"One Country, Two Systems": A Corpus-assisted Discourse Analysis of the Politics of Recontextualization in British, American and Chinese Newspapers

Abstract:

This study gives a corpus-assisted discourse study of the recontextualization of "One Country, Two Systems" in Chinese, British and American newspapers. It proposes to analyze the recontextualization of "One Country, Two Systems" at four levels: (1) Lexicalization; (2) Grammatical functions; (3) Evaluation; and (4) Perspectivation. The findings show not only the systematic differences between Chinese and Anglo-American newspapers but also the subtle differences between American and British newspapers in their specific ways of recontextualization. It is argued that a proper understanding of the politics of recontextualization should explicate the dynamic relations between media systems, national interests, and the specific ways of recontextualization.

Keywords: recontextualization, "One Country, Two Systems", corpus-assisted discourse study, media systems, national interests, Hong Kong

1 Introduction

It has been more than twenty years since Hong Kong returned from British colonial control to the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 1 July 1997 and became a Special Administrative Region of China. Even though the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration and the Basic Law stipulated that Hong Kong would maintain a high degree of autonomy under Chinese sovereignty (Fong 2017), concerns over the practice of "One Country, Two Systems" (OCTS) have never ceased in Hong Kong and the Western world. Especially in recent years, OCTS has been confronted with unprecedented challenges, as can be seen from the Umbrella Movement in 2014 and the mass protests against the proposed extradition bill in Hong Kong in 2019 (Yuen 2015).

The practice of OCTS in Hong Kong has also been under constant scrutiny by news media from different countries in the last two decades, and the "news war over Hong Kong" (Lee et al. 2002) has never ceased. Previous studies have demonstrated that national interests represent a determinant factor for dominant Western news media to cover foreign news (Lee et al. 2002). Rather than an objective reflection of reality, international newsmaking is still an important site for ideological struggles and conflicts, under the influence of a host of social, economic, political, and ideological factors (Shoemaker and Reese 1996). As Lee et al. (2001) argue, international newsmaking remains "inherently ethnocentric, nationalistic, and even state-centered" even in the age of globalization. It is thus of great interest to examine how news media from concerned countries represent Hong Kong in line with their respective national interests.

This study combines critical discourse analysis (CDA) and corpus linguistics (CL) with a view to giving a corpus-assisted discourse study (CADS) of OCTS in news media from three concerned parties: Britain, the US, and China. CDA has been known for its interest in explicating the complicated and dynamic relations between language and society and penetrating into the socio-political factors behind language use in specific socio-political contexts (Fairclough 1995b, Wodak and Meyer 2016). In view of the fact *China Daily* (CD) belongs to the authoritarian journalism system and *The Guardian* (TG) and the *New York Times* (NW) belong to the dominant liberal journalism system (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 2012), a close examination of the recontextualization of OCTS in British, American and Chinese newspapers can reveal not only the particular ways of recontextualization but, more importantly, shed light on the dynamics between recontextualization, media systems, and national interests.

2 "One Country, Two Systems"

As a city located in South China, Hong Kong has historically been an integral part of China but was relinquished to British colonial control due to the two Opium Wars in the late Qing dynasty (Fong 2017, Flowerdew 2012). As the unequal treaties were due to expire on 30 June 1997, the Chinese government was determined to resume the exercise of the sovereignty over Hong Kong, and the negotiation between the Chinese

government and the British government had begun in the 1980s. In order to appease the public fear that the Capitalist way of life might be changed after Hong Kong's handover, OCTS was proposed by the late Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping as "a solution for upholding Chinese sovereignty while allowing some degree of autonomy for Hong Kong" (Lam 2016, 77). Hong Kong has thus become a Special Administrative Region of China under OCTS. Therefore, OCTS can be viewed as a result of political compromise (Lui 2015). For the Chinese government, OCTS could lead to the smooth return of Hong Kong to China while maintaining the stability and prosperity of Hong Kong. With regard to Britain, OCTS could allow it to withdraw from Hong Kong with dignity. For Hong Kong people, OCTS could at least guarantee that they could maintain their existing way of life unchanged for the time being.

