught that is the case (Leach, 1964, p 34).

The Sapir and Whorf hypothesis contains two assumptions of linguistic relativity and linguistic determinism (Fowler, 1991). The first of them — relativity, hypothesizes that linguistic structure differs from one language to another. Now relativity would extend to any aspects of linguistic structure. Take an evident example: different languages possess different vocabulary which is comparable to the same concept, as Chinese *fangwu* can be compared to English 'home', and 'house'; Chinese *yizi*, and *zuowei* to English 'chair', and 'seat', etc. The point is that different languages do not only have different structures, but because of the linguistic differences, map the world in different ways.

The second hypothesis of determinism asserts that different linguistic structures cause people to see the world in different ways. In its extreme version, it is said that people speaking one language cannot perceive the world beyond the mental map constructed by their linguistic structure, as Whorf stated that the agreement was an absolutely obligatory. He gave the example of grammatical and lexical differences in the languages of English and Hopi, American Indian language, and claimed that people who spoke Hopi had a different 'world-view' from those speaking English. But such claims can be undermined by translation: if Whorf can explain an example in the paraphrase of another language to his audience, such theory can be proved wrong in its strongest version. But it could hold some good in a weaker version that

language helps people to sort things and see the world through artificial categories, but various categories in different languages do not cause them to have different world views (Brown, 1958; Carroll, 1964).

Or in other terms, these semantic structures would not inhibit people from seeing the world from different perspectives, just as Halliday has suggested, we should not adopt the extreme Sapir-Whorf version. Language lends structure to a speaker or writer's experience and helps to determine the way he is looking at things. He can see through and around the settings of his semantic system; but he is aware of that, in doing so, he is seeing reality in a new light, like Alice in Through the Looking-Glass (Halliday, 1971a, p 332-333).

Then a question could arise as to how speakers or writers see through or around their semantic settings (Fowler, 1991). The answer lies in that they have various discriminating grids, such as paraphrase, or translation, which allow them to rephrase or record their experience. If they have any difficulties in comprehending a concept, it can be explained in synonyms, other dialects or languages, or any other roundabout expressions to allow them to cast it in a new light, and see through it from other perspectives. Not only do different languages have different structures, but even within the same language, such as English, which is associated with various cultures and is highly internally diverse, everyone has access to numerous English semantic grids. Despite the variants of structure between and within languages, concepts such as geometric figures, fields of color, or logical relationships are coded universally in language, as Clark and Clark (1977) mentioned, as semantic universals. Actually, various linguistic structures not only share universal origins but also social origins, relating to their social functions which will be explained more in the next section.

2.1.2 Function of language

In one paper, Halliday gave a detailed functional explanation of linguistic structure:

Why is language as it is? The nature of language is closely related to the demands that we make on it, the function it has to serve. In the most concrete terms, these functions are specific to a culture . . . . The particular form taken by the grammatical system of language is closely related to the social and personal needs that language is required to serve (Halliday, 1970, p 142).

This statement is in concert with the findings of sociolinguistic studies. Take one example: the famous research conducted by Labov (1972). By focusing on simple linguistic form, Labov found that variants of pronunciation were related to the social class of speakers and other contextual variables. For example, he tried to find out whether a sample population in the lower East Side of New York City did or did not utter the sound /r/ after vowels and before consonants in words such as 'car' and 'card'. He took the social class of the speakers as one contextual variable and the scale of the speech, ranging from very casual to very formal, as another. Through skillful data collecting and statistical analysis, he concluded that the higher the social class of the speakers, the more /r/s were pronounced, and the more formal the speech, again the more /r/s. The finding can be applied to other sounds such as *th* in words like 'think', *ng* in words like 'speaking', and variables can be expanded to sex, age, etc. of speakers. In such way, a larger profile can be built up to show the relationship between variants of pronunciations from groups with different social class, sex, or age and degrees of formality of their speech. The results directly illustrate Halliday's principle of different linguistic forms systematically relating to their social circumstances.

For anyone who questions whether these results really show social values of variants of pronunciation or just "correlation of variables" (Fowler et al, 1979), further studies based on Labov's model have been carried out and prove that various phonetic forms are indeed related to the construction of society (Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1974; Downes, 1984). For instance, in one of studies similar to the pronunciation research mentioned above, the quantity of /r/s is found to be produced more frequently by the group classified by Labov as "Lower Middle Class" than the higher "Upper Middle Class" in formal speech, while it is expected that fewer /r/s

would be pronounced. This phenomenon in which a sound is pronounced more frequently than expected is called by Labov "hypercorrection" Since hypercorrection is also found in the treatment of other phonetic variables by the members of the group, it is clearly not an accident, but something worth more attention to determine its social motivation. Labov suggests that this is an insecure, upwardly mobile group trying to improve their pronunciation as one means to reach the top of the social ladder they are climbing.

From the studies above, it appears that the phonetic structure not only demonstrates the social position of speakers and circumstances in which they are speaking, but also expresses their view of how the society is organized and at which level they are in that network. In addition, accent can also be found to be functional. With different manners of speech, speakers can consolidate or change their status or roles. Similar findings can be found in sociolinguistic research other than Labov's model. A comprehensive coverage is beyond the scope of this study but just a few more examples will be noted to illustrate that these principles are also applied to aspects of language other than phonology.

Blom and Gumperz studied the "code-switching" in the small Norwegian town of Hemnesberget (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). They found that people had two dialects: Ranamal, the local one, and Bokmail, a Norwegian standard one. The circumstance for using these two was different, and people could switch freely, but systematically between them. Ranamal was used for domestic and local issues and Bokmail for official, pan-Norwegian business. So the choice expressed the different views of the world, dividing the local environment from the external one. Other studies have found that in bilingual communities, one of the languages emphasizes the local identity, while the other focuses on a formal, outward-looking view of the world therefore bearing different social values, for example, Spanish and English among Puerto Ricans in America, Guarani and Spanish in Paraguay (Fishman, 1968; Rubin, 1968).

Another branch of sociolinguistic research which also helps to illustrate these principles is the conventional use of naming and address, including personal pronouns. In a famous paper, "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity", Brown and Gilman looked at those languages that offer a choice of second personal pronoun: *tu* and *vous* in French, *du* and *Sie* in German, *ty* and *vy* in Russian, etc. (Brown &

Gilman, 1972, p 252-282). The first of these, "T" form is used by adults to address children, supervisors to address subordinates, and adults or supervisors are responded to using the "V" form. The situation is asymmetrical. But "T" form is also used reciprocally between lovers, siblings, or close associates. On the other hand, "V" form is used reciprocally by people meeting for the first time, or in formal situations, or behaving distantly from one and another. "Power" and "consolidation" provide ideological meaning for these pronouns. The pronouns are used to represent the social relationship and also as a tool to maintain the orders of power. Similar results can be found in the variants of personal names. The ideological meaning behind the choice of names and pronouns has been paid a lot of attention in media studies. It makes a great difference to mention someone such as a politician as Edward Heath, Mr. Heath, or The Former Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath (Simpson, 1993). More details of personal pronouns will be shown in the Previous Study section below.

2.1.3 Linguistic structure and social function

In the works of Halliday et al (1964), Fowler (1991), and Fowler et al (1979), there are some central insights relating to the use of language that can help to illustrate the relationship between linguistic structure and social function.

First, linguistic structure systematically and predictably associates with social circumstances. Just as examples of pronunciation research above have shown: the pitching of /r/s is related to the class of the speakers and the degree of formality of their speech, and the dialect studies in bilingual communities: the local one is used for domestic topics, while the standard one is applied for official, cross-national themes. Some sociolinguists such as Dell Hymes (1977) even proposed to classify the contextual factors which influence linguistic variation.

The detailed proposal will not be emphasized here, but what will be discussed instead is the cause of linguistic variation which is functionally social, political and economic, out of the control of speakers or writers, as Fowler and his colleagues (1979) noted. The Brown and Gilman pronoun study (1972) showed the choice of "T" or "V" form is not a trifling matter of etiquette, but an obligation with deep cause within the social structure. The asymmetrical use of "T" or "V" form shows the hierarchical structure of the society, featuring unequal wealth, power and prestige.

The selection of "T" or "V" form is chosen to maintain such inequality and uphold the interests of those privileged, while the reciprocal use of "T" is largely used among those with less power to consolidate their ties and better protect the interests of those less prestigious. Thus the reason behind selection of linguistic form is deeply functional, serving the personal and social needs of speakers or writers, as Halliday et al (1970) mentioned.

Second, part of communication ability is to be able to recognize linguistic forms as appropriate to certain circumstances. People have such experience in their daily lives. When overhearing talks from radio or television, without knowing in advance, they can quickly classify whether they are hearing a political discussion, weather forecast, or sports report. It is not the voice of any journalists, but the forms of language, such as lexicon, syntax or intonation, that help them to recognize certain types of language use, and their context. As Halliday et al (1964) observed even a fragment of expression can be informative: 'In the White House, there is more debate about . . . . ', 'More heavy rainfall is expected in Britain . . . .', 'Oh! A brilliant catch just so close to the gate . . . .', etc. In such ways, the linguistic form signifies the circumstance surrounding its use.

Third, the appropriate choice of linguistic forms for different circumstances is not enough, if someone regards the choice as being made arbitrarily or conventionally for the given situation. It is only when we acknowledge the meaning carried by these linguistic forms that these forms can be demonstrated as a realization of social meaning. As Halliday (1978) has observed, contextually determined variations of linguistic forms can be better defined as a set of meanings that is appropriate to a particular function of language, together with linguistic structures which express these meanings.

So, forms of expression within a language answer not only different circumstances, characteristic features of speech, etc., but the meanings or values that a culture or a society assigns to them, just as Halliday stated in his book *Language as Social Semiotic* (1978): the forms of language encode a socially constructed representation of the world.

2.2. Critical linguistics

2.2.1 Purpose of critical analysis

In the previous section, it has been shown that the representation of events or concepts need to be carried through certain media, but each medium has its own structure, working under certain circumstances, carrying different significance (Fowler, 1991). From different handling of technical properties of camera work in news reporting to different choices of second personal pronouns in the Brown and Gilman's study (1972), as well as other examples mentioned earlier it is apparent that representation of any kinds of experience is not constructed neutrally, but carried out through media from certain points of view, bearing different social values or significances. Like Halliday (1970), the current researcher rejects the extreme version of linguistic determinism in the Sapir and Whorf's theory: people's world view is not limited by the mental map constructed by their linguistic structure. They have access to numerous discriminating grids between and within their own language, because they perform different roles in the society and encounter various situations which provide them opportunities to view the world from different perspectives.

However, habit or idleness may inhibit them from seeing the world from different aspects. People may not seriously realize the linguistic variety surrounding them (Fowler, 1991). They may consider there is one correct model of language for a given situation, either of their own, or from some respected figures. For instance, in news media, most people tend to read one particular kind of newspaper or watch news only from a certain channel. Readership and audience research have shown that people tend to view certain types of news as more reliable than others, television as more trustful than the Press; BBC as less biased than ITV (Glasgow University Media Group, 1976). Such examples are just mentioned to show how narrow the attitudes that people have to the media are. This leads to the limited mental maps they have access to rather than the variety that society provides for them. They prefer the type of news which least challenges their schemata, which is confirmed by what they read or watch every day. Such practice not only leads them to be more satisfied with the status quo, but also to be less tolerant to of other ideas or concepts.

The applied language analysis known as critical linguistics is designed to deal with such problems of fixed point of view and invisible narrow social values embedded in language. Critical linguistics was first coined in the book *Language and Control* (1979) written by Fowler and his colleagues in the University of East Anglia, England. Critical linguistics aims to look at different linguistic structures within given social contexts, and recover the different patterns of beliefs or values encoded in the language. Social meanings or values are not noticed by speakers or writers who intuitively choose an 'appropriate' style or model for certain contexts in their communication; this practice could have become automatic during the process of socialization. Therefore, critical analysis, which is also described as an activity of demystification, can help to raise the awareness of social values or ideologies impregnated in the language for those who are unconscious of them. As shown in the previous section, ideological significance is believed to be included in any aspect of linguistic structures such as pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar.

Theoretically, any aspect of language structure can be ideologically significant, but practically, there are certain areas of language that are more evident in carrying such values than others. This section is designed to look at those areas defined by previous researchers and illustrated by studies conducted by them.

2.2.2 Linguistic tools

As shown in the previous section, linguistic theory exists in different models which have different goals and terminologies. They simply do different jobs. But combined they have helped people better understand language in general, the complexities of linguistic structure, the sociolinguistic variation in communities and at the microscopic level, the details of particular texts (Fowler, 1991).

In the current study, the analyst will also combine different models. But largely, this study will be carried out on the framework of Halliday's functional grammar, one of the most widely applied models for critical linguistics, which examines the connections between linguistic structure and social values. In functional grammar, a language is interpreted as a system of meanings, accompanied by forms through which the meanings can be realized (Halliday, 1994). Therefore, the

meanings or social values can be uncovered through the analysis of linguistic structures.

The basis of Halliday's framework is largely around 'function'. Of course, language can serve some specific functions, such as greeting, informing, acclaiming and criticizing. But Halliday has a broader view to the function of language, he proposes that all languages serve three major functions, as he calls ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions and describes them as follows.

(Ideational function)

It is through this function that the speaker or writer embodies in language his experience of the phenomena of the real world; and this includes his experience of the internal world of his own consciousness, his reactions, cognitions, and perceptions, and also his linguistic acts of speaking and understanding.

(Interpersonal function)

The speaker is using language as the means of his own intrusion into the speech event: the expression of his comments, attitudes and evaluation, and also of the relationship that he sets up between himself and the listener — in particular, the communication role that he adopts of informing, questioning, greeting, persuading, and the like.

(Textual function)

Language makes links between itself and the situation, and discourse becomes possible because the speaker or writer can produce a text and the listener or reader can recognize one (Halliday, 1971b, p 332-334).

Even though this quotation gives clear and distinguishing definitions of language functions, it seems that Halliday describes the speaker or writer as a free language user able "to embody in language his experience…., to set up a relationship…., to produce a text…." But in the books of *Language and Control* (1979), and *Language in the News* (1991), Fowler and his colleagues have clearly shown that language users are not free agents in choosing linguistic forms to express any meaning but they are under constraints of social norms in doing so.

In their theory and correlational sociolinguistics, language is a system of alternatives among which selection is made according to the circumstances. Words

like 'select' and 'choose' occur frequently in the theory, but not completely free from any restriction. 'Select' means 'select what is appropriate'. Appropriateness is established by social-economic factors outside the control of the language-users, and the ability people draw upon when 'choosing' is available to them through socialization (Fowler, et al, 1979, p 194).

So, the ability of speakers or writers to select appropriate forms for circumstances, or what is described by Fowler and his colleagues as "sociolinguistic competence" is an ability that a society imposes on language users whether they like it or not. When they exercise this competence, their linguistic performance is under the sanction of social norms. Therefore, for analysts such as Fowler, the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions are sets of social options, not personal choices. This social emphasis actually has been more explicitly developed in Halliday's later works (Halliday, 1978).

The three functions provide a schema for linguistic structure according to their communication roles (Fowler et al, 1979; Fowler, 1991). In the view of Fowler and his colleagues, the positive consequences of functional classification do not only describe the details of language such as vocabulary and grammar as formal different kinds of structure, but categorize them according to the job or function they perform. These functions also provide prediction in theory of what linguistic structure could be revealing for critical linguistics. It is clear that ideational and interpersonal functions are quite valuable for critical analysis which is particularly concerned with language used to express speakers or writers' experience in the world and their social relationship with others. The following are some constructions in these areas which are related to the current study.

2.2.2.1 Transitivity

Transitivity, part of ideational function, is an essential tool of analyzing representation, and has been proved especially illuminating in critical linguistics (Kress & Hodge, 1979; Fowler et al 1979; Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1995a).

The meaning of transitivity is different from the meaning of the terms transitive and intransitive described in the traditional grammar, which refer to the verb taking an object or not (Halliday, 1994). For instance:

(a) John built a snow ball.

(b) Michael ran.

In (a), the verb 'build' is used to refer to an action which affects another entity — a snow ball, while in (b) the verb 'run' is applied to refer to an action which only affects the actor Michael. However, the syntactic difference between transitive and intransitive oversimplifies or neglects the various types of verbs, and therefore different types of clause (Fowler, 1991). For example,

(c) Mary understood the situation.

In this sentence, the verb 'understand' refers to mental state instead of action;

(d) There is a table in the room.

And, in sentence (d), the verb to 'be' suggests the existence of something, again not an action.

There are more types of verbs and clauses in transitivity than what transitive and intransitive verbs express. The details of the categories of verbs and analysis of clauses will be shown below.

A central insight of Halliday's functional system is that transitivity is the foundation of representation (Halliday, 1994). It is the way that clause is used to analyze events and situations as being classified into different types or different linguistic structures. And the same event can be expressed in different ways or by different structures. But when we describe one event we need to choose one particular structure, as Halliday has noted that if we are out in the open air and that there is movement overhead, perceptually the phenomenon is all of a piece, but when we talk about it we analyze it as a semantic configuration — that is we must represent it as one particular structure of meaning (Halliday, 1994, p 108). Transitivity classifies different linguistic structures based on their social meanings. So, texts built out of choices of available options of linguistic forms can be the indicator of ideological meaning embodied in the use of language (Trew, 1979).

Fairclough also expresses a similar view: coding events in language includes choices among models — the distinct process and participant type — which the

functional grammar makes available, and that such choices are potentially ideologically significant (Fairclough, 1995a). And he further illustrates his view with an example: on a BBC Radio 4 Today programme (11 March 1997) the following comment was made about 'cheap' Russian fish being 'dumped' in the British market: 'the funny thing is it's not transferring itself to the customer at terribly low prices at all' (a'). This might have been written as 'the dealers involved in the distribution of the fish are overcharging the customers' (b'), coding the pricing of the fish as an action with a responsible agent (the dealers) (Fairclough, 1995a, p 25); while in the (a'), there is no clear agent to transfer fish but it more looks like fish transfer themselves, and the process of pricing has been turned into a state (a terribly low price) instead of action (overcharging). Responsibility and agent have been obscured. If there were a systematic trend in news reporting or other types of writing for such choices of process and participant types to leave responsibility and agency mystified in this way, people might see such choices (within the wider social context) as carrying ideological meaning. More examples and details can be found in the Previous Study section below.

The above example is mentioned to show not only the purpose of applying a functional system in critical linguistics to demystify the ideology encoded in linguistic structure, but also some basic components classified in the transitivity such as doing or process, doer or participant.

More details of transitivity are introduced below.

The transitivity system construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types (Halliday, 1994). A process consists, in principle, of three components:

(1) the process itself;

(2) participants in the process;

(3) circumstances associated with the process.

These provide the frame of reference for interpreting our experience of what goes on.

The concept of process, participant and circumstance are semantic categories which explain in the most general way how phenomena of the real world are represented as linguistic structures (Halliday, 1994; p 109). For example:

The lion	chased	the tourist	lazily	through the bush.
Participant	Process	Participant	Circumstance	Circumstance

In the sections below, the different types of process will be briefly explained, followed by the key types of participant and the circumstances that are associated with the process.

(1) Processes:

Processes are usually made of a verbal group. They are divided into three major categories:

— **Material processes**

What we experience as going on 'out there', in the world around us. (See table 2.1)

— **Mental processes**

What we experience as going on inside ourselves, in the world of consciousness and imagination

— **Relational processes**

Processes of classifying and identifying, to relate one fragment of experience to another

Halliday further categories other processes located at the borderlines between the major three:

— **Behavioral processes**

(On the borderline between material and mental)

Processes of consciousness and physiological states

— **Verbal processes**

(On the borderline between mental and relational)

Like saying and meaning

— **Existential processes**

(On the borderline between the relational and material)

The processes concerned with existence, recognized as to 'be', to exist, or to happen

Table 2.1 below is adopted from Halliday (2004) to illustrate the different process types

Process type	Example (Process in bold)
material	During the European scramble for Africa, Nigeria **fell** to the British.
behavioral	People **are laughing**.
mental	The Ibos **did not approve of** kings.
verbal	**Can** you **tell** us about the political and cultural make-up of Nigeria?
relational	Every fourth African **is** a Nigerian.
existential	Today there**'s** Christianity in the south.