However, OCTS, as a political proposal, was "delicate, apprehensive, and uncertain" from the very beginning (Lui 2015). The core essence of OCTS is that "the socialist system and policies shall not be practiced in Hong Kong", while "the previous capitalist system and way of life shall remain unchanged for 50 years" (Garrett 2009). There is no common agreement on what exactly "the socialist system and policies" and "the capitalist system and way of life" refer to. Even for the architect of OCTS Deng Xiaoping, he was still figuring out what "socialism with Chinese characteristics" was at the time of signing the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration. These concepts have become more ambiguous and elusive now than they were in the early 1980s. This is not surprising in view of the fact that China's understanding of socialism and socialism with Chinese characteristics has been an evolving process, reliant on the actual conditions of the country and the time (Garrett 2009). Besides, while OCTS was proposed to protect the future development of Hong Kong, it was based on the maintenance of the status quo (Lui 2015). Consequently, it cannot properly address the emerging problems after Hong Kong's handover. Confronted with the fast economic development in Chinese mainland, Hong Kong has to adjust its position and role to meet the requirements of China as an emerging world economic power (Lui 2015).

3 Recontextualization and critical discourse analysis

The development of recontextualization as a theoretical concept has now been

attributed to Bernstein in his study on the sociology of pedagogy (Bernstein 1990). Recontextualization refers to "the extrication of some part or aspect from a text or discourse, or from a genre of texts or discourse, and the fitting of this part or aspect into another context, i.e., another text or discourse (or discourse genre) and its use and environment"(Linell 1998, 145). It underlines the importance of context in the understanding and interpretation of texts and discourse (Sarangi 1998), arguing that the relocation of elements of a discourse from its original context to a new text always involves transformations to a certain extent (Wodak and Fairclough 2010, 22). For example, Fairclough (2003) also identifies several recontextualizing principles, such as presence, abstraction, arrangement, and additions.

Recontextualization has long been a primary concern in CDA (Fairclough 1995a, van Leeuwen 2008, 1993), because CDA is concerned with the analysis of language use in specific socio-political contexts, and explicating the dynamic relations between language use, power and ideology (Wodak and Meyer 2009). It is particularly interested in the (re)production of power and ideology in discourse and aims to expose "the opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak 2001, 2). Recontextualization is never a neutral process, but often intentional and strategic (Sarangi 1998). Bauman and Briggs (1990, 76) even argue that "[t]o decontextualize and recontextualize a text is…an act of control, and in regard to the differential exercise of such control the issue of social power arises". The meanings of key concepts and theories are not fixed as is supposed, but subject to the constant process of appropriation and manipulation during the process of recontextualization. This gives rise to a growing number of studies on the recontextualization in news media since news media still serve as the central ideological battleground today (Fairclough 2003, 1995b). A close examination of recontextualization in news media can reveal not only the origins of some discourses but also the potential and actual changes they have undergone during the process, thus providing a clear picture of the ideologies and power struggles involved (Erjavec and Volčič 2007, Hodges 2008, Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999, Wodak and Fairclough 2010, Wu, Huang, and Zheng 2016).

This study, following Hodges (2008), also addresses the "politics of

recontextualization": it is concerned with not only the particular ways of recontextualizing OCTS, but, more importantly, how these news media from different countries try to position one interpretation or understanding of OCTS over another and continuously reproduce and circulate it like a common sense (Oddo 2013). In view of the elusive and ambiguous nature of OCTS, it is believed that some assumptions may be reproduced, resisted, and challenged in different contexts, which may help to reinforce existing cultural understandings or challenge previous understandings and create new ones. Since this cannot be achieved through discursive interaction (Hodges 2008), an extensive examination of the recontextualization of OCTS over the years can better reveal how they align with their national interests to present their own understanding and interpretation of OCTS. Therefore, corpus linguistic methods can be used to capture the accumulative effects of recontextualization (Baker 2006).