(2) Participants

The role of participants in the different types of process will be introduced below. They are usually made up of nominal groups. Beginning with the three major processes:

— Material processes

This is the process of doing, which has two major types of participants.

Actor   The Actor means the one that does the deed.

Goal   The Goal implies 'direct at'; another term that has been used for this function is Patient, meaning one that 'suffers' or 'undergoes' the process. For instance:

(a) The lion   sprang.

    Actor   Process

(b) The lion   caught   the tourist.

    Actor   Process   Goal

— Mental processes

This is the process of sensing, includes also two major participant types:

Sensor   The sensor is the conscious being that is feeling, thinking or seeing.

Phenomenon   The phenomenon is that which is 'sensed' — felt, thought or seen.

(a) I   know

    Sensor   Process

(b) I   believe   you

Sensor   Process   Phenomenon

— Relational processes

If material processes are those of doing, and mental processes are those of sensing, the third main process type — relational processes — could be called to be those of being. There are two principle subcategories of relational processes

(i) Attributive

In the attributive type, an entity has some quality ascribed or attributed to it (Halliday, 1994, p 120). Structurally, Halliday labels this quality as the Attribute, and the entity to which it is ascribed as the Carrier, as in:

Your story	sounds	complete nonsense
Carrier	Process	Attribute

(ii) Identifying

In the identifying type, something has an identity assigned to it. What this means is that one entity is being used to identify another: '*x* is identified by *a*' or '*a* serves to define the identity of *x*' (Halliday, 1994, p 122). Structurally, Halliday labels the *x*-element, as the Identified, and *a*-element as the Identifier, as in:

The one in the back row	must be	you
Identified	Process	Identifier

Other process types:

Above are the three principle types of processes: material, mental, and relational. The following are the subsidiary process types, located at the boundaries of the major three:

— Behavioral processes

These are processes of physiological and psychological behavior, like breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming, and staring. Behavioral processes do not have clearly defined characteristics of their own, but they are partly like the material and partly like the mental. The participant, who is 'behaving', is labeled the Behaver, and

is typically a conscious being, like the Sensor, but the Process is grammatically more like the one of 'doing' (Halliday, 1994, p 139), as in:

She   is coughing

Behaver   Process

— **Verbal process**

These are processes of saying. The participant in this kind of process is the Sayer, as in:

John   said   he would come.

Sayer   Process

Three further participants in addition to the Sayer are:

(i) Receiver

The Receiver is the one to whom the saying is directed, like *him* in:

 I told him a true story.

(ii) Verbiage

The verbiage refers to what is said, including:

(a) the content of what is said, like *what he looks like* in:

Can you describe what he looks like for me?

(b) the name of the saying, like *a question* in:

May I ask you a question?

(iii) Target

The Target is the entity that is targeted by the process of saying, like *him* in:

She always praised him to her friends.

— **Existential processes**

These processes represent that something exists or happens. The participant in this type of process is the object or event which is being said to exist, labeled as Existent, as:

There was   a storm.

Process   Existent

Participants in the six types of process are concluded as in the table 2.2 below (Halliday, 1994; p 143):

Table 2.2 Process types, their meanings, and key participants

Process type	Category meaning	Participants
material	'doing'	Actor, Goal
behavioral	'behaving'	Behaver
mental	'sensing'	Sensor, Phenomenon
verbal	'saying'	Sayer, Target
relational	'being'	
attribution	'attributing'	Carrier, Attribute
identification	'identifying'	Identified, Identifier
existential	'existing'	Existent

(3) Circumstance

Finally, circumstance will be introduced as follows. They are usually made up of adverbial groups or prepositional phrases. They serve as an expansion of processes, such as the location of an event, time, space, manner, or cause.

The following is the list of circumstantial elements, including Extent, location, Manner, Cause, Contingency, Accompaniment, Role, Matter and Angle (Halliday, 1994, p 151), as:

	Jack was building a house….	
1. when?	throughout the year	Extent
2. where?	near the river	Location
3. how?	out of brick	Manner
4. why?	for his retirement	Cause
5. under what conditions?	despite his illness	Contingency
	Jack occupied his house….	
6. who with?	with his dog	Accompaniment
	Jack sold his house…	
7. what as ?	as an investment	Role
	Jack told his friend….	
8. what about?	about the sale	Matter
	The price was good….	
9. says who?	according to Jack	Angle

2.2.2.2 Transformation

Semantically, a clause is used to analyze events or situation as being classified into different linguistic structures, but syntactically, a clause is a basic unit of pattern for the ordering of words and phrases (Fowler, 1991). Even though syntactic analysis is concerned with the position instead of meaning of words and phrases. That does not mean syntactic ordering is not significant. Syntax provides alternative phrasings, as we have seen, in the previous section, wherever alternative variants in language is available — T or V, /r/ or no /r/, different values come to be associated with the different variants. In the following section, the researcher will introduce transformation, a notion which refers to syntactic variation, and especially two types of transformation which are interesting for critical linguistics: passive and nominal.

The concept of passive transformation can be illustrated with following example mentioned by Kress and Hodge (1979).

A wife might have asked her husband "Have you emptied the garbage?", but she transforms the original version into "Has the garbage been emptied?".

For the meaning of the transformed version, it does not seem to be different from the original one, so people may wonder why to transform, or why there is the different active, passive version to express the same propositional meaning.

To answer these questions, a closer examination is needed to find out how the wife shifts from the original version into the transformed one.

(1) Have you emptied the garbage?   ==>   (2) Has the garbage been emptied by you?

(2) Has the garbage been emptied by you?   ==>   (3) Has the garbage been emptied?

The difference between (1) and (2) is in (1) the actor is "you" and affected entity is "garbage". (1) clearly indicates "you" who is the actor to take responsibility for the process "empty" and this action affects the goal "garbage". Or in other terms, it emphasizes the fact that "you" should be responsible for the action. While in (2) the order of "you" and "garbage" has been reversed, so that the affected entity occupies the syntactic subject position, reorienting the emphasis from "you" to "garbage". And

the difference between (2) and (3) is clearly that the actor is removed. The one who is supposed to be responsible for the action is deleted.

This may explain the reason that the wife transforms the original version. She wants him to empty the garbage, but the direct version may infuriate him by holding him responsible, so she chooses the indirect version, shifting the emphasis from "you" to "garbage" and deleting the actor — "you".

Therefore the active version focuses on the agent, implying clear responsibility while the passive construction, redirects readers' attention to the affected entity, and also allows agents to be deleted, leaving responsibility unspecified so that the affected entity can be foregrounded. Such explanation could also help to illustrate how passive transformation is adopted in, for instance, news writing to maneuver audience attention, or direct their perception in certain ways. More details can be found in the Previous Study section below.

The other type of transformation — nominalization, means that nouns are derived from verbs or adjectives (Fowler, et al, 1979). For instance, 'development' is derived from 'develop', 'allegation' derived from 'allege', etc. And also there are nouns in English which designate actions and processes not objects, as in the example cited by Fowler from the Guardian 4 July, 1986 (Fowler, 1991, p 79).

> The Northern Ireland Secretary, Mr. Tom King, rejected a *call* in the Commons yesterday to delay the *inquiry* into the Royal Ulster Constabulary until *completion* of *investigations* into *allegation*s against Mr. John stalker, the Greater Manchester deputy chief constable, who was originally heading the RUC *inquiry*.

This example is cited by Fowler also to show how an official, bureaucratic mode of discourses such as middle-class news reporting could be densely packed with nominal nouns. He further illustrates that nominalization is a syntactic transformation of a clause, which has structural consequences and offers ideological opportunities. He shows how much information is unexpressed in a derived nominal compared with a full clause, for example, nominal 'allegation' compares with the full clause 'X has alleged against Y that Y did A and that Y did B (etc.)'.

Deleted in the nominal are:

— participants (who did what to whom)

— any indication of time (because there is no verb no tense)

— any indication of modality (to show the writers' attitude).

In *Language and Control* (1979), Fowler and his colleagues claim that nominalization is potentially mystificatory, and allows concealment, especially in the areas of power-relations and writers' attitudes. Such a view is also shared by Fairclough (1995a), in *Media Discourse*, stating that syntactic elision of information such as the responsibility and agency may be an ideologically significant feature of texts.

2.2.2.3 Lexical structure

Fowler (1991) stated that vocabulary is one important part of ideational structure in Halliday's linguistic theory. For Fowler, vocabulary in a language is like a 'map' of objects or concepts. However, vocabulary is more conventionally viewed as a list of words; a view encouraged by the exhaustive compilation of words in the dictionary. This has made vocabulary seem unlikely to have any structural principle but just to be an arbitral list of words which do not have any connection with each other.

Nonetheless, vocabulary does indeed have structure of its own and works more like a map. Fowler explains this notion with a useful distinction in philosophical semantics which clarifies the status of word meaning: the distinction between reference and sense (Lyons, 1977). Reference is a relationship between a word and some aspect of the world, such as the relationship between the word 'dog' and some individual canine, like Rover or Fido. The relationship of reference exists only when language is being actually used; it is not inherent part in the meaning of a word. So, the meaning of a word is not equal to what the word refers to. For instance, the word dog can be used equally to designate such different phenomena as a Great Dane on one hand and a Chihuahua on the other.

However, sense defines meaning as relationship between words rather than between words and the world. Saussure is credited for classifying the basic notion of sense-relationship in terms of value (Lyons, 1977). Saussure uses the metaphor of currency to explain the idea. The value of a £1 coin is not only determined by the goods it can exchange for, but more importantly by the fact that it is not £5, not 50p,

not 1p, and so on, even though it has a specific arithmetical relationship with each of them.

Similarly, the relationship of words can be compared with that of a currency unit within a system: the value or sense of word is given by its place within a system in its relations with other terms, for instance, 'dog' is defined as not 'cat', not 'horse', not 'human', more general that 'poodle', or 'peke', more specific than 'animal' or 'mammal', and so on.

The notion of 'sense' has been more accepted in lexical semantics and sense-relations are more helpful to explain that the vocabulary of a language is a structured system rather than an arbitrary list of words. Such a system provides the structure of a 'map'. A map is a symbolic representation of a region. The symbols it employs such as lines, colors, shading, etc are to represent the features of a territory for the interests of map consumers. For instance, a map for motorists will not include railways since it is thought to be irrelevant to the purpose. The map for tourists contains exotic spots and historic areas. So, the meaning and structure of a map is not determined by the features of a landscape but by its social purposes.

As shown in the previous section, the world is represented by our language. To understand and communicate one natural phenomenon, we need to describe it with a specific linguistic structure which is encoded with social meaning. So, vocabulary, as one part of the linguistic structure, not only represents the world but serves its social function. Like the map, vocabulary works first by segmentation: dividing nature into small pieces which answer to the interests of people who use them. Application of each term gives emphasis to a small artificial piece that is cut out of the cake of the world. It is important for critical analysts to notice what terms occur frequently in the writing or speech they are studying and what segment of the society is being paid attention. Groups of related terms can also help to reveal the preoccupation of the discourse.

Fowler (1991) cites some examples of related groups of words, taken from different newspaper articles. They are briefly mentioned below. The first sentence of the article is quoted, and relevant lexical terms are italicized, and then followed by a short list of words which joins the group:

(a) Cattle in Surrey, Kent and North Yorkshire have been found with *radioactivity* at more than 10 times the *danger level* for human consumption.

The *tests ....thyroid glands....iodine 131 ....340, 000 becquerels per kilo.... contamination....*

(Guardian, 4 July, 1986)

(b) The Solicitor-General, Sir Patrick Mayhew, insisted last night that *investigations* into Mr. Kevin Taylor, a Manchester businessman, were separate from *inquiries* into Mr. John Stalker, the *deputy chief constable* of Greater Manchester.

....allegations....suspended from duty....alleged....criminal association....police....interview.... deputy chief constable....investigation .... inquires .... charges....

(Guardian, 4 July, 1986)

(c) The Morning star sends *May Day* greeting to *working people* throughout the world. This is the 100th anniversary of *May Day* as a *labor movement* festival.

.....a world social system....the working class....working people....imperialism....developed capitalist countries....trade unions....the struggle....class struggle....socialism....capitalism's problems....

(Morning star, 1 May, 1986)

There are three distinct types of article in the examples above:

(a) the scientific one associated with nuclear physics

(b) the forensic one concerned with police investigation

(c) the political one related to the Marxist theory

The accumulation of words in each group not only help critical readers to recognize the different types of writing, but also help them to realize the social function of vocabulary: categorizing.

Vocabulary not only helps to sort out experience or as just mentioned to help readers recognize different types of writing, but also helps make detailed classification within concepts. This could be illustrated in the example of (c), in which the vocabulary clearly divides political organizations into two groups, 'socialism' on the one hand and 'imperialism/capitalism' on the other and suggesting a 'struggle' between them. Such categorization by vocabulary has been used for reproduction of

ideology in, for instance, news writing, especially relating to groups such as minority ethnic groups, women, or young people. More details can be found in the Previous Studies section below.

2.2.2.4 Evaluation

Evaluation can be generally seen in terms of what authors commit themselves to what is desirable or undesirable, good, or bad (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough distinguishes them in the following categories and further illustrates below:

— Evaluative statement

— Statements with deontic modalities

— Statements with affective mental process verbs

— Value assumptions

Further explanation follows.

■ Evaluative statements

Evaluation statements are statements about desirability and undesirability, what is good and what is bad, for instance, this is a good book; this is a bad book; this book is wonderful; or that book is awful.

Evaluation statements are usually realized as relational processes with key participants of carrier and attribute. For example:

This novel   is   a very good book.   (Relational process)
Carrier   Process   Attribute

In this kind of relational process, the evaluation element is in the attribute, which may be an adjective (such as good), or a noun phrase (like a good book).

Evaluation statements can also be realized as other processes where the evaluative element is the verb, for instance, rather than saying 'he was a coward', someone might say 'he chickened out'.

They can also be realized as other types of process with evaluative adverbs as, (a) the author has put this book together dreadfully (material process) and (b) the author has summed up the arguments wonderfully (verbal process).

Exclamation is an alternative to evaluative statements, for instance, 'what a wonderful book!' instead of 'this book is wonderful.'

In addition, evaluative elements are different on 'a scale of intensity' (White, 2001). For instance: 'I like/love/adore this book', 'this book is good/wonderful/fantastic', 'it's badly/dreadfully/appallingly written', etc.

■ Statement with deontic modality or affective mental processes

Statements with deontic (obligational) modalities are linked to evaluation. For instance, when Tony Blair says that 'The values we believe in should shine through what we do in Afghanistan' (Tony Blair's speech to the Labour Party Conference, 2001), he implies, in more general terms, that acting on the basis of values is desirable, a good thing to do.

There is also a distinctive category of explicit evaluations with mental processes, specifically affective mental processes (e.g. 'I like this book', 'I hate this book'). Fairclough calls them as 'affective evaluations'. They explicitly mark the evaluation of the author.

■ Assumed values

These refer to values which are implicit or assumed. Different from the three types of evaluation (evaluative statements, deontic modalities, affective mental process verbs) above with quite explicit markers, the last category — assumed values are often more deeply embedded in texts, such as *help* in the sentence: this book helps to …. whatever comes after 'help to' seems to be a positive evaluation, for instance, raise the awareness of environmental issues.

More details of how the above framework of transitivity, transformation, lexical structure, and evaluation are applied in critical analysis will be illustrated in the following section of Previous Studies.

2.3. Previous studies

In this section, some previous analyses which are related to the current study are reviewed. The analyzed materials range from spoken to written language, and within the written language, include the examination of literary and non-literary texts as follows.

— Analysis of spoken language

The aim of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is to explore the relationship among language, ideology and power. In the study of Wang (2010), the researcher applies Halliday's Systematic Functional Grammar, in terms of the three functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual function, to find out the formal features of Barack Obama's speeches, including a victory speech in Grant Park, Chicago (November 4, 2008) to show his appreciation to his supporters and his inaugural address before the Capitol Rotunda in Washington (January 20, 2009). By analyzing functional grammar, the researcher finds the following features in Barack Obama's speech: first, he used more simple words and short sentences instead of difficult ones to shorten the distance between him and the audience. Second, from transitivity analysis, the researcher finds that material process, the process of doing, has been most frequently used to show what the government has achieved, what it is doing and what it will do in order to boost American people's trust to him and his government. Third, through the analysis of modality, the researcher discovers that Obama enabled his audience to more easily understand and accept his political speeches by using modal verbs, tense and first person pronouns. He used present tense to present the current economic, political situation both at home and around the globe, then with future tense, he laid out the plan for upcoming reform; this technique not only helps to show the government's objective, but again helps to build Americans' confidence. Moreover, he used first personal pronouns and religious beliefs to once more shorten the distance between him and his audience. This can help him to persuade the public to accept and support his policies. Therefore, CDA provides a new idea or method to analyze public addresses and explore the relationships among language, ideology, and power.

— Analysis of written language

— Analysis of literary texts

Based on one part of Halliday's functional system — transitivity, the study of Nguyen (2012) examines how language is constructed to express certain meanings in the short story 'Heroic Mother' published in 2008 by the Australian Vietnamese writer Hoa Pham. The aim of the study is to clarify the main character's personality

and to better understand contemporary society. Through the analysis of components of transitivity: processes, participants and circumstances, the analysis reveals that the main character 'Heroic Mother', also the narrator of the story, suffers loneliness and inadequate consideration from her family. She used to be a soldier, fighting for the independence and freedom of her country. While facing old age, even she tried to use her past memories and victories as a way to educate the younger generation, her sacrifice and patriotism is not appreciated by the youngsters who take the present beautiful life for granted and focus more on their own interests than family relations. Thus, the study shows how one of the analyzing tools for critical linguistics — transitivity — helps to reveal the social meaning in the literary text through examining its linguistic structures.

In the study of Iwamoto (2013), by adopting Halliday's functional grammar system, the researcher critically analyzes a literary text to illustrate the relationship between linguistic patterns and socially constructed meaning. Through the analysis of transitivity and lexical choices, the researcher discovers the stereotypical description of main male and female characters in a text extracted from a story in a woman's magazine (*My Weekly*, Mar. 1 1987, cited in Cater 1997, p 12): the male is more involved in the actor role of material process, having the initiative power to influence others, while the female is more connected with goal or affected participant in material process and also with behavioral process (expressing her thought and feeling instead of action), simply having less influence on others, together with those lexis which suggest strength and high-status for the male character, but weakness and low-status for the female. Through the analysis, the researcher reveals that functional grammar, one of the well-known frameworks for critical discourse analysis, could be applied to literary and non-literary texts alike to decode the social value embedded in the language structure.

— Analysis of non-literary language

To reveal the ideology behind the linguistic structure, the researcher in the study of Su (1997) adopts Fairclough's discursive framework, van Dijk's socio-cognitive analysis model, and Halliday's transitivity to analyze the coverage of a massive strike in South Korea from 1987 to 1997 in *The New York Times*. Through the analysis of

lexical choices, types of processes and participants and quotation patterns, the researcher discovers that the workers were described as trouble-makers who caused the unrest in the society and financial loss for the nation, while the South Korean government and companies were depicted as the pushers for democratic reforms, legitimate authorities who tried hard to solve the crisis within the rules of democracy, and the driving force for national economic growth. Through the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the researcher reveals *The New York Times*, a national newspaper in USA — a capitalist nation, constructed the version of strike in South Korea from the point of view that favored the interests of capitalists instead of the rights of workers.