4 Methodology

4.1 Data collection

This study is based on three large self-built corpora: CD (2,325,730 tokens), TG (1,243,604 tokens), and NW (2,033,823 tokens). CD consists of the official Chinese English-language newspaper, *China Daily* (CD), TG two quality English newspapers in Britain (i.e., *The Times* and *The Guardian*) and NW two quality English newspapers in the US (i.e., *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*). They are comparable, because they represent the most influential quality newspapers in their respective countries and show an intense interest in Hong Kong. These corpora collect all news articles concerning Hong Kong from 1 January 2000 to 31 July 2017. These news articles were extracted from the electronic database *Lexis-Nexis* with the keyword search of *Hong Kong* year by year. We collected news articles from the year of 2000 because the initial fervor in the handover of Hong Kong had cooled down, and further reflections on OCTS had started in the following years. The concern over OCTS in the following years must be closely related to the changing contexts of Hong Kong. We stopped collecting news articles on 31 July 2017, because 1 July 2017 marked the twentieth anniversary of Hong Kong's return to China. We extended the time for data collection to 31 July 2017 in view of the fact there were a series of reports concerning

OCTS following the significant event. The collected news articles were further built into three large corpora with their respective 18 yearly sub-corpora. An initial examination of the use of OCTS in the three corpora finds that its actual occurrences are 747 in CD, 395 in NW, 197 in TG. Their standardized frequencies (per 1000 words) are 0.33 in CD, 0.20 in NW, and 0.16 in TG.
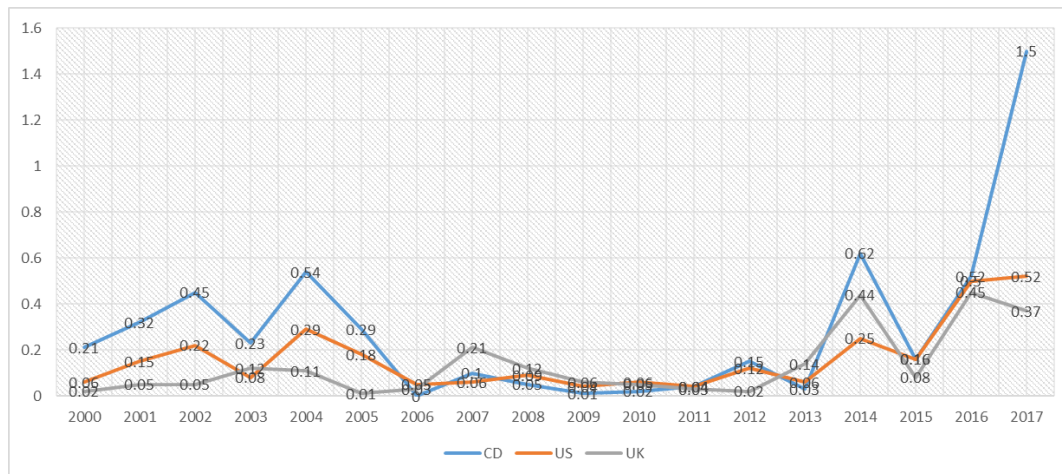

Figure 1. Distribution of OCTS in the three corpora

Figure 1 shows the distribution of OCTS in the three corpora. The three corpora show similar trends in the use of OCTS. It is much more frequently used in the years from 2001 to 2005 and the years from 2013 to 2017. They are the years when the conflicts in Hong Kong were fierce, so OCTS is recontextualized in these newspapers to address the current issues or conflicts in Hong Kong. In other words, the more conflictual the situation is, the more likely OCTS is to be recontextualized. However, their standardized frequencies in the three corpora show that CD shows the strongest interest in the use of OCTS, followed in turn by NW and TG. CD's strong interest is not surprising since it is closely related to the image of the Chinese government. However, it is interesting to find that TG shows an overall less interest in the recontextualization of OCTS than NW except for the years like 2007, 2008, 2013, and 2017.

4.2 Analytic methods

The methods traditionally associated with CL (Baker 2006) and CDA (Reisigl and Wodak 2016) have been combined in the present study in order to present a comprehensive analysis of the recontextualization of OCTS in the three corpora. This

study proposes to analyze the recontextualization of OCTS at four different levels: (1) Lexicalization; (2) Grammatical function; (3) Evaluation; (4) Perspectivation. Lexicalization deals with the particular ways of nominating OCTS (Reisigl and Wodak 2016), i.e., whether it is a principle, policy, model, formula, etc. Grammatical function examines what grammatical functions have been assigned to OCTS when it is recontextualized in specific grammatical structures. Evaluation addresses the semantic prosodies of OCTS in specific contexts. Perspectivation, however, focuses on the perspectives from which OCTS is recontextualized. It is concerned with whether "One Country" or "Two Systems" is foregrounded in its recontextualization of OCTS. Corpus linguistic methods have been combined with discourse analytic methods for a close analysis of the recontextualization of OCTS at the four levels. The corpus linguistic methods used include the analysis of concordance, collocates, semantic preferences and semantic prosodies (Baker 2006). Meanwhile, the transitivity system in systemic functional linguistics (SFL) (Halliday 1994) has been adapted to give a close analysis of the grammatical functions of OCTS in specific clauses. Finally, the findings of the above analysis have been further discussed in terms of the historical background of the different media systems they belong to as well as their national interests in Hong Kong. It is believed that a detailed analysis of the recontextualization of OCTS can shed light on the dynamics between recontextualization, media systems, and national interests.

5 Findings

5.1 Lexicalization

An examination of the most frequent lexical collocates of OCTS in the three corpora finds that different nouns are used to refer to OCTS (see Table 1). It suggests a lack of consensus on what exactly OCTS is. It also sheds light on the elusive and ambiguous nature of OCTS (Lui 2015). CD prefers *principle*, NW *formula* and TG *framework*. According to *Cambridge Dictionary Online*, *principle* means "a basic idea or rule that explains or controls how something happens or works", *formula* "a standard or accepted way of doing something", and *framework* "a supporting structure around which something can be built". The three words, therefore, represent different degrees of abstraction in the recontextualization of OCTS: while CD prefers to conceptualize

OCTS as an abstract principle, NW and TG prefer to recontextualize OCTS in an increasingly concrete way. The abstract recontextualization of OCTS points to the significance of interpretation and understanding of OCTS in its practice, whereas the concrete recontextualization highlights the authority of OCTS in its practice. This can also be perceived in the use of other referential lexical collocates. CD shows its preference for the collocates of *practice* and *commitment*, which emphasize the Chinese government's practice of OCTS and its commitment to OCTS. NW is distinguished for its preference for *arrangement*, which also suggests the foundational role of OCTS. TG also uses *agreement* and *deal* to suggest that OCTS is an agreement or deal reached by the Chinese and the British government.

Table 1. Referential lexical collocates of OCTS in the three corpora

	CD		NW		TG	
Rank	Collocates	Freq.	Collocates	Freq.	Collocates	Freq.
1	PRINCIPLE	272	FORMULA	53	FRAMEWORK	42
2	POLICY	178	ARRANGEMENT	51	PRINCIPLE	32
3	PRACTICE	40	PRINCIPLE	45	FORMULA	29
4	ARRANGEMENT	18	MODEL	36	POLICY	13
5	CONCEPT	16	POLICY	31	AGREEMENT	10
6	PRINCIPLES	16	CONCEPT	13	MODEL	10
7	FRAMEWORK	14	FRAMEWORK	10	ARRANGEMENT	6
8	COMMITMENT	12	RULE	9	CONCEPT	5
9	GUIDELINES	9	PRINCIPLES	5	DEAL	5

5.2 Grammatical function

An examination of the recontextualization of OCTS in the three corpora finds that OCTS can occur in either a clause or nominalization (Halliday 1994). When it occurs in a nominalization, it forms part of the nominalized group (see Example 7). When it occurs in a clause, it can occur in different process types based on the meanings the clauses realize. According to the transitivity system in SFG, there are three main process types (i.e., relational, mental, and material), and three minor process types (i.e., existential, verbal, and behavioral) (Halliday 1994). Previous studies have demonstrated that transitivity plays a crucial role in the perpetuation and propagation of implicit and dominant ideologies (Fowler 1991, Goatly 2001). This can be realized

in the choice of process types, participants and even circumstantial elements associated with these process types.