In the study by Fang (2001)**,** from the perspective of critical linguistics, the analyst shows how to use discourse features to examine the political stance constructed by the two ideologically opposite newspapers: *People's Daily* (mainland China's official mouthpiece) and *Central Daily News* (Taiwan Nationalist Party newspaper). The news articles examined in this study include: the civil unrest in South Africa (22-8 March 1985) and Argentina (31 May- 1 June 1989). While the mainland China has tense diplomatic ties with South Africa, it has smooth relations with Argentina. For Taiwan, it has both friendly foreign relations with these two countries. Through analyzing the textual elements such as lexical choices, grammatical options, and thematic analysis, the researcher reveals that while *People's Daily* depicted the civil unrest in South Africa as anti-Apartheid movements, and opposition to the government's brutal suppression*, Central Daily News* denounced the blacks for causing disorder and agreed with the government taking necessary measures to keep the society in order. However, in describing the disturbance in Argentina, both *People's Daily* and *Central Daily News* suggested that it was caused by the economic conditions, not policies adopted by the authority and expressed no negative attitude to the government. By critically investigating the textual features, the researcher discovers that the controversial events represented by the two different papers help to serve distinct political purposes — to justify and legitimize the foreign policies of the ruling regimes in the two nations.

In the study of Pietikainen (2003), the researcher examines the representation of indigenous Sami people in Finnish news discourse and how the representation

contributes to the (re)construction of Sami identity. Through critical discourse analysis of Finnish newspaper texts collected from the leading daily *Helsigin Sancnat*, the researcher analyzes the representation based on Fairclough's framework of conceptualism. Through the study, the researcher finds that the news representation of ethnic minority of Sami is biased and partial, favoring the Finnish majority; journalists more rely on the ready-made Finish authorities' resources than those of the Sami minority. In addition, with Halliday's transitivity as the micro level analysis tool of language, the researcher finds that as agents, Sami participants were depicted as personalized and disorganized actors whose right and position was constrained and affected by the action of the Finnish majority, which was described as an impersonal and well established system. Therefore, through the analysis in the study, the researcher suggests that a combination of the minority position of Sami, the practice of journalists and language used in the media result in polarized representation that contributed to marginalization of the Sami rather than their participation in the public discussion in the news arena.

In the study of Pang & Wu (2009), the researchers take two news coverages for the case in which the US Mattel Company recalled toys "made in China" (August, 2007) in the *Washington Post* and *The New York Times* as language material. Based on Halliday's system functional grammar, they critically analyze language environment and discourse structure to illustrate the relationships between language and ideology. With regard to language environment analysis, the researchers introduce the background and environment of the event as follows: US mainstream media intentionally magnified individual issues of safety problems in toys made in China, while pushing aside the fact that 85% of the toys meet US design and import requirements. For the critical analysis of discourse structure, first, the authors analyze lexical structure to reveal that negative words were used for Chinese companies, while positive ones for the US firm. Second, they examined syntactic structure such as passive construction and nominalization and found that both were used to direct readers' attention to problems caused by Chinese manufacturers, but not to what responsibility the US firm should take. Moreover, whose words are quoted suggest the attitudes of newspapers. Instead of voicing the executives and authorities from both countries, the researchers found that mainstream US media heavily quoted those from

US, clearly leaning to one side of the event, while the voice of the other side was seldom heard. This study is aimed to critically analyze the linguistic structure in US Press to reveal ideology embedded in the use of language and also to help readers to establish critical thinking and understand media discourse from a deeper layer.

Through multi-dimensional critical discourse analysis, the study of Li (2009) shows how the national identities and ideology are constructed in the media. Based on the framework of Fairclough's intertextuality in the terms of discourse, style and genre, the researcher analyzes how the meaning embedded in the news reports of conflicts between US and China is interpreted. The reports investigated in the study include Chinese embassy bombing by NATO in 1999 and air collision in 2001 in *The New York Times* and *China Daily*. Through the examination of quotation patterns, various identities of the news writers and diverse genres applied in the news texts, the researcher finds that each paper fought to justify the action of "us" and condemned the behaviors of "them" based on its own national interests. So, the study shows that critical discourse analysis can help enrich readers' understanding of ideology encoded in the media texts by examining textual features from multi-dimensional and dynamic perspectives.

Adopting the functional-cognitive perspective of Halliday's transitivity model, the researcher in the study Li (2011) examines the ideological constructions within *The New York Times* and *China Daily* in their reports of an air collision between the US and China in April 2001. Through analyzing the participate roles and processes in headlines, and relational and actional processes in the detailed news articles, the researcher finds that each paper fought for its own national interests and blamed the other for what happened. While *The New York Times* depicted itself as the victim of the event, staying away from the causality and responsibility, *China Daily* blamed the US as the cause of the collision, and not only justified its own action but strongly demanded an apology from US. Therefore, this study shows that transitivity can be proved not only to be a fundamental analytic tool for finding the ideology or social meaning encoded in the discourse, but also as a valuable approach to help readers to conceptualize different versions of reality represented in different media.

From the view of critical discourse analysis, language is more than just a communication tool. Instead, it is encoded with ideology. How language is used

reflects a society and its dominant values. That is why the researchers in the study Sahragard & Davatgarzadeh (2010) attempted to determine what social values could be interpreted by examining linguistic representation of social actors in the *Interchange Third Edition* (a series of popular textbooks in Iran). Based on van Leenwen's framework of social actor representation and Halliday & Matthiessen's process analysis of transitivity, the researchers find that female characters in the book were depicted as more successful, assertive, powerful and independent in comparison to their male counterparts. They also equally held high-status professional jobs as men did. This actually challenges the traditional view of women: more frequently described as homemakers, having fewer job opportunities in the society and being more dependent on men. The researchers suggest that these textbooks actually enhance the value of women by pulling them from the margin into the foreground and show that they can make crucial contributions to the society just as men can.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the researcher, first, illustrates why media language is selected as the analyzing material, and what genre of media language, what events and how news outlets have been chosen as well. Then, while demonstrating how she draws example texts for the study, she addresses the reliability and validity of the empirical research. Finally, based on what has been explained in chapter one, she summaries the framework listed in chapter two, and also illustrates that even though certain motivation and analysis methods adopted in this study may seem to be subjective, this does not undermine the quality of the current research.

3.1 Data collection
3.1.1 Media language

In the previous study section, material used for analysis ranges from spoken to written language, and within written language, spans from literary to non-literary texts. In the current study, data under examination are drawn from media language with the following reasons, as suggested by Bell (1991) in *The Language of News Media*:

3.1.1.1 Media are dominating presenters of language in society.

People in many countries probably hear more language from the media than they do directly from the lips of their follow humans in conversation. Everyday millions of words are produced by the media. The production of media is huge, although it is only a fraction of the face-to-face talk between individuals. But media language is heard not just by one or two people but by mass audiences. It is the few talking to the many. So, the media plays a dominating role in the use of language in society.

3.1.1.2 Language applied in media impacts what is used in daily life.

Bell (1991) stated that the media generate a lot of language that is heard in daily life. This is reflected in frequent public comments about how the media use language

and criticism of the media language use for the bad effect that such usage has on daily speech. Therefore, the media affect language use in wider society.

3.1.1.3 Media language serves as a mirror of the wider society and culture.

As explained in chapter two, linguistic structure has its social function. Linguistic forms selected in speech or writing express social values. Since the media are dominating presenters of language in society, analysis of linguistic patterns of media can help us understand the social structure and ideology embedded in the use of language.

3.1.1.4 Accessibility of media language provides undeniable advantage for linguistic study.

Media language is easier to collect than other types of communication, such as conversation. It is available in large quantities. For instance, the average newspaper may provide researchers with 100,000 or more words of texts. The problem is less getting enough to analyze than deciding how to restrict the quantity to a manageable amount. Moreover, media offer data with good quality. Unlike collecting language material from conversation, which, in the case of recording, more than often meets with problems of interference, traffic, background television or children's noise, direct recording from radio or television programs can almost be as good in quality as the originals.

Due to the reasons above, media language seems to be the ideal data option for the current study. The genres of media language selected are explained in the following section.

3.1.2 The genre of media content for the current study

Media content includes many genres, such as news, classified advertisements, documentaries, music, and sports commentary (Bell, 1991). Among them, two genres are common to all the primary media of mass communication — news and advertising. These have also been the focus of most research on media and media language. Since news in the Press is the particular kind of media opted for this study; the following explanation is directed to that genre.

In a newspaper, everything other than advertising is called 'editorial' (Bell, 1991). Most editorial content is written 'copy'. Some is visual, but may have a subsidiary language component (cartoons, graphs). Editorial copy can be further divided into three broad categories: service information, opinion and news.

Further explanation

Service information consists of lists rather than continuous copy: sports results, television programs, share prices, weather forecasts.

Opinion copy includes what are often called 'editorial' or 'leaders' — a statement of the newspapers' own views on an issue, usually appearing on a page inside the newspapers signaled with marks, such as 'opinion'. Other types of opinion copy could include letters to the editor and reviews.

News in the Press is divided into four categories:

— hard news

— feature articles

— special topic news

— headlines, crossheads or subheadings

Hard news is news workers' major product, such as reports of accidents, conflicts, crimes, disasters, etc. The structure of hard news is called the 'inverted pyramid' or an upside-down triangle (Eng & Hodson, 2009). The pyramid is wide on the top. When going down, it becomes more and more narrow, then becomes a tip. This means the most important elements of the story comes first, then the less-important elements. The story ends with the least important elements.

Generally, the first paragraph or lead answers the most important and basic questions about the event: who, what, where, when, why, and how. The second paragraph gives details

or background about the lead. This is followed by more information that supports the lead: quotes, details, and background. After writing all the information about the main theme, journalists write about the less-important themes.

The opposite to hard news is 'soft' news or features (Bell, 1991). These are longer 'articles' rather than 'stories' covering immediate events. While most hard stories are written in the inverted pyramid style, there are many ways to organize a feature (Eng & Hodson, 2009).

Features generally use delayed leads. The writer often begins by focusing on one person who faces a problem that other people also face. This is because readers can understand the situation and experience of a specific person better than a statement about the general situation. The person is used as an example or illustration of the general situation. After the delayed lead, comes a theme paragraph that tells the readers what the story is about. The rest of the story explains the lead and supports it with details, quotations and examples. The feature usually contains a lot of good descriptions and quotations, which give it 'color'. It often has an ending that leaves the reader with a strong impression of the main theme. Thus, a feature has a carefully constructed beginning, middle and end, like a good short story or novel.

Features are often produced by a different group of journalists from those who write the day-by-day hard news. A lot of newspapers acquire their features from outside services provided by news agencies or major newspapers like the *Washington Post*/*Los Angeles Times* service (Bell, 1991).

The third category, special-topic news, includes areas such as, sports, racing, business/financial, arts and agriculture. They usually appear in sections of the newspaper explicitly reserved for that topic. Such pages are generally produced by separate groups of specialist journalists and under the control of their own editor, such as the business or sports editor.

The Fourth category is part of the coverage needed to support the three categories mentioned above, often referred to as the 'body copy', the main text of a story or feature. This category includes headlines, crossheads (subheadings within a story), writers' names or bylines, and captions to photographs. All of these can be easily distinguished since they are set in different typefaces or sizes to the body copy.

In the current study, the hard news — the conflict in Syria in the Press was selected (the reason that the Syrian war was chosen will be explained further in the following section). Based on the categories explained above, only the body copy (not including headlines, subheadings, writers' names, or captions) will be collected. The reason that the body copy was selected only from its own organization or other news agencies will be explained in the next section.

3.1.3 News copy resources

One criterion which is rarely worth trying to apply is that of gathering only news which is written by the particular outlets under study (Bell, 1991). Most news outlets carry far more news originated by other organizations than by their own journalists. Almost all international news derives from the 'Big Four' news agencies: Reuters, Associated Press, United Press International and Agence France Presse. So, for the current study, the coverage of the Syrian war in the US and China's media will be collected from hard news appearing in the Press without distinguishing by which news outlets they were produced. Then, which news organizations in the US and China will be chosen will be discussed next.

3.1.4 News outlets

After the genre of media content — hard news in the Press — has been chosen for the study, which outlets or publications is the issue to look at next. In this study, the daily newspaper from the US — *The New York Times* and from China — *China Daily* were selected. Before explaining why these two news outlets were selected, first, the reason for choosing the conflict in Syria as the event for the analysis needs to be explained.

The Syrian war is listed by *The Nation* as the number 1 of 10 major events that should be watched carefully over short and medium terms ahead (www.nationmultimedia.com/Sep/13/2013). These events have the power to shake the stability of the region and shape the geopolitics of the world. The events in the war inside Syria and reaction from powerful nations abroad attract the whole world to keep a close eye on developments in the crisis.

The Syrian civil war, which began as isolated protests against the Assad government has become what has been described as the worst humanitarian crisis in modern times (www.cbn.com/cbnnews/world/2014/March/Three-Years-Syrias-War-the-Worst-Humanitarian-Crisis/).

Early in 2011, while seeds of the Arab spring were growing, signs of Syrian uprisings — protests against the country's president Basher Assad — began to appear on YouTube.

Those protests would mushroom into a full scale three-year civil war, with staggering costs: more than 140,000 dead and at least a third of the country's 23 million people forced to flee their homes.

The UN High Commission for Human Rights appealed to UN Security Council for greater international action to solve the crisis and alleviate the suffering among refugees (www.euronews.com/2013/07/16/un-syrian-conflict-is-worst-humanitarian-crisis-in-nearly-20years-/).

However, the Security Council has been deadlocked on Syria.

Russia, an ally of the Syrian President, and China have three times blocked action against Assad, while the US, attempting to restore its reduced influence in the Middle east, together with Britain and France supported it (www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/07/20137/623717610907.html).

While the Syrian civil war, sprawling out of control, affects the stability of the region, it also brings tension between powerful nations in the world.

It would be interesting to find out how the same event — the Syrian war — is represented in news media from nations holding different stances, such as China and America. Since the current researcher, a Thai student with Chinese origins, studies English language at Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand, she likes to use media to improve her language skills and also broaden her knowledge horizon. CNN is accessible in Bangkok. It serves as an English channel for her to practice listening, while CCTV is another Chinese television channel to let her know what happens in her home country. So, for her, picking China and US as example nations from two different sides in UN Security Council would be natural. But the transcripts from television programs would not be easy to access in Thailand. While CNN has published transcripts for some of its news programs, CCTV has not released any of theirs. For other types of media, such as radio, no radio broadcasting from US and China is accessible in Bangkok; for printed news, *USA Today* is available, but, none from China. Thus, what seems to be left with easy access is online versions of newspapers from US and China.

The New York Times and *China Daily* were chosen because of their importance in their respective countries (Li, 2011). As the largest metropolitan newspaper in the USA, *The New York Times* is noted for its coverage of international political news and

is generally considered as the 'paper of record' for international news coverage and influences the contents of other mass media in the USA (Gitlin, 1980). *China Daily* is an official English language national newspaper in China, first published in 1981. As an English language newspaper, *China Daily* plays a unique role in articulating the Chinese government's priorities and foreign policies to the public inside China and the community abroad. *China Daily* keeps close ideological consistency with *People's Daily*, a Chinese version of a national newspaper, which is also well-known as the official mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist party and Chinese government (Scollon, 2000). Due to the above connection, *China Daily* is often considered as the English version of *People's Daily* and has become the most cited source when foreign media refer to news about China (Stone, 1994). So, *China Daily*'s reports of the Syrian war can be regarded as the official Chinese government position and attitude regarding the conflict.

The above provides explanation of how the news outlets were selected, how many news texts collected will be the focus of the following section.

3.1.5 News output

News output is the actual product of a news organization, or for the online version newspapers, is the news texts released on websites (Bell, 1991). Decisions needed to be made on two questions: the time period the data would cover, and the days to be sampled within that period.

First, the time period for the current study is one year, starting from the beginning of the uprising in Syria March 16, 2011. Since the Syrian war has continued for more than three years at the time of writing, the first year coverage of the turmoil should clearly show its causes and developing trend.

On *The New York Times* web pages, a search for 'Syria war' returns all articles from previous years containing the key words. It is possible to refine the results further, by selecting date ranges. After limiting the range to from March, 16, 2011 to February, 16, 2012, the results could then be sorted by three criteria: 'relevance', 'oldest', or 'newest'. 'Relevance' entails that the articles, which contain the highest frequency of the keywords searched for, are listed first. However, the researcher opted for 'newest'. From the search results, she eliminated feature articles, opinions, speech,

transcripts, videos, etc, only looking for hard news and collected altogether 168 news stories.

Using a similar approach to the above, on the web pages of *China Daily*, she gathered 229 news texts.

The above news items collected from *The New York Times* and *China Daily* served as the population data for the current study. The next step was to draw samples to represent the population for the analysis. That meant to decide on sampling dates within the population. Content analysis researchers have tested the reliability of different sizes and designs of samples across different time periods. For example, in *Sample size for classifying subject matter in dailies*, Stempel (1952) observed that in testing samples to represent a full year copy, those of 6, 12, 18, 24, and 48 days of a year are all adequate. Therefore, the researcher selected 6 days from each of the news websites, including: March 30, 2011, May 30, 2011, July 30, 2011, September 30, 2011, November 30, 2011, and January 30, 2012. March 30 was chosen as the starting point due to the fact that right after the beginning of the unrest — March 16, 2011, the news coverage of the event was still not intense; toward the end of March, reporting on the protests and the government response started gain momentum. If none of the news items on the chosen date fell into the hard news category an appropriate article published on the closest date was selected. In this way, the researcher collected 12 news stories — 6 from each of the US and China's online news as the total data samples.

What has been depicted above is how the data was collected and also relates to the issue of reliability which concerns repeatability or consistency in research (http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/reliablt.php, 2006). However, another vital concept of validity in empirical research still needs to be looked at (Gjesdahl, 2008). Validity concerns the degree to which the design and operationalization of the method provide relevant insight into the overall area of the study, and whether one really addresses the topical issues (Nunan & Beiley, 2009, p 63-67). Below is more detailed description of the method, addressing the concern of validity.

3.2 Data analyzing methods

3.2.1 Qualitative method

Both quantitative and qualitative approaches can be applied for empirical research. In quantitative research, the aim is to: 'classify features, count them and even construct complex statistical models in an attempt to explain what is observed' (McEnery & Wilson, 1996, p 76). The results from quantitative research can be compared to others in the same manner as all scientific investigations that are based on data samples (McEnery & Wilson, 1996, p 75). Therefore, with such a method it is possible to obtain statistically significant results and to draw broad conclusions.

Instead of emphasizing classification and counting, in qualitative research, the data are used only as a basis for identifying and describing aspects of usage in the language and to provide "real-life" examples of particular phenomena (McEnery &Wilson, 1996, p 76). Also, McEnery and Wilson state that: 'qualitative forms of analysis offer a rich and detailed perspective on the data' (1996, p 76). The aim of this study is to look at news articles in detail, and to inquire into coverage of a specific event rather than to make general claims based on frequencies and classifications, so, a qualitative approach seems more suited to the purpose of this research.

This study attempts to examine the relationship between the linguistic structure applied in representation of reality and its social meaning. The methodology adopted in the study is designed to reveal the social values by investigating the linguistic patterns used in the texts. More details will be shown in the section below.

3.2.2 Critical analysis methods

In order to discover the social meaning embedded in the use of language, the critical methods adopted for the current study are largely based on Halliday's functional grammar (1994) to analyze the linguistic structures classified as ideational function, including lexical structure, transitivity, transformation, and interpersonal function, including evaluation. Since these frameworks have been detailed in chapter two, they will be succinctly summarized in the tables below, as a reminder to readers of the frameworks from which analysis results are drawn, before they are shown in the next chapter.