This study does not make these subtle distinctions based on a preliminary view of the data, and only distinguishes two process types: Relational and Actional. Relational process type is a process of being, which can be identified by the linking verb. However, a further distinction can be made between two relational types: identifying and attributive. In an identifying relational process, OCTS can serve as either the Identifier or the Identified. In an attributive relational process, OCTS can only serve as the Carrier of the attribute. Actional process is a process of action, which can be identified by the action verb in the clause. In Actional process, OCTS can occur as either the Actor or the Goal of the action. Besides, OCTS can also occur in the Circumstance of these processes. Examples are as follows:

(1) Jiang told Tung that "*one country, two systems*" (**Carrier**) was a long-term policy (**Attribute**).
(2) The political bottom line in Hong Kong (**Identified**) is the '*One Country, Two Systems*' principle (**Identifier**)…
(3) '*One Country, Two Systems*' (**Identified**) is clearly the best arrangement for the city (**Identified**), said former chief secretary for…
(4) You (**Actor**) have violated the principles of "*one country, two systems*" (**Goal**)…
(5) "This decision tells people '*one country, two systems*' (**Actor**) still exists in Hong Kong," said Martin Lee…
(6) When Hong Kong, a former British colony, returned to Chinese rule in 1997 under a "*one country, two systems*" formula (**Circumstance**) …
(7) My concern is the destruction of '*one country, two systems*' (**Nominalization**)
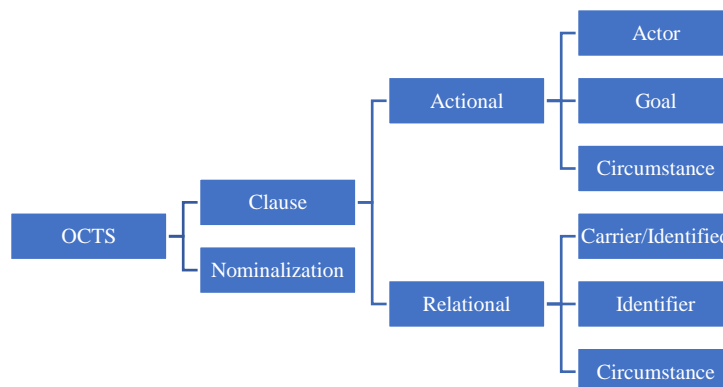

Figure 2. Different functional roles of OCTS in the clause

The grammatical choices that can be made in the recontextualization of OCTS are illustrated in Figure 2. Five grammatical roles can be identified for OCTS: (1) Actor; (2) Goal; (3) Nominalization; (4) Circumstance; and (5) Carrier/Identifier/Identified. Their exact frequencies and percentages are illustrated in Table 2. CD shows the distinct preference for the recontextualization of OCTS as Goal, while NW and TG features the predominant preference for Circumstance. Besides, the preference for Actor and Circumstance rises across the three corpora, while the preference for Goal and Nominalization decreases across the three corpora. The recontextualization of OCTS as Actor emphasizes what OCTS does to other entities or what happens to OCTS, thus underlining the active role of OCTS. Nominalization refers to the process of turning a property or an action into a noun which can be counted or qualified (Fowler 1991). The recontextualization of OCTS as nominalization reifies and objectifies the action taken towards OCTS and the property associated with it. The recontextualization of OCTS as Goal underlines the action taken towards OCTS. Therefore, NW and TG prefer to highlight the active role of OCTS and the circumstances with OCTS, while CD and TG prefer to highlight the action taken towards OCTS and the reification and objectification of the action taken towards it. This further confirms the assumption that CD prefers to highlight the Chinese government's role, while NW and TG underline the authority of OCTS. The following sections give a close analysis of four grammatical roles of OCTS: Actor, Goal, Carrier/Identified/Identifier, and Nominalization.

Table 2. Frequencies of the different grammatical functions of OCTS

Types	CD		NW		TG	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Actor	48	6%	38	10%	22	11%
Goal	250	33%	93	24%	28	14%
Circumstance	195	26%	166	42%	124	63%
Carrier/Identified/Identifier	70	9%	42	11%	15	8%
Nominalization	184	25%	56	14%	8	4%
Total	**747**	**100%**	**395**	**100%**	**197**	**100%**

5.2.1 OCTS in relational processes

In the three corpora, both attributive and identifying relational processes can be identified. Relational processes are used mainly to assign an attribute or identity to a

certain entity (Halliday 1994). In CD, 36 are identifying relational processes, 34 attributive relational processes. It means that identifying and attributive relational processes are evenly distributed in CD. Identifying relational processes in CD are mainly used to emphasize that OCTS is *the best constitutional arrangement*, *the best model*, *the best arrangement*, *the best solution*, *the key framework*, etc. They highlight the authority and idealness of OCTS in Hong Kong. Attributive relational processes in CD carry the semantic preference for success, uniqueness, correctness and benefits. The main attributes assigned to OCTS include *necessary*, *well-established*, *highly successful*, *universally acknowledged success*, *very successful so far*, *absolutely correct*, *unique*, *unshakable*, *entirely workable*, *alive and a resounding success*, *tailor-made for Hong Kong*, *a "resounding success"*, *a success*, *hugely successful*, *entirely new*, *the best arrangement for HK*, and *undoubtedly a success*. Intensifying strategies have also been consistently used to underline the success of OCTS in CD, as can be seen from these expressions such as *best*, *key*, *universally*, *absolutely*, *highly*, *resounding*, *entirely*, *undoubtedly*, *best*, *hugely*, and *never*, as in the following:

(8) "History has proved that the principle of '*one country, two systems*' ... is <u>*absolutely* correct</u>, and our compatriots from Hong Kong and Macao have…

In NW, 22 are identifying relational processes, 20 attributive relational processes. However, the majority of the identifying relational processes are used to define what OCTS is. Besides, OCTS usually serves as the Identifier rather than the Identified in NW (see Example 9). This can be attributed to the fact that the readers of NW, unlike the readers of CD and TG, may not be familiar with OCTS.

(9) Mr. Xi said <u>the key to Hong Kong's success</u> was the "*one country, two systems*" formulation, under which Hong Kong maintains its own legal, economic and local political system. (**NW**)

However, attributive relational processes in NW carry explicit negative semantic prosody. It emphasizes that OCTS is failing and broken or has no attraction for Taiwan. It is followed by such evaluative words as *in imminent danger of failing*, *totally unattractive to the Taiwan people*, *in grave danger*, and *broken*, as in the following:

(10) … that the "*one country, two systems*" arrangement—which guaranteed the territory a separate

political system until 2047—<u>was in grave danger</u>. (**NW**)

In TG, only 5 are identifying relational processes, while 10 are attributive relational processes. The small percentage of identifying relational processes in TG can be attributed to the fact that the readers of TG are familiar with what OCTS is. Besides, the few identifying clauses in TG are used to emphasize the authority of OCTS, as can be seen from these identifying expressions *the legal theory*, *the official policy*, and *the starting point for discussion of eventual reunification* (see Example 11).

(11) he says. "<u>The legal theory</u> may be '*one country, two systems*' but when it comes to cases which are thought to affect China's responsibilities or relationship with Hong Kong, the NPC is likely to say that there is only one system. That system is decidedly Chinese." (**TG**)

However, while attributive relational clauses in TG underline that OCTS is *completely in tatters*, it also emphasizes that OCTS continues to be the best arrangement for Hong Kong's long-term stability and prosperity. Examples are as follows:

(12) "We believe that '*one country, two systems*' <u>continues to be the best arrangement for Hong Kong's long term stability and prosperity</u>, as it has been for nearly 20 years. (**TG**)

(13) "It's now obvious to everyone that the so-called '*one country, two systems*' promise is <u>completely in tatters</u>," she said. (**TG**)

5.2.2. OCTS in nominalization

According to Fowler (1991), nominalization has two main functions: mystification and reification. It can conceal the power relations and writers' attitudes through syntactic transformation. While a process is nominalized, it assumes the status of *things*: "impersonal, inanimate, capable of being amassed and counted like capital, paraded like possessions" (p. 80). An examination of the head nouns of these nominalizations finds that the head nouns in the three corpora are as follows:

> **CD**: *implementation* (97), *practice* (18), *success* (9), *understanding* (7), *advantage* (4), *achievements* (2) *adherence* (2), *determination* (2), *guarantee* (2), *markers* (2), *vitality* (2), *misreading* (2), *misunderstanding* (2), *aim* (1), *application* (1), *cause* (1), *confidence* (1), *design* (1), *designer* (1), *development* (1), *exercise* (1), *formulation* (1), *foundation* (1), *integrity* (1), and

intention (1)