3.2.2.1 Ideational elements

3.2.2.1.1 Lexical structure

Name of the framework listed in chapter two	Linguistic structure	Social function	What is needed to be paid attention by critical analysts	Examples and explanation
Lexical structure (Halliday, 1949; Fowler 1991)	Vocabulary	Categorizing (categorizing the type of writing or speech and making detailed classification within concepts)	What terms occur frequently in the writing and speech they are studying	The first sentence of the news article is quoted, and relevant lexical terms are italicized, and then followed by a short list of words which joins the group: The Morning star sends *May Day* greeting to *working people* thought the world. This is the 100th anniversary of *May Day* as a *labor movement* festival. *…..a world social system….the working class….working people….imperialism….developed capitalist countries….trade unions….the struggle….class struggle….socialism….capitalism's problems….* Explanation: Type of writing: political related to the Marxist theory Detailed classification: the vocabulary clearly divides political

					organizations into two groups, 'socialism' on the one hand and 'imperialism/capitalism' on the other and suggests a 'struggle' between them.

3.2.2.1.2 Transitivity

Name of the framework listed in chapter two	Linguistic structure	Social function	What is needed to be paid attention by critical analysts	Examples	
Transitivity (Halliday, 1994)	Different types of process	Representing propositional content	How different types of process are used for expressing similar views	Process type	Example (Process +participants underlines; Process in bold; Circumstances in italics)
				material	*During the European scramble for Africa*, <u>Nigeria</u> **fell** *to the British*.
				behavioral	<u>People are **laughing**</u>.
				mental	<u>The Ibos **did not approve of** kings</u>.
				verbal	**Can** <u>you</u> **tell us**

				about the political and cultural make-up of Nigeria?
			relational	Every fourth African **is** a Nigerian.
			existential	*Today* there'**s** Christianity *in the south*.

3.2.2.1.3 Transformation

Name of the framework listed in the chapter two	Linguistic structure	Social function	What is needed to be paid attention by critical analysts	Examples and explanation
Transformation (Fowler et al, 1979; Fowler 1991)	Syntactic variation or alternative linguistic variants Including: Passive and	Different social values associated with different variants	What type of variants are chosen	Passive transformation: Have you emptied the garbage? ==> Has the garbage been emptied? Explanation: The active version focuses on the agent, implying clear responsibility while the passive construction, redirects

	nominal			readers' attention to the affected entity, and also allows agents to be deleted, leaving responsibility unspecified. Nominalization Nominalization means that nouns are derived from verbs or adjectives. For instance: 'development' is derived from develop; 'allegation' is derived from the full clause: 'X has alleged against Y that Y did A and that Y did B (etc.)' Explanation: Nominalization allows syntactic elision of information, such as the responsibility and agency, which may be ideologically significant.

3.3.2.2 Interpersonal elements: evaluation

Name of the framework listed in the chapter two	Linguistic structure	Social function	What is needed to be paid attention by critical analysts	Examples

| Evaluation (Fairclough, 2003) | Linguistic devices used by authors to commit themselves to values | To show what is desirable or undesirable communicated in the proposition | Linguistic devices used to suggest authors' attitude | — Evaluative statement For instance: 'This novel is a very good book.' In such sentence, the evaluation element could be an adjective (such as good), or a noun phrase (like a good book). — Statement with deontic modality or affective mental processes For example: 'The values we believe in should shine through what we do in Afghanistan.' The author implies that acting on the basis of values is desirable, a good thing to do. — Assumed values For example: *helps* in the sentence: this book helps to…. whatever come after 'helps to' seems to be positive evaluation, for instance, raise the awareness of environmental issues. |

3.2.3 Critical analysis and 'objectivity'

Critical linguistics is adopted in this study to study linguistic structure in texts (any actual instance of language in use, including written and spoken texts, such as newspaper articles or transcripts of conversations) to determine its social meaning (Fairclough, 2003). According to Fairclough, such analysis of texts belongs to social science. In *Analysing Discourse*, he makes a distinction between the 'potential' and the 'actual' — what is possible of the nature of social structures and practices, from

the 'empirical' — what we know about reality. He explains that reality (the potential, the actual) cannot be reduced to our knowledge of reality, which is contingent, shifting and partial. Then, he continues to point out that "this applies also to texts: we should not assume that the reality of texts is exhausted by our knowledge about texts" (Fairclough, 2003. p 14). What this means is that people should not assume that analysis of a text can tell them all there is to be said about it — there is no such thing as a complete and definitive analysis of a text. However, that does not mean what is not known now could never be known, because even though people's knowledge of social science is inevitably partial at the moment, it is still increasing, expanding to areas which were unknown before, therefore, enhancing people's ability in textual analysis.

Textual analysis is also selective: in any analysis, researchers choose to ask certain questions about social events and texts, but leave out other possible questions. For example, the current researcher focuses in her study on two research questions relating to the linguistic structure and social meaning, and carrying out her analysis qualitatively based on the frameworks of ideational and interpersonal elements. She may have very good reasons for such focus. The general point is that there are always particular motivations for choosing to ask certain questions about texts but not others. The current researcher's motivation for asking these questions is to explore social function of linguistic forms and encourage audiences to look for not only what structures are employed in texts but why they are selected.

Some readers may be concerned about the 'objectivity' of an approach to text analysis based upon certain motivation. Fairclough does not see this as a problem. There is no such thing as an 'objective' analysis of a text, if it means an analysis which simply describes what is 'there' in the text without being 'biased' by the 'subjectivity' of the analyst. As he has already indicated, people's ability to know what is 'there' is inevitably limited and partial. And the questions they ask necessarily arise from particular motivations. As mentioned before, analysis of text is a part of social science. Social science is motivated by the aim of providing a scientific basis for a critical questioning of social life. The current study seeks to investigate social meaning encoded in linguistic structure. Other studies may explore the social life from the perspective of power relations and justice (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999;

Morrow, 1994). None of these approaches could be 'objective' since they are all based on particular interests and perspectives, but that does not prevent any of them being good studies for social science. Nor does it mean that they are perfect: social research may have outcomes which are far from those expected.

Moreover, social science has different categories for analyzing texts and social events. For example, Halliday's functional grammar system categories linguistic structures of clauses based on their social functions instead of how they connect words into sentences as traditionally explained. Social scientific analysis of texts applies specific categories which are different from those which people are usually taught in the conventional classroom or that they use in daily life in describing social phenomena. These social scientific categories are set up to allow particular texts to be seen through certain theories, therefore, certain outcomes can be found. However, if people assume that their knowledge of social science is partial and incomplete as mentioned above, and if they assume that they will continue to extend and improve such knowledge then they will have to accept that their equipment for analysis, such as categories or theories, are provisional and open to change.

CHAPTER 4
ANALYZING RESULTS

In this chapter, the examination of results from both ideational elements of lexical structure, transitivity, transformation, and interpersonal elements of evaluation in the news articles from *The New York Times* and *China Daily* will be revealed.

4.1 Analyzing results from ideational elements

4.1.1 Analyzing results from Lexical structure

In the previous literature review section, it was shown that the choice of words is not arbitrary but serves the social function of categorizing. The vocabulary chosen by writers or speakers reflects how they represent social events from certain points of view.

In describing the Syrian war, the terms used in *The New York Times* (NYT) include the following.

First, 'Syrian authorities' and 'Syrian leadership' are used to classify the side of the government. In addition, phrases like 'Syrian regime' are also employed in the reporting. The word 'regime' is found in the study of Bang (2003), to be more than often used with government by dictatorship, such as Stalin's regime, North Korean regime and Nazi regime. Together with phrases like 'security forces' and 'troops', NYT describes to its readers the negative image of a dictatorial ruling party which is ready to deploy military forces to quell dissent.

Second, words, such as 'protesters', 'demonstrators', 'dissidents' and 'civilians who demand democratic changes', are adopted to categorize the side of people who oppose the Syrian authority. In selecting such phrases, NYT not only does not show any negative attitude to the anti-government side but helps to justify what they are fighting for.

Third, words like 'uprising', 'struggle', but not 'unrest', or 'disorder' are employed to portray the conflict between the two sides. These words also help to emphasize the dimension of inequality (Fang, 2001). When used to describe actions of

those who are active in a conflict (e.g. demonstration), these words help to encourage readers sympathize with the demonstrators. Juxtaposed with phrases like 'brutal crackdown against protesters' and 'violence against his own people', NYT sends a clear message to its readers to condemn the brutality of the authorities and to support the actions taken by the protesters.

In describing the Syrian conflict, *China Daily* (CD), on the other hand, depicts a different image with the following vocabulary.

'Syrian regime' is only be used in the quotations of Turkish leaders, who will impose sanctions on Syria. Generally, formal words such as 'Syrian authorities' and 'Syrian President Bashar Assad' are adopted, paying respect to the legitimacy of the government. Moreover, words like 'government forces' are not selected, thus, leading to a lack of a negative image caused by cracking-down on opponents.

Even though labels such as 'anti-government protestors' are adopted to describe people who are against the government, CD stays short of illustrating the reason behind their fighting as NYT does. In contrast, it provides more details of Syrian authorities' version of those they allege are trying to stir the stability of the nation, such as 'foreign conspirators' and 'armed groups' with the intention of 'dividing the country' and the havoc that they wreaked as they — 'intimidated people and damaged public and private properties'.

In such way, it would come as no surprise that 'unrest' is used to depict the conflict between the two sides. Such words tend to justify the Syrian government's response to those opposing it as necessary actions to restore order in the country rather than a relentless crackdown on the revolutionaries as depicted in the NYT.

4.1.2 Analyzing results from transitivity and transformation

As illustrated in the literature review, different linguistic structures help to serve different social functions. Or in other terms, distinct social meaning or values can be realized through various linguistic patterns, such as, varied process types in the transitivity system or syntactic variants in transformation. The different selection of linguistic structures in representing events or situations in a given social context reflects the language users' different views.

In this section, the researcher mainly focuses on the transitivity system to examine how the Syrian war is represented in the news articles of *The New York Times* and *China Daily* by investigating relational and actional processes. While relationals set up a relation between two entities or between an entity and a quality, signifying the acts of classification and judgment, actionals represent the relationships perceived in the physical world and in the world of thought and perception, signifying events and situations (Li, 2011). Actionals, thus, include processes of doing, sensing, and saying, corresponding respectively to material, mental, and verbal processes. The reason for studying the relational and actional processes is to understand how the events and participants are defined, classified and judged as well as 'who does what to whom' relationship (which is also a major concern in news representation). Moreover, the transitivity analysis above will be laced with the investigation of passive construction and nominalization, two types of transformation, to further reveal what variant propositions or points of view are conveyed by the news writers.

There are two different types of relational processes: identifying relationals and attributive relationals. In the identifying relationals, the identified and the identifier are used to identify each other. Such processes allow us to see how each newspaper establishes particular relationships between various categories involved in the conflict, especially between the participants and their activities and goals. Even though they have different forms from identifying relationals, attributive relationals could serve a similar role as shown below.

Table 4.1 and table 4.2 list some examples of identifying and attributive relationals used in *The New York Times* coverage of the fighting.

Table 4.1 Identifying relationals in *The New York Times* articles

No.	Participants	Process	Participants
1	The goal (of protesters)	was	freedom for all Syrians and an end to authoritarian rule
2	For weeks, Fridays	have been	the bloodiest days in the 10-week uprising against the rule of president Bashar al-Assad
3	Mr. Assad's initial promises of concessions and reform	were	nothing more than a bid to gain time for him to impose a crackdown on protesters
4	The locales (local demonstrations)	represent	the breadth of the country
5	It (that at least 67 people died)	was	the third highest number of casualties on a single day (Friday) since the uprising began
6	The latest measures (sanctions imposed by Turkey)	are	part of a developing international effort to strangle Syria's economy and severely diminish the power of the government
7	The measures (imposed by Turkey)	would include	an extensive ban on military sales to Damascus and a blockage of weapons deliveries from third countries at Turkey's land and sea borders with Syria
8	The European Union and the United States	were	the first to impose penalties
9	Europe	is	Syria's biggest overall trading partner

| 10 | Turkey and Arab states | make up | four of its next five biggest (trading partners) |

Table 4.2 Attributive relationals in *The New York Times* articles

No.	Carrier	Process	Attribute
1	The ruling party	is not being	successful in its attempt to block the protests or the demands for democratic change in the country
2	The regime	is	in a very narrow corner
3	Also on the list (of a travel ban imposed by the Arab League)	are	Rami Makhlouf, a millionaire cousin of President Bashar al-Assad, who has controlled mobile phone network; Mr. Assad's younger brother Mather, who heads the elite Fourth Division and the Republican Guard; and members of the state security service, including Maj. Gen. Assef Shawkat, the deputy chief of staff for security affairs, who is married to the president's sister
4	Their (Assad and his circle's) actions	are	unacceptable and will not be tolerated
5	Moves by both the League and Turkey	have left	it (Syria) as isolated as at any time
6	The army (of the Syrian government)	has	the upper hand

7	They (the government troops)	have	the tanks, the heavy machine guns, the warplanes

As table 4.1 shows, the goals of protesters, are described, positively, as legitimate aims — freedom for all Syrians and an end to authoritarian rule in clause 1, while the intention of the Syrian authorities is depicted, negatively, as vicious, in clause 3 (Mr. Assad's initial promises of concessions and reform were nothing more than a bid to gain time for him to impose a crackdown on protesters). Then, from the prospects of activities, those of protesters, shown as the scale of the anti-government movement, as in clause 4 (the locales (local demonstrations) represent the breadth of the country), suggesting people across the country oppose the ruling party, reinforcing the negative image of the government. Such a scene is even more strengthened by the activities of the Arab and Western countries imposing sanctions against the Syrian regime, as in clauses 6 and 7 (the latest measures (sanctions imposed by Turkey) are part of a developing international effort to strangle Syria's economic and severely diminish the power of the government; the measures (imposed by Turkey) would include an extensive ban on military sales to Damascus and a blockage of weapon deliveries from third countries at Turkey's land and sea borders with Syria).

In a similar way, in table 4.2 , in terms of participants, the side of the government is also illustrated negatively, first, as not successful in blocking justified calls for democratic change, as in clause 1 (the ruling party is not being successful in its attempt to block the protesters or the demands for democratic change in the country), second, as few people but occupying important positions within the government, exemplifying the implication of "authoritarian rule" mentioned earlier, as in clause 4 (also on the list are Rami Makhlouf, a millionaire cousin of President Bashar al-Assad who has controlled the mobile phone network; Mr. Assad's younger brother Mather, who heads the elite Fourth Division and the Republican Guard; and members of the state security service, including Maj. Gen. Assef Shawkat, the deputy chief of staff for security affairs, who is married to the president's sister), and third, as the repressing killing machines, in clauses 6 and 7 (the army (of the government) has the upper hand; they (government troops) have the tanks, the heavy machine guns, the

warplanes), suggesting they are responsible for the casualties of the uprising (shown in the identifying relational clause 5 (it (that at least 67 people died) was the third highest number of casualties on a single day (Friday) since the uprising began). So, when it comes to describing activities from the authorities side, they seem certainly to be associated with negative phrases as unacceptable and not be tolerated, in clause 5 (their (Assad and his circle) actions are unacceptable and will not be tolerated).

From the above relational analysis, *The New York Times* articles clearly show a scenario of negative 'them' and positive 'us': while demonizing the government side as the cause of the conflict due to its authoritarian ruling, and also as the brutal implementer of the demonstration crackdowns, it justifies the purpose of the protest and further illustrates the victim status of demonstrators.

In contrast to the description from *The New York Times*, *China Daily* portraits a totally different picture of Syrian conflict illustrated as follows.
Table 4.3 and table 4.4 contain some examples of identifying and attribute relationals employed in the *China Daily* coverage of the Syrian war.

Table 4.3 Identifying relationals used in *China Daily* articles

No.	Identifying	Process	Identified
1	The shift in language to a vaguer threat of "further measures" (in a communiqué issued after G8 summit)	may reflect	reluctance from Russia, which has a veto in the Security Council

Table 4.4 Attribute relationals used in *China Daily* articles

No.	Carriers	Process	Attribute
1	Syrian President Bashar Assad	is	confident that Syria will undermine "this new chapter of conspiracy"
2	Syria	has	its own characteristics that are immune to all conspiracies and

			conspirators
3	Syrians	would remain	free in their national decision and masters in their international relations
4	China	is	ready to act in accordance with the above principled stance (not to use force and other actions violating the UN Charter to solve the Syrian issue), and engage in active and constructive way in consultations and work with all the parties concerned to promote the proper settlement of the Syrian issue through political dialogue

From table 4.3, the activities from the international community do not suggest a negative image of the Syrian authority by opposing it through sanctions as NYT depicts. Instead, they are described as reluctant to take actions against Damascus, as in clause 1 (the shift of language to a vaguer threat of "further measures" may reflect reluctance from Russia, which has a veto in the Security Council), helping to form much less negative portrait of Syrian government.

Such a view is even more explicitly developed in the attribute relationals in table 4.4. For the participants, president Assad is related to the positive terms like confident in leading his country to defeat conspirators and overcome conspiracies in clauses 1 and 2 (Syrian president Bashar Assad is confident that Syria will undermine "this new chapter of conspiracy"; Syria has its own characteristics that are immune to all conspiracies and conspirators). Syrian people are also associated with positive phrases such as free within their country and good relations with other nations, in clause 3 (Syrians would remain free in their national decisions and masters in their international relations). Such description helps to bolster the positive image of the

Syrian government, ruling its country with freedom and pluralism, while maintaining good relations abroad. This positive picture once again is propped up by the intention from foreign countries such as China, insisting on non-interference and a non-sanction policy, in clause 4 (China is ready to act in accordance with the above principled stance), lending its support to the legitimate authority of the Syrian government to continue on its right course to rule and maintain stability within its country.

The relationals adopted in *China Daily* above help to forge entirely different images from those in *The New York Times*. The Syrian government is described as employing legitimate institutions to rule its country, joined by its people to conquer their shared enemy — conspirators, also supported by the international community, like China, by paying respect to its sovereignty and by not interfering its internal affairs.

While the relational processes used in the two newspapers construct different versions of the 'reality' and reflect the stances of the different sides of the international community that the governments to which each newspaper belongs on the Syrian issue, such images are also powerfully constructed through the actional processes used in the two newspapers. Tables 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7 list some actional processes used in *The New York Times* representation of the events.
Tables 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7 list some examples of material, verbal and mental processes used in *The New York Times* coverage of the Syrian conflict

Table 4.5 Material processes in *The New York Times* articles

No.	Participants	Process	Participants
1	Government forces	killed	more demonstrators
2	Mourners through the country	buried	the dozens of unarmed protesters
3	(The government)	has offered	words of compromise
4	It (the government)	has unleashed	lethal force
5	(The protesters)	had erupted	in angry demonstrations
6	After violence yesterday (the peaceful) protesters	brought	weapons

No.	Participants	Process	Participants
7	The police security forces	arrested	a group of young people for scrawling antigovernment graffiti
8	Security forces	have killed, wounded, and beaten	demonstrators
9	Syrian officials	have banned	most foreign journalists from operating in the country
10	A group of senators	introduced	legislation that would impose even stronger economic sanctions against Syria
11	Italy	withdrew	its ambassador to Syria
12	The administration	has been scrambling	for ways to demonstrate support for the protesters
13	An armed opposition	is battling	security forces
14	Armed men	often protect	the perimeter of protests
15	Some of them (armed men)	have carried out	the assassination of (government) informers
16	Turkey	took	steps to freeze the Syrian government's financial assets
17	Mr. Obama	has steadily intensified	criticism – only to watch Syrian security forces respond to protesters with more and more force
18	The Arab League	imposed	broad trade sanctions (against Syria)
19	European sanctions	harmed	Syria's oil industry
20	Several soldiers	were killed	in an attack on their military vehicles
21	The attack	came	as security forces were

No.	Participants	Process	Participants
			rounding up opposition activists
22	The Syrian government	has shown	no willingness to abide by its neighbors' demands
23	Mr. Assad	continues	to ignore the Arab League's calls for peace and political reforms
24	Some of the world's top diplomats	converged	on the United Nations to try to press President Bashar al-Assad to leave office through a Security Council resolution
25	Russia	stoutly opposes	a proposal that calls for Mr. Assad to cede power
26	Russia and China	vetoed	a resolution
27	That prediction (from Susan E. Rice, the American ambassador to the UN)	is already happening	in Syria
28	The West	is holding out	hope that a briefing from Arab League leaders to the Council will soften the opposition to the resolution
29	The diplomats	struggled	to find consensus

Table 4.6 Verbal processes in *The New York Times* articles

No.	Participants	Process	Participants
1	Witnesses	said	government forces opened fire with live rounds
2	The official government news service	denied	the authorities' culpability in news reports blaming criminal

			gangs
3	A government spokeswoman Buthaina Shaaban	denied	to BBC Arabic that government force had opened fire on protesters, blaming instead of foreigners and an armed group of villagers
4	Mr. Qurabi, the chairman of the human rights group	said	that more than two dozen protesters were killed Friday
5	Mr. Qurabi	blamed	live ammunition for those deaths on Friday
6	One young man	said	he had been detained by the police for three days after talking to the news media
7	A driver	said	"They (the armed men) protect us."
8	Turkey, once one of Syria's closest allies,	has called on	it to institute reforms
9	Group of 8 leaders	called on	Mr. Assad to immediately halt the use of force and intimidation against the protesters
10	The leaders (of G8)	discussed	the conflict in Syria
11	Activists	say	their very resilience has demonstrated that the government's ferocious crackdown will not succeed in quelling the dissent
12	One protester in Medan	said	"We will keep our demonstrations until we get our rights."
13	The protester in Medan	(also) said	"We want freedom and

			democracy. No dialogue with Assad's regime. He should leave or change completely his regime."
14	The Local Coordination Committee for Syria	said	that the government cut Internet service in the suburbs of Damascus and other cities
15	The administration	was discussing	additional sanctions (against Syria) with Europeans
16	(The) administration officials	vowed	tougher measures
17	The United Nations Security Council	discussed	the violence (in Syria)
18	A 21-year-old engineering student	said	"We are done with the protesting phase."
19	Rajab, a 65-year-old resident of Homs	said	"He (the government informer) was killed because he deserved it."
20	Abu Ghali (an activist)	said	"You can do anything with money (to bribe a government officer to get all you want)."
21	A student	posted	on Facebook. "May you (Mohamed Ali Akil, killed for supporting the uprising) rest in peace. We won't forget you."
22	Susan, E. Rice, the American ambassador (to the UN)	said	the risk (of failing to pass the UN resolution) is "more violence…."
23	An activist	said	"They (government forces) are shelling the street randomly."
24	The Syrian National	rejected	the proposal (from Russia to

	Council		have talks with the Syrian government)
25	Haythan Manna, a prominent dissident	said	"sitting at the table of dialogue means going backwards"

Table 4.7 Mental processes in *The New York Times* articles

No.	Participants	Process	Participants
1	The protesters	want	"freedom and their rights; they were making demands from the government for things to get better and for an end to the state of emergency."
2	They (European, American and Turkish officials)	believed	Syria's economic troubles could prove the undoing of Mr. Assad

In the actionals (including material, verbal, and mental processes) in *The New York Times*, the participants frequently occupy the subject positions largely come from three groups: the Syrian government, Syrian people, and the Arab and Western countries.

The Syrian authorities, are mainly described as, first, the culprit for the brutal killings, as in the material processes clauses 1 and 8 (government force killed more demonstrators; security forces killed, wounded, and beat demonstrators), second, the denier for such massacres, as in the verbal processes clause 3 (a government spokeswoman Buthaian Shaaban denied to BBC Arabic that government force had opened fire on protesters, blaming instead foreigners and an armed group of villagers), third, outrageous violator of free expression and news reporting, as in the material processes clauses 7 and 9 (the police arrested a group of young people for scrawling antigovernment graffiti; Syrian officials have banned most foreign journalists from operating in the country), fourth, the impudent defiance to the calls for political reforms, as in the material processes clauses 22 and 23 (the Syrian government has shown no willingness to abide by its neighbors' demands; Mr. Assad

continues to ignore the Arab League's calls for peace and political reform). One more scenario which is interesting to note is that even as Syrian authorities act like a killing machine to quell dissent, they undergo casualties as well. However, such casualties described in NYT seems to be more likely triggered by their own behavior rather than ignited by the opposition, as in the material processes clauses 20 and 21 (seven soldiers were killed in an attack on their military vehicles; the attack came as security forces were rounding up the opposition activists).

While the Syrian government is placed as the propositional subject acting like a quelling force causing death, demonstrators are largely displayed in the object position, suggesting their victim status, away from the responsibility of the loss of innocent lives.

For the Syrian people, they help to provide further evidence to confirm the brutal crackdown. When they are deployed in the subject plots, they serve, first, as the witnesses to the repression, as in the verbal processes clauses 1, 4, and, 5 (witnesses said government forces opened fire with live rounds; Mr. Qurabi, the chairman of the human right group, said that more than two dozen protesters were killed Friday; Mr. Qurabi blamed live ammunition for all those deaths on Friday), second, as the first-hand evidence for the barred free expression and information exchange, as in the verbal processes clauses 6 and 14 (one young man said he had been detained by the police for three days after talking to the news media; the Local Coordination Committee for Syria said that the government cut Internet service in the suburbs of Damascus and other cities). In addition to serving as witnesses, Syrian residents also are depicted as people with distinct attitudes to express their hatred and sympathy to the lives lost in the conflict from different sides, while celebrating the death of government informers, they mourn the loss of people who oppose the authority, as in the verbal processes clauses 19 and 21 (Rajab, a 65-year-old resident of Homs said "he (the government informer) was killed because he deserved it."; a student posted on Facebook, "May you (Mohamed Ali Akil killed for supporting the uprising) rest in peace. We won't forget you.")

Although largely posted as the victims of the conflict, the demonstrators are also placed even less frequently as the subjects of clauses as a resistant force not only to set out their demands, but to declare how they are going to attain that goal, as in the

verbal processes clause 13 and material processes clauses 6 and 13 (the protester in Medan said "We want freedom and democracy. No dialogue with Assad's regime. He should leave or change completely his regime"; after the violence (against the demonstrators) yesterday, protesters brought weapons; an armed opposition is battling security forces).

In the international community, the Arab and Western countries are the ones occupying frequently the subject slots in all three processes (material, verbal, and mental). They condemn the regime, impose sanctions, and discuss the issue at the UN assembly, etc, suggesting their active role in attempts to solve the crisis, and also to endorse their support for demonstrators, lending more legitimacy to their democratic demands, as in the verbal processes clauses 16, 17 and material processes clauses 17, 18 , 11, and 24 (Mr. Obama steadily intensified his criticism — only to watch Syrian security forces respond to protesters with more and more force; the administration officials vowed tougher measures, the United Nations Security Council discussed the violence (in Syria); the Arab League imposed broad trade sanctions; Italy withdrew its ambassador to Syria; some of the world's top diplomats converged at the United Nations to try to press President Basher al-Assad to leave office through a Security Council resolution). While they struggle to support the demonstrators, they have impassable difficulties to find consensus to pass the resolution largely due to the opposition from Russia and China, as shown in the material processes clauses 29, 25, and 26 (the diplomats struggled to find consensus; Russia stoutly opposed a proposal that calls for Mr. Assad to cede power; Russia and China vetoed a resolution).

It is interesting to notice that the actions that the Arab and Western countries performed to show their endorsement to protesters more remained within in the stage of saying or thinking less than that of doing: they criticized the regime, vowed tougher measures, converged and discussed the issue at UN, but in the physical world or in the martial processes, the strongest verbs they are able to put into action is to 'impose' (sanctions) rather than to 'place' higher pressure on Syrian government or even to 'press' President Assad to leave office through the UN resolution. So, the more saying than doing verbs in actionals hint they have less leverage to wield to solve the Syrian crisis without broader international support.

Therefore, in *The New York Times,* Syrian authorities are depicted as the perpetrators of ferocious repression, while demonstrators as the victims of such crime, away from being the cause for deaths of innocent civilians, and the Arab and Western countries are described as attempted supporters of the demonstrators to solve the conflict. Such images run a far cry from those forged in the *China Daily*, which will be detailed as follows.

Tables 4.8, 4.9, and 4.10 list some examples of material, verbal and mental processes used in *China Daily* coverage of the Syria conflict

Table 4.8 Material processes in *China Daily* articles

No.	Participants	Process	Participants
1	Assad	has been facing	the biggest challenge to his 11-year rule after two weeks of anti-government protests
2	Parliamentarians (in Syria)	held	a minute of silence to honor those killed in two weeks of unrest
3	The leaders of the seven Western powers plus Russia	refrained	from an explicit proposal to act against Damascus in the UN Security Council
4	(Russia)	has generally taken	a softer line than Western states against Arab leaders
5	China and Russia	vetoed	a draft resolution condemning the Syrian authorities
6	The Arab league	approved	economic sanctions on Syria
7	Arab states and Western countries	are pushing for	the adoption of their joint draft resolution at the Security Council to demand what they called "political transition" in Syria

Table 4.9 Verbal processes in *China Daily* articles

No.	Participants	Process	Participants
1	President Bashar al-Assad	would announce	important decisions that will "please the Syrian people"
2	The Group of Eight leaders	said	they were "appalled" at the killing of peaceful protesters by Syrian authorities
3	The leaders (of G8)	said	(in the communiqué) "we call on the Syrian leadership to respond to their (Syrian people's) legitimate demands for freedom of expression and universal rights and aspirations"
4	Syrian President Bashar Assad	said	("this new chapter of conspiracy") aims at "dividing the country…."
5	He (President Assad)	said	"we will let war-makers and blood traders suffer the bitterness of defeat, disappointment and frustration"
6	He (President Assad)	pledged	to go on with the process of an overall reform
7	The Syrian authorities	blamed	the unrest on "armed groups and foreign conspiracy"
8	China	called for	restraint in Syria
9	China	urged	the international community to comply with the UN Charter and not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Middle

			East country
10	He (Li, the Chinese permanent representative to the UN)	added	that "whether the Security Council will take further action on the question of Syria should depend on whether it helps the defusing of differences through political dialogue
11	Turkey's Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu	announces	a series of sanctions (against Syria)
12	China	voiced	its firm opposition to the use of force to resolve the Syrian issue, the practice to forcefully push for the "regime change" and other actions which violate the purpose and principles of the UN Charter and basic norms guiding the international relations
13	Li (the Chinese permanent representative to the UN)	said	"China has all along taken a cautious approach to sanctions, which often lead to further complication of the situation"
14	Li (the Chinese permanent representative to the UN)	(also) said	China supports a draft resolution proposed by Russia
15	A Russia-drafted text	called on	all the parties in Syria to put an end to violence
16	The leaders (of G8)	also said	(in the communiqué) "we are convinced that only by implementing meaningful reforms will a democratic Syria be able to play a positive role in the region"

Table 4.10 Mental processes in *China Daily* articles

No.	Participants	Process	Participants
1	The (Syrian) authorities	had decided	to end the state of emergency
2	The Group of Eight leaders	demanded	an immediate end to the use of force

In actional processes from *China Daily*, the participants frequently take possession of subjects who largely come from two groups: Syrian authorities and the international community mainly represented by China.

For the government side, it is described not only as a force to battle the armed gangs to sustain the Syria's stability, but also as a planner to lead the country to a brighter future through holistic reforms, as shown in the verbal processes clauses 7, 5, and 6 (the Syrian authorities blamed the unrest on " armed groups and foreign conspiracy"; he (president Assad) said "we will let war-makers and blood traders suffer the bitterness of defeat, disappointment, and frustration"; he (President Assad) pledged to go on with process of an overall reform).

What forms a stark contrast to the representation of Syrian conflict in *The New York Times* is that Syrian people and anti-government groups are dismissed from any subject positions and only a few appear in the objects (with more details below). The lack of voices from the opposing side in *China Daily* leaves its readers to judge what happens in Syria from the one side that they have heard; a practice which can only help to more easily justify the government version of the story.

For the international community, China occupies most of the subject locations. Even though the Arab and Western countries are less regularly posted as subjects, they are assigned with different roles from those of China.

Firstly, there are fewer foreign countries listed as imposing sanctions on Syria than those illustrated in *The New York Times*, such as Turkey and the Arab League, as in the verbal processes clause 11 and material processes clause 6 (Turkey's Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu announces a series of sanctions; the Arab League approved economic sanctions on Syria). However, these countries' activities only provide a base for China to dispute and explain why it did not do the same, as in the verbal processes clause 13 (Li (the Chinese permanent representative to the UN) said

"China has all along taken a cautious approach to sanctions, which often lead to further complication of the situation").

Secondly, the Arab League and Western countries attempt to address the Syrian issue through a UN resolution. But their efforts seem merely offer the opportunity for China to invoke the UN Charter to rebut and further vindicate its non-interference policy, as in the material process clause 6 and verbal processes clause 12, 9 (Arab states and Western countries are pushing for the adoption of their joint draft resolution at the Security Council to demand what they called "political transition" in Syria; China voiced its firm opposition to the use of force to resolve the Syrian issue, the practice to forcefully push for "regime change" and other actions which violate the purpose and principles of the UN Charter and the basic norms guiding the international relations; China urged the international community to comply with the UN Charter and not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Middle East country).

Furthermore, the support from the international community for the anti-government demonstration has been undermined either by the lack of representation from demonstrators and Syrian people, or by its obscured action.

Even though Syrian people are not represented in the subject posts, their demands have been heard through the communiqué from G8 leaders, as in the verbal processes clause 3 (the leaders (of G8) said (in the communiqué) "we call on the Syrian leadership to respond to their (Syrian people's) demands for freedom of expression and universal rights and aspirations"). While this also shows their support for the rightful demands, such advocating lacks the power of directness from the voice of Syrian people themselves.

Also, the G8 leaders strongly criticize the Syrian regime for killing peaceful demonstrators, but again such condemnation has been eroded not only by the absence of accounts from the Syrian people as eye witnesses, but also by what has been described as their refraining from an explicit proposal to take actions against Damascus, as in the verbal processes clause 2, mental processes clause 2, and material processes clause 3 (the Group of Eight leaders said they were "appalled" at the killing of peaceful protesters by Syrian authorities; the Group of Eight leaders demanded an immediate end to the use of force; the leaders of the seven Western powers plus Russia refrained from an explicit proposal to act against Damascus).

Even though the reason, another piece of information, missed out from the news article, behind the refraining seems more likely due to the blockage of Russia rather than the willingness from the seven Western powers, as shown in the material processes clauses 4 and 5 ((Russia) has generally taken a softer line than Western states against Arab leaders; China and Russia vetoed a draft resolution condemning the Syrian authorities).

Thus, in a sharp contrast to the representation from *The New York Times*, Syrian authorities in *China Daily* are considered to be the legitimate government not only to protect the country from the havoc wreaked by terrorists but also to lead it to a promising future, fully buttressed by the international community highlighted by China with its non-sanction, non-interference policy.

In the following section, the issue of transformation will be addressed. In chapter two of the literature review, two types of transformation (passivization and nominalization) were introduced as two areas under examination to decipher the embedded social meaning. In the coming section, these two types of transformation will be investigated largely from the Syrian war representation in *China Daily* which shows more evident results from those in *The New York Times*.

Starting with the first category — passivization, according to Fowler et al (1979) and Van Dijk (1985), news bias can be expressed in syntactic structures of sentences, such as the use of active or passive constructions, which allow the journalist to express or suppress the agent of news acts from the subject position. Indeed, the passive participants do not act upon others (Yaghoohi, 2009). By applying passive construction, the writer puts the actor in a less dominant position and in this manner s/he backgrounds the role of the actor.

In *China Daily*, one of the material processes clause reads: parliamentarians (in Syria) held a minute of silence to honor those killed in two weeks of unrest. One passive construction is "those killed". Such structure obscures who is exactly being killed, and who is the killer. Without knowing who the victim is first, it is even harder to determine who is to blame. If the Syrian government committed the killing as described in *The New York Times*, the passive form adopted in *China Daily* may very well redirect its readers' attention away from the government's responsibility for the

deaths, just indicating that some unknown people died; a strategy that helps to conceal the responsibility of the actor.

The other type of transformation is nominalization, which according to Fowler et al (1979), means that nouns are derived from verbs or adjectives. One ideological feature of nominalization is, as Fowler (1991) further stresses, that it allows so much information to be erased or concealed. Since there is no verb in the process, it is hard to determine who did what to whom. Such a feature, therefore, can not only help to mystify the participants but also their responsibilities.

In *China Daily*'s representation, for example, in the circumstance part of a material processes clause which reads: the security situation in the country has worsened in the past few days, with reports of gangs wreaking havoc in the northern port city of Latakia and sporadic bouts of violence in the southern governorate of Daraa, one nominal can be found is "violence". Such a way of expression conceals information such as: who triggered the violence against whom; who is responsible for the related consequences. Without knowing such information, readers can be more easily guided to focus on what is presented in the clause — gangs wreaking havoc, rather than what is not — government troops using violence against peaceful protesters as described in *The New York Times*. Therefore, the use of nominal "violence" in *China Daily* encourages readers to forge a consensus to the authority's response to the uncertainty within Syria rather than to condemn its brutal crackdown on demonstrators as represented in *The New York Times*.

4.2 Analyzing results from the interpersonal element: evaluation

Evaluation, defined by Fairclough (2003), as statements or ways in which authors commit themselves to certain values by explicitly or implicitly expressing what is right or wrong, good or bad. In the news articles of *The New York Times*, the authors use some explicit evaluation such as adjectives like: unaccountable (from one part of an identifying relational clause: for weeks, Fridays have been the bloodiest days in the 10-week uprising against the rule of President Bashar al-Assad, as security forces, seemingly unaccountable in some parts of the country, have killed, wounded and beaten demonstrators), accelerating and brutal (from one part of a verbal processes clause: the administration plans to expand on sanctions first imposed in

May, officials said, but the legal process for doing that has lagged behind Syria's accelerating violence against protestors, including brutal attacks that began on Sunday in Hama and other cities), clearly shows their disapproval and condemning attitude to the Syrian government.

In addition to the explicit evaluation, what is more intriguing to heed is the implicit one, and in some case both explicit and implicit combined, with which the authors utilize to interpret the context of the Syrian conflict.

First, over the background information within Syria, or more specifically, about the Assad family, with the following phrases or clauses: four decades of rule by the Assad family (from one part of an identifying relational clause: throughout the uprising, the Syrian government has seen the country's religious minorities, the educated middle class and the business elite as the constituencies that are crucial to prolonging the four decades of rule by the Assad family), a four-decade dictatorship (from one part of a material processes clause: but in the targeted killings, the rival security checkpoints and the hardening of sectarian sentiments, the city offers a dark vision that could foretell the future of Syria's uprising as both the government and the opposition ready themselves for a protracted struggle over the endurance of a four-decade dictatorship), Mr. Assad's father, Hafez, seized power four decades ago (from one part of a material processes clause: moves by both the league and Turkey have left it as isolated as at any time since Mr. Assad's father, Hafez, seized power four decades ago), and the leadership killed at least 10,000 people (from one part of a material processes clause: in each place, demonstrators had been killed hours earlier, shot by government forces in the most violent government oppression since 1982, when the leadership killed at least 10,000 people in the northern city of Hama).

Through what seems to provide more background information to audience, the news writers reveal their denouncing disposition to the Assad family, starting from his father, Hafez, who maneuvered his military force to usurp power away from the authority then, made himself the president; this fact suggests an illegitimate procedure to climb up the leadership ladder, followed by monopolistic ruling from the Assad family, with a violent history of killing. No wonder such information would cast the current Syrian President Bashar al-Assad in a highly unfavorable light, reinforcing the unlawful root of his power and bloody oppressing history of the leadership.

Second, besides the background information within Syria, the news reporters also provide more contextual clues about what happened outside Syria — in the Middle East — in the following phrases: crisis …. in Tunisia and Egypt (from a material processes clause: the Syrian crisis has in many ways followed a course similar to those in Tunisia and Egypt, which ended with the resignation of each country's president), movement for change (from a material processes clause: protests have taken place around Syria since the start of the tumultuous movement for change that has shaken the Arab world with peaceful protest and conflicts approaching civil war), protests that have swept the Arab world (from a mental processes clause: Mr. Assad would heed the protests that have swept the Arab world this year).

Such depictions hint the reporters favorable perspective to the change happening in the Middle East with the removing of dictators within countries like, Tunisia and Egypt, also echo their expectation that an analogous outcome could also be seen in Syria; this view is consolidated by the fairly extensive quotations from protesters that authors select in the news articles intimating their view through the voice of the news makers, for instance, "Leave, Bashar, we are free without you" (from a verbal processes clause: in Homs, Syria's third largest city, activists said that several thousand people demonstrated, chanting "Leave, Bashar, we are free without you"), "No dialogue with Assad's regime. He should leave …." (from one part of a verbal processes clause: (one protester said:) "We want freedom and democracy. No dialogue with Assad's regime. He should leave or change completely his regime.").

Third, other additional information outside Syria provided by the authors which also bears evaluation is an appositive structure, together with phrases or/and clauses to describe some allied or adversary nations of Syria such as: Turkey, once one of Syria's closest allies, has called on it to institute reforms (from one part of an identifying relational clause: but it suggested that Syrian officials were aware of the international pressure that had isolated the government; even Turkey, once one of Syria's closest allies, has called on it to institute reforms). It bears a strongly disapproving stance to Syria, the country which is not only isolated by Western countries (as mentioned in the previous section) but by one of its closest neighbors, an ally, and also an important trade partner (as indicated in an attributive relational clause: Syria is heavily reliant on Turkey for trade). Such representation reinforces its

autocratic rule and resistance to democratic change is not accepted by many countries worldwide.

In addition, the appositive is also used for one of Syria's major advocators — Russia, as in: Russia, Mr. Assad's most important ally, says it opposes the plan (from a verbal processes clause: Russia, Mr. Assad's most important ally, says it opposes the plan (an Arab League proposal that calls for Mr. Assad to cede power as part of a transition to democracy) because it forces a change of leadership on a sovereign country), and together with more underpinning information for Russia: Moscow still feels duped into supporting …. (from a mental processes clause: Moscow still feels that it was duped into supporting the United Nations resolution that led to the overthrow of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi in Libya, and is determined to prevent a replay). Such combination casts the suspicion on the reasons underlying Russia's support for Syria, which seems to be more based on the close relationship between the two nations and Russia's unfavorable feeling to regarding a previous event than any solid logic. These statements not only suggest the news writer's disparaging demeanor to Syria's strongest proponent's reasoning credibility, but undermine the abutment that Russia presents to Syria.

In contrast, evaluation employed in *China Daily* (CD) serves disparate roles from those deployed in *The New York Times* (NYT). Also in similar way to provide background information, the authors in CD show a much more consenting outlook to the Syrian authority as in: when the ruling Baath party rose to power almost 50 years ago (from one part of a verbal processes clause: Buthaina Shaaban, a top adviser to Assad, on Sunday said the authorities had decided to end the state of emergency which came into effect when the ruling Baath party rose to power almost 50 years ago). What is described as the Assad family, dictatorially ruling for more than four decades, stained by bloody oppression, in NYT has been turned into one official party, governing a nation beneath what seems to be a systematic, formal political institution. Moreover, 'seize power' in NYT has been replaced by 'rise to power' in CD, suggesting a natural and legal process for any credentialed entities elevated to the nation's top job rather than leveraging force to usurp the leadership.

Apart from the background information wielded in CD which performs completely divergent functions from that in NYT, another feature evaluation evident

in CD is that beyond the extensive quotations dedicated to the Syrian leaders, reflecting the news agency's esteeming air to the authority through the quoted voice, the use of scarce quotation, on the other hand, posits the reporters' diverse view from their sources and also urges their readers to interpret the dispatch critically, as in: they (G8 leaders) were "appalled" at the killing of peaceful protesters by Syrian authorities (from one part of a verbal processes clause: the Group of Eight leaders said on Friday they were "appalled" at the killing of the peaceful protesters by Syrian authorities and demanded an immediate end to the use of force).

The scarce quotation is to separate one's speech into sections and place parts of them under quotation marks (Li, 2009). Bakhtin/Volosinov have discussed the use of such quotes within indirect discourse, and stress that the usage of such quotation not only helps to dissociate authors from what is reported and quoted, but shows their critical and disapproving attitude to the reported speech (Volosinov, 1973). Such a view is clearly further proved by the following paragraph in the news article, starting with "but", a linguistic marker to show the opposite and followed by what CD described as the refraining of G8 leaders from an explicit proposal to act against Damascus (from a verbal processes clause: but in a communiqué to be issued after a two-day G8 summit in France, the leaders of the seven Western powers plus Russia refrained from an explicit proposal, to act against Damascus in the UN Security Council).

Therefore, while the use of evaluation in NYT provides far more than just background knowledge surrounding the Syrian war, but manifests apparently disapproving attitudes to the Syrian regime and its ally, the applying of assessment in CD not only defends the Syrian government from charges of any wrong doing, but questions the genuineness of what appears to be the international opposition to it; or as concluded in the table below.

	Background information described in NYT	Background information described in CD
Within Syria	The origin of the current Presidency has been depicted as illegal and brutal	The origin of the current Presidency has been portrayed as legal and systematic
Outside Syria (a)	What happened outside Syria in the Middle East such as in Tunisia and Egypt hints at news writers favorable attitude to the stepping down of President Bashar Assad	
Outside Syria (b)	Syria's allied and adversarial nations, for instance, even once one of the closest allies of Syria — Turkey — has turned its back on it because it failed to respond to democratic demands	International community, for instance, the use of scarce quotations questions the sincerity of opposition abroad

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the researcher first concludes the current study, then she suggests some other models that future analysts could look at, and also tries to encourage more investigators to engage in critical analysis.

5.1 Summary of the current study

Language can be viewed as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1989). But traditional teaching for language, especially for a foreign one such as English, most often concentrates on the interpretation of literal meaning rather than the connection with social structures. While such training enhances learners' communication skills, it misses out one crucial purpose that language is assigned to — social value behind its linguistic forms. Critical discourse analysis or critical linguistics is designed to decode social meaning embedded in the use of language (Fowler, 1991). Critical analysis insists that all the representation is embedded or moulded with social value. The structure of language serves more than the discriminating grids on nature for people to understand the world but the realization of ideology formed within certain social, economic and political contexts. While the same concept or event can be expressed with varied language forms, such variants can bear distinct ideological significance (Fairclough, 1989). Or in other terms, what seem to be roundabout linguistic structures for representing the same phenomenon not only communicate what sound similar in meaning literally but also realize more profound, diverse values socially.

However, such values are not explicitly illustrated in the written or spoken texts. People without critical analysis skills can remain unconscious of the social values behind overt propositions. During the process of socialization, they may more instinctively choose one linguistic form instead of another rather than recognize the value coded in the use of language. The goals of critical discourse analysis are, in general, to raise the awareness of language users to the social meaning behind all types of discourse, or to interpret linguistic patterns from the deeper level of social perspectives.

While the tools for the present study are an eclectic selection of analyzing models suited for the above purpose, largely, they draw on Halliday's functional linguistics which is based on the premises that language has different functions, and the forms of language respond to the functions of language use (Halliday, 1994, 2004). Among three major functions identified by Halliday, two categories — ideational and interpersonal — have been proved extraordinarily useful and illuminating for critical analysis by previous studies. The reason that they are also employed for this research is not only that they are widely adopted analyzing instruments, but that they feature lexical structure and transitivity, closely associated with vocabulary and grammar — knowledge that students feel familiar with in their traditional learning. In order to encourage more learners, especially Thai collegians, to engage in critical analysis — an under-used discipline in Thailand, the current researcher is striving to bridge what may look to be the unfamiliar field of critical linguistics with an analyzing framework that could lead them to feel less alienated. The investigating material — media texts — one of the most frequently used language sources in students' daily lives was also chosen for its familiarity and accessibility.

Through examining the representation of one social event — the Syrian conflict (which shakes the stability of the Middle East, leads to one of the worst humanitarian crises in history and impacts the relations between powerful nations in the world) — in the US and Chinese media, the researcher finds completely different images and 'reality' forged into the coverage of the same event from different news agencies in these two countries, namely *The New York Times* (NYT) and *China Daily* (CD). While the Syrian government has been depicted as a brutal suppressor cracking down on demonstrators rightfully demanding democracy and freedom in NYT, it has been portrayed as the legitimate authority not only struggling to maintain stability within the country but intending to lead the nation to a brighter future with reform plans in CD.

Given the findings in this study, readers may be prompted to ask why there is such enormous difference in the interpretation of the event, while it is easy to dismiss it as simply the result of different journalistic practices, the qualitative analysis in this study reveals how such distinctions, constructed through various linguistic devices by

divergent official news agencies, runs congruent with the diplomatic policies of the respective governments.

A comparison of more detailed structures utilized by each of the agencies sheds more light on the issue (with US supporting the UN resolution to remove Syrian President Bashar al-Assad from power, opposed by China).

For lexical structures, words collocated with dictatorial government are used to describe Syrian authorities, while vocabulary evoking sympathy for protesters is adopted in depicting the conflict in NYT. On the contrary, not only are formal phrases paying respect to the leadership applied for Syrian authorities, but words helping to justify their reaction to the uncertainty in the country are employed to portray the conflict in CD.

From the angle of transitivity, in NYT, Syrian authorities, when located as propositional subjects, are the actors of all kinds of ferocious crackdowns, suggesting their full responsibility for the deaths of protesters and civilians; when placed in the object positions, they are the receivers of stern condemnation, sanctions from Arab and Western nations and stubborn resilience from demonstrators. The protesters, on the other hand, more frequently as objects, are those been subdued by the government, suggesting their victim status, away from any accountability for the loss of innocent lives. What forges the most striking contrast in CD is that the Syrian government are the major source for most of the quotations in news articles, while the voices from the other side of the conflict — protesters — are hardly to be heard; such a maneuver helps to vindicate the government version of the story, thus, further pave the way to justify the China's non-interference policy. Moreover, the use of nominalization and passivization in CD helps to obscure the involvement of the Syrian government as the actor of the brutal crackdowns, and consequently, its responsibility.

With regard to evaluation, with explicit and implicit expressions of desirability or undesirability in what seems to be the background information, the reports in NYT cast the Syrian government in negative light with illegal power origin, bloody autonomous ruling history and weakening international endorsement. However, evaluation employed in additional information in CD not only helps to defend the Syrian Government from any accusation of unlawful acts, but doubts the sincerity of the international opposition.

In summary, the comparison presented above tends to suggest that the discourse strategies or linguistic patterns that are employed by each news agency are motivated by ideological and political purposes, or in other terms, help to serve their social functions — to legitimize and defend the policies formulated by its own government.

5.2 Future studies

In addition to the categories of analyzing models adopted for this study, others could be focused on in future research.

Fairclough (1995b) mentions the intertexual analysis of a text (either written or spoken discourse) for critical examination, which is aimed to determine how social meaning is represented by investigating intertextual configurations (one single text is simultaneously drawn on and combined by several types of texts). Such a concept could be exemplified by conversationalization, a phrase used by Fairclough (1995b) to refer to oral modal adopted in printed text and its social function further explained by Fowler (1991) as follows.

In the case of news reporting, according to Fowler, a journalist adopts a certain style automatically when writing a certain genre of article (such as domestic news, foreign news, or editorial). The style must necessarily be appropriate to the particular paper and more generally to reflect the social and economic processes in which the paper participates. The style, Fowler suggests, encodes an ideology implanted by the existing social practices. The journalist has little control over it. Indeed, s/he is employed to work for an organization which is governed by the same institutional constraints which built the ideology.

Newspapers are actually one type of institutional discourse. But the readers of newspapers may just be ordinary individuals whose daily language use is much more informal and personal. Therefore, one basic task of a journalist is to write institutional statements in a style that is appropriate for interpersonal communication, therefore, to address the readers in an individual instead of institutional way. However, the task of journalists is not only stylistic but also ideological: institutional concepts have to be translated into personal thoughts. The process can be viewed as an effort to narrow the gap between institutional and personal discourse. The fundamental device in narrowing the gap is to adopt an oral model within the printed newspaper texts, giving the illusion that there is consensus between the press and its readers.

The typical model of discourse for institutional organization is written language, a model suggesting formality and solidarity. To adopt a conversational style in written language is to apply some frequently used terms in daily life which seem so basic and natural that no one would ever question or need any more explanation. The reason to adopt an oral style is to construct an illusion of informality, familiarity and friendliness. More importantly, the ideological reason for the adoption is to naturalize the terms in which reality is represented. Conversation implies agreement, symmetry of power and knowledge between participants. If you address someone in a conversational style, you are assuming — unconsciously — agreement between the two of you on the basic reference of the dialogue. So, conversation suggests a commonly held view of the world, or a shared subjective reality that is taken for granted and does not need to be proved. Conversationalization can help the Press, government and commercial and other organizations to express their views in a style which is more easily accepted and less questioned by their audiences, an effort which can help them to maintain the status quo and uphold certain interests in their favor.

Another example of intertextuality, mentioned by Fairclough (1995b) and also Fowler (1991) is the combination of journalists' sources and newspapers discourse. Through asking questions, for instance, what are their sources? are they from government or private sector? who are these sources? are they are ruling parties or ruled groups? what do these sources believe? how have their views been interpreted and represented in the news reporting? etc, analysts can investigate the relationship between media discourse and its sources in order to unveil the ideology behind the Press (The results from Fairclough (1995b) and Fowler (1991)'s research show that more frequently ideas from dominating groups are reproduced in the media; a practice helping to turn their views into the established norm).

Therefore, intertextuality can provide analysts another platform to discover the social meaning embedded in discourse by examining different types of texts integrated in one single text.

While intertextuality as well as the analyzing models adopted for the current study reveal ideology by investigating discourse structures from the perspective of production, there are others to address the issue from the aspects of interpretation which take readers into consideration, such as modality in the study of Badran (2002).

This study is to investigate the role of modality in reflecting the embedded ideology and ideological inconsistency in different types of discourse. To achieve the above goals, the researcher suggests that discourse not only could be viewed functionally but also pragmatically. In the perspective of functionality, it is related to functional linguistics, which link linguistic form to social structure, and in regard to pragmatism, includes readers in the process of interpretation. While previous studies have either entirely neglected or under-presented the role of readers, the proposed functional-pragmatic approach in this study addresses the issue by allowing systematic variance in interpretation. This is to be achieved through a systematic account of modality which helps to present the realist and pragmatic role of readers in the process of discourse analysis. Through examining different types of material ranging from literary texts to scientific texts, the study illustrates how a systematic functional and pragmatic analysis of modality can be one effective way to critically reveal the encoded ideology in all texts.

Since ideology can only work when it has been undertaken by audiences at the end of the receiving line of communication starting from the production, contemplating their role in the interpretation process will no doubt enrich the analysis of critical discourse.

While the above critical analyses are conducted either from the perspective of production or interpretation, they are largely based on qualitative methods. If future analysts would like to expand their methods by including more data, corpus based analysis could be one option.

For instance, the study of Bang (2003), investigates how the South Korean press represents a number of foreign countries, particularly North Korea and the United States. Corpus investigation techniques are used with a corpus comprising articles from the online English versions of Korean newspapers. Wordsmith Tools were used as the main analyzing tool. The study is a demonstration of how corpus linguistics can be incorporated in methodology in critical discourse analysis by making it possible for researchers to handle a large quantity of data.

While quantitative methods could produce an analysis based on more momentous pieces of evidence, it could lead to a less profound investigation than that produced by a qualitative approach. Therefore, future researchers need to weigh the

pros and cons of each method and take the one — qualitative, quantitative or combined — which is most suitable for their research goals.

All the above analyses have concentrated on the critical linguistics of 'text', but questions of format, typography, the use of various kinds of visuals, the juxtaposing of articles etc are largely are neglected, which could make up another important dimension of analysis to be added to critical linguistics. For example, future investigators could take on board the visual dimension to interpret its role alongside verbal text in critical analysis, such as that in advertising.

Surely, there are still many other ways to analyze discourse critically, but the ultimate goals of such studies are not just to raise awareness to the ideology enciphered in the use of language but eventually lead to emancipation. Explained further below.

Take the media as an example, studies from previous researchers, Fairclough (1989, 1995b), Fowler (1991), Kress & Hodge (1979), Simpson (1993), among others, have shown that representation in the media most often reproduces the point of view or ideology of dominant groups, also demonstrated by the results from the current study. Such representation is cemented by massive circulation of media. The longer these views circulate, the more they become established as natural, common sense and are taken for granted. Such prevalence takes place at the expense of the interests of those dominated groups whose views and beliefs have been dismissed from the public arena — media. Their identities are lost, their rights are subdued and their culture has been vanquished, as shown in the studies of Pietikainen (2003) and many others.

The greater the circulation of the reproduction of views from ruling groups among the population, the more it assists in shaping and moulding public opinion in favor of the interests of those with more power, wealth, and fame, and the more it pushes those less privileged to slide deeper into oblivion.

Critical discourse analysis is aims to raise the awareness of the issue, the first step to emancipation. By equipping readers with critical consciousness, the circulation of views from powerful groups in the society can be unveiled, challenged, resisted, reversed, eventually, leading to reduction of disparity and injustice. To reach such ultimate goals, more studies have been conducted to suggest, for instance, to integrate

critical theories into the education system to expand the critical awareness (Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1989), or to exploit different linguistic expressions for language users to choose to break the cycle and reverse the trend (Fairclough, 1995b), or any other methods waiting to be unearthed. What seems to be clear is that such aims are difficult to be accomplished by a single researcher. Collective and continuous efforts are necessary to address this social issue. Hopefully, more and more analysts can be motivated to engage in critical analysis to help promote equality and fairness in society.

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APPENDICES

The analyzing material of twelve selected news articles from *The New York Times* and *China Daily* are showed (even though headlines and bylines are not analyzed in this study (see more explanation from chapter three), for the completeness of the viewers, they are also included, but in brackets) as follows:

A. Six selected news articles from *The New York Times*:
News article 1
(In Syria, Tension and Grief After Protests and Government Retaliation
By MICHAEL SLACKMAN and LIAM STACK; An employee of The New York Times contributed reporting from Damascus, Syria.
Published: March 27, 2011)
CAIRO -- Violence continued to plague Syria on Saturday, as government forces killed more demonstrators in Latakia, protesters burned offices of the ruling party in the south and west, and mourners throughout the country buried the dozens of unarmed protesters killed a day earlier.

President Bashar al-Assad of the ruling Baath Party began the day in what appeared to be a gesture intended to ease the crisis, when he announced the release of as many as 200 political prisoners. But by sunset, Baath Party offices were burning in at least two cities, the military was deployed in Latakia and once again government forces opened fire with live rounds, witnesses said.

After more than a week of protests and human rights groups confirming that 61 people had been killed by government forces, there appeared to be no clear path forward for protesters, who had erupted in angry demonstrations around the country on Friday, or for the government, which has offered words of compromise at the same time that it has unleashed lethal force.

"People are afraid," said a prominent religious leader from a community at the center of the conflicts, who was not identified to protect him from reprisal. "People are afraid that the events might get bigger. They are afraid there might be more protests."

Exact numbers of the dead are hard to determine, as the official government news service denied the authorities' culpability in new reports blaming criminal gangs. By nightfall, government officials were blaming a sectarian clash for the crisis,

which was quickly dismissed by protest supporters, who said the goal was freedom for all Syrians and an end to authoritarian rule.

The protesters, according to the religious leader, want "freedom and their rights; they were making demands from the government for things to get better here and for an end to the state of emergency."

The day broke over a landscape of grief as mourners set out for funerals in the southern towns of Sanamayn and Dara'a, in Latakia, in the central city of Homs and in the suburbs of Damascus. In each place, demonstrators had been killed hours earlier, shot by government forces in the most violent government oppression since 1982, when the leadership killed at least 10,000 people in the northern city of Hama.

But the mourning soon gave way to another surge of demonstrations, and then violence. At least two demonstrators in Latakia were killed after protesters set fire to the local headquarters of the Baath Party. Ammar Qurabi, the chairman of the National Association for Human Rights, said two witnesses reported seeing Syrian Special Forces open fire into a crowd.

One Latakia resident reached by telephone said 10,000 to 15,000 antigovernment protesters from the city and surrounding villages, some armed with knives, machetes and clubs, had taken to the streets. "The demonstrations have been peaceful, " the resident said, "but after the violence yesterday protesters brought weapons."

In the southern village of Tafas, near the protest movement's epicenter in Dara'a, mourners also set fire to the local Baath headquarters.

Pro-government demonstrators were also out in Damascus, where about 200 people drove around the city on Saturday evening in a convoy of cars, trucks and minibuses. They carried portraits of President Assad and his father, former President Hafez al-Assad, and chanted, "We are national unity" and "With our soul and with our blood, we will redeem you, Bashar."

A government spokeswoman, Buthaina Shaaban, denied to BBC Arabic that government forces had opened fire on protesters, blaming instead foreigners and an armed group of villagers. "We arrested outsiders in Syria charged with opening fire on the crowd," she said. "They stole weapons. The authorities did not shoot protesters, but an armed group from Sanamayn" did.

Protests have taken place around Syria since the start of the tumultuous movement for change that has shaken the Arab world with peaceful protest and conflicts approaching civil war. But the political crisis blew wide open about a week ago when demonstrators took to the streets in Dara'a after the police arrested a group of young people for scrawling antigovernment graffiti, hauling them away without notifying their parents.

Syria is a resource-poor nation with great strategic influence in the region because of its alliances with Iran, Hamas and Hezbollah, and its location bordering Israel, Iraq, Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon. But it also struggles with a fragile sense of national unity amid sectarian tensions between its rulers, all members of the minority Alawite religious sect, and a Sunni majority. It also clings to a pan-Arab Baathist ideology.

"The events are developing and succeeding each other rapidly all over Syria," Abdel Majid Manjouni, assistant chairman of the Socialist Democratic Arab Union Party in the northern Syrian city of Aleppo, said in a telephone interview. "They are going from city to city, and the ruling party is not being successful in its attempt to block the protests or the demands for democratic change in the country."

The Syrian crisis has in many ways followed a course similar to those in Tunisia and Egypt, which ended with the resignation of each country's president.

In Syria, there have been no widespread calls for President Assad's departure, though as the anger mounts in the wake of protesters' deaths, that view has started to gain voice.

"I am calling him to go to the television," said Ayman Abdel Nour, a childhood friend of the president's now living in the United Arab Emirates. "The people still respect him. First, he must deliver his condolences face to face to the people. No. 2, he must say there will be a multiple party system, a free parliamentary election in two months from now."

Mr. Qurabi, the chairman of the human rights group, said that more than two dozen protesters were killed Friday, including 20 in the tiny southern village of Sanamayn, 4 in Latakia, 3 in Homs and 3 in the greater Damascus area. Mr. Qurabi blamed live ammunition for all those deaths on Friday.

"The protest in Sanamayn was very, very, very big," Mr. Qurabi said in a phone call from Cairo, where he is attending a conference. "They killed them in the streets because there is not even really a square for the people to protest in."

People in Syria were far more reluctant to speak, including one young man who said he had been detained by the police for three days after talking to the news media. "I was talking about the news of the protest with some reporters," he said in a phone call to Damascus. "The police came for me at about 11:15 on Tuesday morning and took me off the street in front of my house. My phone calls are monitored, and I don't want to say anything over the phone."

News article 2

(Security Forces Restrained as Syrian Protests Spread

By NADA BAKRI

Published: May 27, 2011)

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Thousands of Syrians took to the streets again on Friday in virtually every region of the country, but in some locales, Syrian security forces showed restraint in not firing on the demonstrations in a possible bid to keep down a death toll that has brought growing international pressure and strained relations with Syria's few allies.

For weeks, Fridays have been the bloodiest day in the 10-week uprising against the rule of President Bashar al-Assad, as security forces, seemingly unaccountable in some parts of the country, have killed, wounded and beaten demonstrators.

The death toll on Friday was seven: three protesters were killed in the central city of Homs, another three in the Damascus suburb of Qatana and one in the town of Zabadani, and though activists said the number would likely rise, it paled before the dozens killed in past weeks.

Whether the degree of restraint was a shift in official policy was unclear. Syrian officials have banned most foreign journalists from operating in the country. But it suggested that Syrian officials were aware of the international pressure that had isolated the government; even Turkey, once one of Syria's closest allies, has called on it to institute reforms. Turkey's foreign minister, Ahmet Davutoglu, warned of "a vicious cycle of violence" in an interview this week. "Unfortunately, we are seeing

every week, every Friday more people being killed," he said. Syrian state news media said Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey, who had established a deep personal relationship with Mr. Assad, called him Friday.

Group of 8 leaders meeting in Deauville, France, called on Mr. Assad to immediately halt the use of force and intimidation against the protesters and to release all political prisoners. "Only the path of dialogue and fundamental reforms will lead to democracy, and thus to long-term security and prosperity in Syria, they said in a communiqué. "Should the Syrian authorities not heed this call, we will consider further measures."

The leaders discussed the conflict in Syria at length behind closed doors. A European diplomat present at the meetings said there was a general feeling that Mr. Assad's initial promises of concessions and reform were nothing more than a bid to gain time for him to impose a crackdown on protesters.

"We've done everything we can to bring Syria back into the international community," President Nicolas Sarkozy of France said Friday. "But they have taken a big step back, and we no longer have confidence" in Mr. Assad.

After erupting spontaneously on March 18 in the southern city of Dara'a, the protests have spread, and activists have sought to improve their organization through local coordinating committees and their tactics, most notably shifting to protests at night, when they believe security forces are more reluctant to fire and may find it harder to identity demonstrators. Activists say their very resilience has demonstrated that the government's ferocious crackdown — with at least 1,000 dead and more than 10,000 people arrested — will not succeed in quelling the dissent.

On Friday, the protests also appeared to spread to upscale neighborhoods in several cities for the first time. Throughout the uprising, the Syrian government has seen the country's religious minorities, the educated middle class and the business elite as the constituencies that are crucial to prolonging the four decades of rule by the Assad family.

Activists reported demonstrations in the capital, Damascus, and its suburb; in Homs and Hama, in central Syria; in Aleppo and Idlib to the northwest; Qamishli and Hasaka to the northeast; Deir al Zour to the east; and villages and towns in the southern steppe of Houran; and the coastal cities of Latakia, Banias and Jableh.

Though the numbers still pale before the mass demonstrations in Egypt, Tunisia and Yemen, the locales represent the breadth of the country. The protests in Damascus and Aleppo were reportedly small, and both cities — Syria's largest — have remained relatively quiet during the uprising.

"We will keep our demonstrations until we get our rights," said one protester in Medan, a neighborhood in Damascus that has seen small demonstrations in past weeks. Like others, he refused to give his name, fearing reprisals. "We want freedom and democracy. No dialogue with Assad's regime. He should leave or change completely his regime."

The Local Coordination Committees for Syria, an umbrella group that helps organize protests and documents them online, said that the government cut Internet service in the suburbs of Damascus and other cities in central Syria and in the north.

In Homs, Syria's third largest city, activists said that several thousand people demonstrated, chanting "Leave, Bashar, we are free without you," and "The army and the people are one hand." They said that for the first time in weeks, security forces did not open fire at the protesters there.

Activists said that demonstrations in Homs spread to the upscale neighborhood of Inshaat.

"The movement is growing and becoming bigger with wider participation," said Abdel Hakeem Bashar, an opposition figure in the coastal city of Latakia. "The regime is in a very narrow corner, and people have broken the barrier of fear for good."

Though demonstrators have sought to maintain a message of national unity, the protests have erupted along sectarian fault lines in the country — sometimes in cities with a Sunni majority and an Alawite minority or in regions with Sunni cities and an Alawite countryside. The specter of sectarian strife has worried many Syrians in a country that remains as diverse as neighboring Iraq and Lebanon, both victims of civil war.

Some of the anger in the protests has been directed at Iran, a predominantly Shiite country and Syria's closest ally. In Albu Kamal, a town near the Iraqi border, protesters burned portraits of Hassan Nasrallah, the leader of Hezbollah, a Shiite Muslim movement in Lebanon that is allied with Iran and Syria. This week, Mr.

Nasrallah delivered a speech urging Syrians to support their government, angering many activists there.

Syrian security forces killed four antigovernment protesters during a demonstration on Thursday night in the southern village of Dael, residents and activists said. Last Friday at least 67 people died, according to the Local Coordination Committees. It was the third highest number of casualties on a single day since the uprising began.

News article 3

(U.S. Seeks Pressure on Syria, but Options Are Few

By STEVEN LEE MYERS and NEIL MacFARQUHAR

Published: August 2, 2011)

WASHINGTON — The Obama administration is facing intensifying calls to punish Syria more forcefully for its bloody crackdown on protests, but officials say that without broader international support they have few options to increase pressure on President Bashar al-Assad's government.

A group of senators introduced legislation on Tuesday that would impose even stronger economic sanctions against Syria than those already imposed against Mr. Assad and a coterie of senior aides. Italy, meanwhile, withdrew its ambassador to Syria and called on other nations to do so, echoing calls by Republicans for President Obama to do the same.

In New York, the United Nations Security Council discussed the violence for a second day on Tuesday but remained divided over how strongly to react. A spokesman for the United Nations secretary general issued the organization's sharpest criticism yet, saying Mr. Assad had "lost all sense of humanity."

In Washington, administration officials vowed tougher measures but stopped short of announcing any new ones, underscoring how difficult a diplomatic and political challenge the crackdown in Syria has become for Mr. Obama.

The administration plans to expand on sanctions first imposed in May, officials said, but the legal process for doing that has lagged behind Syria's accelerating violence against protesters, including brutal attacks that began on Sunday in Hama and other cities. The conflict has claimed the lives of more than 1,500

Syrians since March, according to the United Nations, which cited human rights groups' reports.

The American ambassador to Syria, Robert S. Ford, testifying before the Senate on Tuesday, said sanctions against senior Syrian officials were beginning to bite. He also disclosed that the administration was discussing additional sanctions with the Europeans that would have a more direct effect, since those imposed by the United States already severely limit American trade with Syria.

Underscoring the administration's clear but not explicitly stated goal of a new government in Syria, Mr. Ford said it was important that any punitive sanctions be calibrated in such a way as to not devastate the economy in a "post-Assad" era.

After initially holding out hope that Mr. Assad would heed the protests that have swept the Arab world this year, Mr. Obama has steadily intensified his criticism — only to watch Syrian security forces respond to protesters with more and more force.

Diplomatically, the administration has concentrated its efforts on solidifying international condemnation of Mr. Assad's government, pressing members of the United Nations Security Council to consider a resolution initially floated by Britain in May but blocked by opposition from Russia and other nations angered in part by the NATO-led military operation against Libya.

"The international community has required more prodding in this case than in the case of Libya," a senior administration official said on Tuesday.

The conflict in Libya, in fact, has haunted the administration's handling of Syria in many ways, underscoring the limit of American political influence and military power in the two countries.

While Mr. Obama explicitly called for Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi's ouster, even an American-supported air war backing Libyan rebels has so far failed to bring about his removal. Administration officials say that the United States has even fewer levers in the case of Syria, given that a military option has been all but ruled out and Syria still has support from Arab League members and other countries.

There were signs on Tuesday that the attacks over the weekend had deepened Syria's diplomatic isolation. Russia, an important ally, signaled new support for some Security Council action, though it was unclear how far it would go. "We are not

categorically against everything," Sergei Vershinin, a department head within the Russian Foreign Ministry, said in Moscow. "We are categorically against what doesn't help bring forward a peaceful settlement."

Other members of the Security Council previously opposed to action — including Brazil, South Africa and India — said they would support condemning the violence. But it was unclear whether a resolution or weaker statement would emerge, with negotiations stuck over several issues. Western nations, for example, were adamant that government violence against civilians not be equated with scattered attacks by protesters against security forces. Bartering was set to resume Wednesday.

Mr. Obama's aides have defended what they call the administration's measured approach, saying it was important for the United States to build consensus. On Sunday, Mr. Obama condemned President Assad, saying "his use of torture, corruption and terror puts him on the wrong side of history."

The president could still explicitly call for Mr. Assad's removal as part of a deliberate escalation of American efforts, the senior administration official said.

For now, the administration has been scrambling for ways to demonstrate support for the protesters.

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton met privately on Tuesday with Syrian and Syrian-American democracy advocates at the State Department. She told them she had "confidence in the Syrian people's ability to chart a new course for Syria," a spokesman, Mark C. Toner, said.

Mr. Ford, the ambassador, testified before the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee as lawmakers considered confirming his appointment, which was blocked last year by members protesting Syria's meddling in Lebanon, forcing Mr. Obama to use a recess appointment to install him.

"It's really important now to give Syrians an ear and to amplify their voices — especially when the international media is barred from Syria," Mr. Ford said. "I have been trying to draw the attention of the Syrian regime and the attention of the international community to the legitimate grievances the Syrian people have with their government."

The three senators from across the political spectrum who introduced legislation Tuesday — Kirsten Gillibrand of New York, Mark Kirk of Illinois and

Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut — proposed enacting sanctions similar to those against Iran that would punish international companies doing business with Syria's energy sector.

Danielle Pletka, vice president for Foreign and Defense Policy Studies at the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative advocacy group, said that the administration could do more by, for example, withdrawing the American ambassador, as Italy did.

News article 4

(Key Syrian City Takes On the Tone of a Civil War

By ANTHONY SHADID

Published: October 1, 2011

This article was reported by a correspondent for The New York Times in Homs, Syria, and written by Anthony Shadid in Beirut, Lebanon.)

HOMS, Syria — The semblance of a civil war has erupted in Homs, Syria's third-largest city, where armed protesters now call themselves revolutionaries, gun battles erupt as often as every few hours, security forces and opponents carry out assassinations, and rifles costing as much as $2,000 apiece flood the city from abroad, residents say.

Since the start of the uprising in March, Homs has stood as one of Syria's most contested cities, its youth among the best organized and most tenacious. But across the political spectrum, residents speak of a decisive shift in past weeks, as a largely peaceful uprising gives way to a grinding struggle that has made Homs violent, fearful and determined.

Analysts caution that the strife in Homs is still specific to the city itself, and many in the opposition reject violence because they fear it will serve as a pretext for the government's brutal crackdown.

But in the targeted killings, the rival security checkpoints and the hardening of sectarian sentiments, the city offers a dark vision that could foretell the future of Syria's uprising as both the government and the opposition ready themselves for a protracted struggle over the endurance of a four-decade dictatorship.

"We are done with the protesting phase," said a 21-year-old engineering student here who spoke on the condition of anonymity for fear of reprisal. "We've now entered a more important phase."

Homs is a microcosm of Syria, with a Sunni Muslim majority and minorities of Christians and Alawites, a heterodox Muslim sect from which President Bashar al-Assad draws much of his leadership.

Six months of protests and crackdown here have frayed ties among those communities, forging the conditions for urban strife.

An armed opposition is battling security forces in the most restive neighborhoods. Insurgents have tried to protect the same peaceful protesters the government has relentlessly sought to arrest. Tension has grown so dire that members of one sect are reluctant to travel to neighborhoods populated by other sects. Men in some parts of the city openly carry weapons.

Perhaps the most dramatic facet of the struggle is a series of assassinations this past week that have left nearly a dozen professors, doctors and informers dead in a paroxysm of violence that echoes the sectarian vendettas still besetting Iraq. Unlike the uprising's early days, when the government exercised a near monopoly on violence, fear is beginning to spread in the other direction, as insurgents kill government supporters and informers, residents say.

One of those killed was Dr. Hassan Eid, the chief of thoracic surgery at the National Hospital here and an Alawite from Al Zuhra, one of a handful of neighborhoods where his sect makes up a majority and where buildings and streets are still plastered with the portraits of Mr. Assad. He was shot to death in front of his house as he headed off to work, residents said.

Al Ouruba, a government-aligned newspaper, called him a "symbol of dedication" and said he treated victims of the violence "without discriminating between any of them." But in Sunni Muslim locales, residents called him a government informer who helped security forces detain the wounded who were treated at his facility.

By nightfall, a hint of triumphalism echoed in parts of the city, as some people celebrated his death.

"He was responsible for the death of many young men," said a 65-year-old resident of Homs, who gave his name as Rajab. "He was killed because he deserved it."

Soon after dawn the next day, gunfire erupted as children went to school.

"They shot Abu Ali," an old man who collects garbage and cleans the streets in the neighborhood said a short time later.

Abu Ali, the name most knew him by, was another informant, the residents said.

"The guys were aware of him a long time ago," said an activist in his late 40s who gave his name as Abu Ghali. "But now it's different. He kept reporting, so they had to kill him. I don't think he died right away though."

Abu Ghali added that it was not difficult to get information on informers. "You can do anything with money," he said. "You just bribe an officer, and be generous with him, and you can get all you want."

The killings took place during two bloody days in Homs, a city along the Orontes River and not too far from the historic medieval castle Krak des Chevaliers. Residents said that after Abu Ali died, three Alawite teachers were killed at a school in the neighborhood of Baba Amr. (Government newspapers did not confirm those deaths.) In the afternoon, Mohammed Ali Akil, an assistant dean at Al Baath University in Homs, was found dead in his car on a highway. Students said he had shown support for the uprising and criticized Mr. Assad's leadership in his lectures.

"It is true that we were scared during your lectures, but you were a wonderful professor," a student posted on Facebook. "May you rest in peace. We won't forget you."

Near the Lebanese border — where residents say weapons flow across a porous border from Turkey, Saudi Arabia and even Qatar — Homs strikes an odd posture. Many of its Sunni residents are at once fearful and proud, empowered by their opposition to dictatorship. Many Alawites are terrified; they are often the victims of the most vulgar stereotypes and, in popular conversation, uniformly associated with the leadership.

In Alawite villages, only government television is watched. To do so in Sunni neighborhoods amounts to treason. There, Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya are the stations

of choice. Suspicions give currency to the wildest of rumors; in one, a female butcher in Homs named Um Khaled asks the armed gangs to bring her the bodies of Alawites they capture so that she can cut them up and market the meat to her customers.

Centuries-old connections between sects still knit together the city, even as the suggestion of civil war threatens to sever them forever. The countryside, residents say, is roiled by far more sectarian hatred. Government checkpoints separate Sunni from Alawite.

"One side kills an Alawite, the other kills a Sunni," a 46-year-old activist said.

The uprising's overall toll has been grim: By the United Nations' count, more than 2,700 people have died. The revolt still draws much of its strength from the countryside, and the two largest cities, Aleppo and Damascus, remain relatively quiescent. Though protests have flagged lately, Homs has stayed defiant.

Armed men often protect the perimeter of protests in places like Bab al-Sbaa, Khaldiya and Baba Amr, where some stores are shut and buildings are scarred by broken windows and bullet holes. Some of them have carried out the assassinations of informers, or "awayniyeh," as they call them. Others scout government checkpoints and occasionally set up their own, temporary versions.

"They have rocket-propelled grenades and Kalashnikovs," said a driver in his late 50s who lives in the neighborhood of Khaldiya. "They should be armed," he added. "They protect us."

A woman who gave her name as Suleima lives on Al Joura Street in Baba Amr. She earns a living by preparing kibbe, a dish of minced meat with cracked wheat, for wealthier clients in other neighborhoods of Homs. For three days, gunfire kept her inside her house and telephones were down.

"You never know when they will start shooting again," she said.

Angry and exhausted, she professed neutrality in a conflict that makes such a notion ever more difficult.

"Neighbors accuse me of being with the regime, so I laugh," she said at her house, which she shares with her daughter. "What on earth did this regime give me? Absolutely nothing. But neither did the revolutionaries. I work, I eat. If I don't work, I starve. At least I worked before. Now I'm at home, hardly leaving it, and hardly making a living."

News article 5

(Turkey Moves to Intensify Sanctions Against Syria

By DAN BILEFSKY and ANTHONY SHADID

Published: November 30, 2011)

ISTANBUL — Turkey took steps on Wednesday to freeze the Syrian government's financial assets, impose a travel ban on senior Syrian officials and cut off transactions with the country's central bank, sharply escalating international pressure on Damascus in response to its continuing violence against civilians.

The latest measures, Turkish officials said, were enacted in concert with the Arab League, which imposed broad trade sanctions on Sunday, and are part of a developing international effort to strangle Syria's economy and severely diminish the power of its government.

Also on Wednesday, the Arab League unveiled a list of 17 senior Syrian officials who could face a ban on travel to other Arab countries, including the ministers of defense and interior. Also on the list are Rami Makhlouf, a millionaire cousin of President Bashar al-Assad who has controlled the mobile phone network; Mr. Assad's younger brother Maher, who heads the elite Fourth Division and the Republican Guard; and members of the state security service, including Maj. Gen. Assef Shawkat, the deputy chief of staff for security affairs, who is married to the president's sister.

European, American and Turkish officials all said they believed Syria's economic troubles could prove the undoing of Mr. Assad, who to date has managed to maintain the allegiance of Syria's business elite.

Reiterating his calls for Mr. Assad to relinquish power and to stop his brutal assault on his own people, Turkey's foreign minister, Ahmet Davutoglu, said in Ankara that the measures would include an extensive ban on military sales to Damascus and a blockade of weapons deliveries from third countries at Turkey's land and sea borders with Syria. He said Turkey would also stop new transactions with the Commercial Bank of Syria and halt all credit to the Syrian government.

"Every bullet fired, every bombed mosque has taken away the legitimacy of the Syrian leadership and has widened the gap between us," Mr. Davutoglu said. "Syria has wasted the last chance that it was given."

He said the list of sanctions was a "first stage" in the measures against Damascus. The government also stressed that Wednesday's sanctions would not include vital supplies like water and electricity that could harm the Syrian people.

Syria is heavily reliant on Turkey for trade, which more than tripled between the two countries to $2.5 billion in 2009, from $795 million in 2006. Before the recent souring of relations, it was forecast to reach $5 billion by 2013.

The European Union and the United States were the first to impose penalties, and European sanctions, in particular, harmed Syria's oil industry, which once contributed as much as a third of the government's revenue. Though Europe is Syria's biggest overall trading partner, Turkey and Arab states make up four of its next five biggest, and the Syrian leadership, along with those tied to it, has large investments in the Persian Gulf.

The Obama administration commended Turkey for its latest steps, and noted that Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan had coordinated closely with President Obama. "The leadership shown by Turkey in response to the brutality and violation of the fundamental rights of the Syrian people will isolate the Assad regime and send a strong message to Assad and his circle that their actions are unacceptable and will not be tolerated," said a statement issued by a White House spokesman, Tommy Vietor.

An Obama administration official in Washington estimated that the Syrian government had lost more than 40 percent of its revenue, with the oil industry reeling and tourism devastated. The official said that the Assad government was having more trouble than ever supporting the Syrian pound, which residents say has fallen 12 percent in the black market from its official rate and now trades at 56 pounds to the dollar.

The Arab and Turkish sanctions also carry great symbolic weight. Just a year ago, neighboring Turkey was emerging as one of Syria's closest allies, and Damascus has long managed to play on inter-Arab rivalries to maintain a profile that traditionally outstripped its resources or relative strength. Moves by both the league and Turkey have left it as isolated as at any time since Mr. Assad's father, Hafez, seized power four decades ago.

In Syria, some people said they feared the sanctions could embolden government supporters and focus criticism on external forces. "The sanctions will

make the regime supporters even more supportive," said Joelle, 25, a graphic designer from Damascus. "That's the notion I'm getting from people around me. They are blaming Arab nations for what's happening to them, and reminiscing about the old days. They feel that this is an insult to Syria's sovereignty."

The intensification of pressure by Turkey against Syria is part of a radical about-face in relations between the two countries, as Turkey seeks to assert its leadership in the Muslim world. Only a year ago Mr. Erdogan and Mr. Assad took vacations together and the countries held joint cabinet sessions.

But as the political crisis has churned in Syria for months, with government forces killing at least 3,500 demonstrators, according to the United Nations, Turkey has severed its ties and cast itself as the voice of regional indignation. Mr. Erdogan recently warned Mr. Assad that he might meet the same fate as the late Libyan leader, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, if he did not step down and the killing did not stop.

The violence showed little sign of abating on Wednesday, with at least 15 civilians killed, including 2 women and 2 children, an opposition group, the Local Coordination Committees, said. Security forces shot a majority of the victims in the northwestern province of Idlib; others were in the restive city of Homs in central Syria and in Hama, the opposition group said.

The Syrian Observatory for Human Rights reported that seven soldiers were killed in an attack on their military vehicles in the southern town of Dael. The attack came as security forces were rounding up opposition activists in the town. The Local Coordination Committees said that at least 100 people were arrested in the raid.

While Turkey has signaled strongly that it views military action as a last resort, Turkish officials said Tuesday that they would consider having their military cross the border to impose a safety zone if the Assad government failed to stop killing citizens demanding democratic change.

Mr. Davutoglu, the foreign minister, said that his government was hopeful that an incursion would be unnecessary, and that Syria would respond to the sanctions imposed Sunday by the Arab League. But the Syrian government has shown no willingness to abide by its neighbors' demands, declaring the Arab League move "economic war."

Turkey also decided, given that Mr. Assad continues to ignore the Arab League's calls for peace and political reform, to divert all of its Middle Eastern trade away from routes that traverse Syria, siphoning off yet another source of income for an increasingly isolated government.

News article 6

(Fighting Escalates in Syria as Opposition Rejects Russian Plan

By NEIL MacFARQUHAR and HWAIDA SAAD

Published: January 30, 2012)

UNITED NATIONS — As Syrian forces pushed rebels back from strongholds near Damascus on Monday, some of the world's top diplomats converged on the United Nations to try to press President Bashar al-Assad to leave office through a Security Council resolution.

Much of the attention focused on Russia, which stoutly opposes an Arab League proposal, backed by Western and Arab diplomats, that calls for Mr. Assad to cede power as part of a transition to democracy.

Senior members of the Syrian National Council, an exile opposition group, arrived from Paris en masse to lobby Security Council members for the plan, starting with the Russian envoy, while the United States and other members lambasted Moscow's opposition.

"We have seen the consequences of neglect and inaction by this Council over the course of the last 10 months, not because the majority of the Council isn't eager to act — it has been," Susan E. Rice, the American ambassador, told reporters.

"There have been a couple of very powerful members who have not been willing to see that action take place," she said, referring to Russia and China, who vetoed the last attempt at a resolution in October. If negotiations fail again this week, she said, the risk is "more violence and intensified chaos."

That prediction was already happening in Syria on Monday, as the Syrian Army besieged several towns on the outskirts of Damascus that had been under rebel control, activists there said.

North of the capital, government troops stormed Yabrud, which had been surrounded for several days. Snipers took up positions on rooftops, and checkpoints

prevented people from entering or leaving. "The number of tanks is unimaginable," an activist there said. "They are shelling the street randomly."

Video posted on the Internet bolstered reports of new fighting in Homs, the central Syrian city that has been the site of repeated battles between rebel fighters and forces loyal to Mr. Assad.

"The army has the upper hand," said Wissam Tarif, of the human rights group Avaaz. "They have the tanks, the heavy machine guns, the warplanes, they have everything. If they want to enter these towns, they can."

The death toll on Monday was estimated in the dozens in a conflict that has lasted 10 months and, according to the United Nations, caused more than 5,400 civilian deaths. Syria's Interior Ministry said on Monday that it had killed "big numbers of terrorists" in the eastern suburbs, according to the state news agency. A nurse at a hospital in the area said dozens of members of the security services had also been killed.

The Arab League suspended its monitoring mission in Syria over the weekend because of the intractability of the fighting, and has called on the Security Council to support a plan in which Mr. Assad would transfer power to his vice president and a unity government would be formed to lead the country to new elections.

Russia, Mr. Assad's most important ally, says it opposes the plan because it forces a change of leadership on a sovereign country. Moscow still feels duped into supporting the United Nations resolution that led to the overthrow of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi in Libya, and is determined to prevent a replay.

At the same time, Russia has been eager to show that it is sincere about pursuing a diplomatic solution, and said Monday that it had persuaded the Assad government to participate in mediation talks in Moscow.

"In an attempt to contribute with the Syrians to a peaceful settlement without foreign intervention and with respect to the sovereignty of Syria, we have appealed to the Syrian government and to all opposition groups to send their representatives to Moscow at a mutually acceptable time for informal contacts without prior conditions," the Russian Foreign Ministry said.

But the Syrian National Council immediately rejected the proposal unless Mr. Assad stepped down first, a condition that Mr. Assad and Russia have said is

unacceptable. Given the escalating violence and the failure of mediation efforts by the Arab League, the time for talks has passed, Syrian opposition leaders say.

"We're facing a big crisis that might lead us to civil war," said Haytham Manna, a prominent dissident. "We have areas where there is no control. Sitting at the table of dialogue means going backwards."

Behind closed doors in New York, negotiations over the proposed Security Council statement were tense, Western diplomats said. India, Russia and China were arguing over it line by line, they said.

The West is holding out hope that a briefing from Arab League leaders to the Council on Tuesday will soften opposition to the resolution, with negotiations over the text to resume in earnest on Wednesday.

In a display of the high level of Western interest in adopting a resolution, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton will represent the United States at the meeting on Tuesday, while the foreign ministers of France and Britain will also attend.

A senior administration official, speaking on condition of anonymity to discuss diplomatic efforts, said the United States and other Council members would force a veto if the Russians and Chinese resisted. "They can't continue to defend an unsustainable status quo," the official said.

After meeting with the Russian United Nations envoy, Vitaly I. Churkin, members of the Syrian National Council described the Russian position as noncommittal about forcing Syria to accommodate opposition demands.

"The choice is going to be that if we want to do it with Russian help and cooperation, we will have a peaceful process because they hold many keys," said Bassma Kodmani of the Syrian National Council. "If we don't have Russian cooperation we will have a more difficult and more costly process, but ultimately we will get there without the Russians."

But while the diplomats struggled to find consensus in New York, Syrian forces continued to pound away at rebel positions.

A resident who gave his name as Abu Ahmad from Daraya, near the capital, said that gunfire erupted continuously all day, with new troops and military vehicles arriving all the time.

"We are scared," he said. "We hear loud explosions and shooting. We don't know what is going to happen."

B. Six selected news articles from *China Daily*:

News article 1

(Syria awaits key speech from Assad

Updated: 2011-03-29 10:31

(China Daily))

Syrian Vice-President Farouq al-Shara said on Monday that President Bashar al-Assad would announce important decisions that will "please the Syrian people" in the next two days.

Shara was speaking to Lebanon's al-Manar television station, which did not give further details. Assad has been facing the biggest challenge to his 11-year rule after two weeks of anti-government protests spread across the country.

Earlier, some Syrian legislators asked the president to explain in detail the promised reforms, an MP said on Monday.

"On Sunday night, MPs requested that the president clarify the measures that authorities have announced and urged him to address parliament and explain," MP Mohammed Habash told AFP.

Parliamentarians also held a minute of silence, he said, to honor those killed in two weeks of unrest in Syria.

The security situation in the country has worsened in the past few days, with reports of gangs wreaking havoc in the northern port city of Latakia and sporadic bouts of violence in the southern governorate of Daraa.

The authorities have accused Muslim fundamentalists of aiming to incite sectarian-based strife in Syria, a majority Sunni Muslim country which is also home to Christians, Druze and Alawite Muslims.

Buthaina Shaaban, a top adviser to Assad, on Sunday said the authorities had decided to end the state of emergency, which came into effect when the ruling Baath party rose to power almost 50 years ago.

But it remains unclear what the decision will entail.

"The decision to lift the emergency law has already been made. But I do not know about the time frame," Shaaban said.

News article 2

(G8 'appalled' by Syria, warns of 'further measures'

(Agencies)

Updated: 2011-05-27 16:58)

DEAUVILLE - The Group of Eight leaders said on Friday they were "appalled" at the killing of peaceful protesters by Syrian authorities and demanded an immediate end to the use of force.

But in a communique to be issued later after a two-day G8 summit in France - a copy of which was obtained by Reuters - the leaders of the seven Western powers plus Russia refrained from an explicit proposal, contained in earlier drafts of the document, to act against Damascus in the UN Security Council.

The shift in language to a vaguer threat of "further measures" may reflect reluctance from Russia, which has a veto in the Security Council and which has generally taken a softer line than Western states against Arab leaders.

"We are appalled by the deaths of many peaceful protesters as a result of the sweeping use of violence in Syria as well as by repeated and serious violations of human rights," the leaders said in the communique.

"We call on the Syrian leadership to immediately stop using force and intimidation against the Syrian people and to respond to their legitimate demands for freedom of expression and universal rights and aspirations. We also call for the release of all political prisoners in Syria."

"Only the path of dialogue and fundamental reforms will lead to democracy, and thus to long-term security and prosperity in Syria."

"Should the Syrian authorities not heed this call, we will consider further measures. We are convinced that only by implementing meaningful reforms will a democratic Syria be able to play a positive role in the region."

News article 3

(Syria to undermine 'new chapter of conspiracy'

Updated: 2011-08-01 04:50

(Xinhua))

DAMASCUS - Syrian President Bashar Assad said Sunday that he is ultimately confident that Syria will undermine "this new chapter of conspiracy" which he said aims at " dividing the country as a prelude for dividing the entire region to conflicting states."

In an interview with Ash-Shaeb magazine to commemorate the 66th anniversary of the Syrian army's foundation, Assad said "Syria has its own characteristics that are immune to all conspiracies and conspirators."

"We are now more determined to go on with the process of dignity with confident steps ... We will let war-makers and blood traders suffer the bitterness of defeat, disappointment and frustration," he said.

Assad reasserted that his country is subject to sectarian sedition, but indicated that the Syrian people were aware to what is being intrigued against them and were able to "bury sedition."

He pledged to go on with the process of an overall reform, noting that Syria will export an example of democracy, freedom and political pluralism.

Assad reiterated that the Syrians would remain "free in our national decision and masters in our international relations."

Syria has been in unrest since mid March when anti-government protests broke out in the southern province of Daraa and spread to other cities. The Syrian authorities blamed the unrest on "armed groups and foreign conspiracy" and stressed that it would track down gunmen who have intimidated people and damaged public and private properties.

News article 4

(China calls for restraint in Syria

Updated: 2011-10-05 09:17

(Xinhua))

UNITED NATIONS - China on Tuesday called for restraint in Syria and urged the international community to comply with the UN Charter and not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Middle East country.

Li Baodong, Chinese permanent representative to the United Nations, made the call after China and Russia vetoed a draft resolution condemning the Syrian authorities. The draft resolution, presented by France, Germany, Portugal and Britain,

was killed because China and Russia, the two permanent members of the 15- nation Security Council, have the veto power.

"China is highly concerned with the development of the situation in Syria," Li said. "We call upon all parties concerned in Syria to exercise restraint to avoid all forms of violence and more bloody conflicts," Li said.

"Whether the Security Council will take further action on the question of Syria should depend on whether it facilitates the easing of tension in Syria, whether it helps the defusing of differences through political dialogue, whether it contributes to maintaining peace and security in the Middle East," he added.

"Most importantly, it should depend on the compliance with the UN Charter and the principle of non-interference," Li noted.

News article 5

(Syria hit with Turkey sanctions

Updated: 2011-11-30 19:57

(Xinhua))

ANKARA - Turkey's Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu Wednesday announces a series of sanctions measures Turkey will impose on Syria, including the freezing of its government assets in Turkey and a travel ban on Syrian leaders.

Turkey will suspend the relations between the Turkish and Syrian central banks, Davutoglu said at a cabinet meeting in the Turkish prime minster's office.

Turkey will also block the delivery of all weapons and military equipment to Syria through its territory, he said, adding that the Turkey-Syria High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council will be suspended until legitimate rule is established in Syria.

Turkey will impose a travel ban on the Syrian leadership who have been alleged to resort to violence and unlawful methods on Syrian people. Similar measures will also be taken against businesspeople who give strong backing to the Syrian regime.

Further, Turkey will stop all financial credit dealings with Syria and will suspend a Turkish Eximbank loan deal to finance Syrian infrastructure projects.

All operations, except for ongoing ones, with Syria will be stopped, Turkish semi-official Anatolia news agency quoted Davutoglu as saying.

The announcement came after the Arab League approved economic sanctions on Syria and a travel ban on high-ranking Syrian officials Sunday in Cairo.

The Syrian regime "has come to the end of the road" by ignoring calls from the international community to stop its bloody crackdown on protesters, the foreign minister said.

Turkey, once a close ally of Syria, has gradually toughened its criticism of the Syrian regime for its crackdown on anti-regime protests. Turkish leaders have on many occasions called on Syrian President Bashar al-Assad to end the crackdown and step down.

News article 6

(China opposes forced 'regime change' in Syria

Updated: 2012-02-01 08:13

(Xinhua))

UNITED NATIONS - China on Tuesday voiced its firm opposition to the use of force to resolve the Syrian issue, the practice to forcefully push for the "regime change" and other actions which violate the purpose and principles of the UN Charter and the basic norms guiding the international relations.

Li Baodong, the Chinese permanent representative to the United Nations, made the statement as he was taking the floor at an open meeting of the UN Security Council on the current situation of Syria.

"We firmly oppose the use of force to resolve the Syrian issue, firmly oppose the practice of forcefully pushing for the 'regime change' which violate the purpose and principles of the UN Charter and the basic norms governing the international relations," Li said.

"China has all along taken a cautious approach to sanctions," Li said. "Sanctions, which rather than help resolve the issue, often lead to further complication of the situation."

China supports a draft resolution proposed by Russia on the issue of Syria, Li said, adding that he also took note of a new draft circulated by Morocco on Friday in the Security Council.

"China is ready to act in accordance with the above principled stance, and engage in an active and constructive way in consultations and work with all the

parties concerned to promote the proper settlement of the Syrian issue through political dialogue," Li said.

Arab states and Western countries are pushing for the adoption of their joint draft resolution at the Security Council to demand what they called "political transition" in Syria while a Russian-drafted text called on all the parties in Syria to put an end to violence.

BIOGRAPHY

Name	Ms. Waneerat Thanaphokhai
Date of Birth	November 11, 1969
Educational Attainment	Thammasat University (2015)
	Master of Arts
	English for Careers
	Suan Sunandha University (2000)
	Bachelor of Arts
	General Management
Work Experiments	Chinese and English language teacher (2000 – now)
	Various private companies and individuals
	Invited Chinese teacher (1996 – 2000)
	Foreign Trade Department of Commerce Ministry
	Invited Chinese teacher (1997, 5 - 1997, 9 and 1995, 7 - 1995, 9)
	Faculty of Linguistics
	Mahidol University
	Invited Chinese teacher (1996, 12 - 1997, 2)
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