NW: *implementation* (11), *violation* (8), *promise* (8), *destruction* (2), *breach* (3), *continuation* (2), *contravention* (1), *decline* (1), *end* (1), *reaffirmation* (1), *reform* (1), *strength* (1), *understanding* (1), *viability* (1), *arrangement* (1), *beneficiaries* (1), *defense* (1), *director* (1), *endorsement* (1), *introduction* (1), *success* (1), *support* (1)

TG: *success* (1), *breach* (1), *viability* (1), *diminution* (1), *development* (1), *failure* (1)

These nominalized expressions vary in both the number and the meanings they carry. Most of these head nouns in CD carry positive meanings. They have three main semantic preferences: (1) the practice and implementation, such as *implementation*, *practice*, and *application*; (2) the achievement, such as *success*, *advantage*, and *achievements*; (3) the understanding and misunderstanding, such as *understanding*, *misunderstanding*, and *misreading*. Among them, the practice and implementation of OCTS takes the dominant share. It suggests that OCTS constructs the practice and implementation of OCTS as a matter of fact which can be directly talked about. Besides, these head nouns tend to be qualified by such adjectives as *successful*, *comprehensive*, *proper*, *unwavering*, *complete* and *precise*, which emphasize the proper ways of implementing and practicing OCTS. Among these head nouns, only several negative head nouns can be identified (i.e., *misreading*, and *misunderstanding*), which suggest that CD attributes the problems in Hong Kong to the misreading and misunderstanding of OCTS by some democrats and the opposition party, as in the following:

(14) Noting that some people have developed misunderstanding of the policy of '*one country, two systems*' and the Basic Law, Zhang called for unwavering confidence. (**CD**)

Compared with CD, NW shows not only the less preference for nominalization but also the frequent use of negative head nouns. Instead of focusing on the implementation of OCTS in Hong Kong, NW is more concerned with the violation of OCTS by the Chinese government, as can be seen from these head nouns, such as *violation*, *breach*, *destruction*, *contravention*, *decline*, and *end*. Even for the head noun *implementation*, it tends to be used in a negative way (see Example 16).

(15) The council's president said their actions were "ridiculous." "My concern is the destruction of '*one country, two systems*,'" Ms. Yau told reporters. (**NW**)

(16) Though some in Hong Kong see these incidents as aberrations to the otherwise successful

<u>implementation</u> of the "*one country, two systems*" model, critics charge that Beijing has breached the model. (**NW**)

Besides, it also focuses on the promises of OCTS, and the continuation and reaffirmation of OCTS in Hong Kong, as can be seen from such head nouns as *promise*, *continuation*, *reaffirmation*, *reform*, *strength*, *viability*, *defense*, *endorsement*, and *support* (see Example 17).

(17) Still, even critics of China said the decision was <u>a reaffirmation</u> of "*one country, two systems*," the arrangement under which China acquired control of Hong Kong. (**NW**)

(18) The prominent Hong Kong democracy activists Martin Lee and Anson Chan have urged the Turnbull government to stand up to China publicly over the deteriorating state of civic freedoms, warning there has been <u>a progressive diminution</u> of the "*one country, two systems*" policy. (**TG**)

However, nominalization is rarely used in TG. Even for these negative head nouns, they are concerned with the *viability*, *diminution*, and *failure* of OCTS (see Example 18). They suggest that TG is concerned more with the performance of OCTS than with the Chinese government's action towards it.

5.2.3 OCTS as Actor

When OCTS occurs as Actor, it is used either to describe what OCTS does to Hong Kong or other entity (Type 1) or to emphasize what happens to OCTS (Type 2) (Halliday 1994). The exact occurrences of Types 1 and 2 are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. The occurrences of the two types in the three corpora

	CD		NW		TG	
Figure	**Type 1**	**Type 2**	**Type 1**	**Type 2**	**Type 1**	**Type 2**
Freq.	36	12	14	24	9	13
%	75%	12%	37%	73%	41%	59%

As Table 3 shows, CD is more concerned with OCTS's action towards Hong Kong and other entities, whereas NW is primarily concerned with what happens to OCTS. Though TG is also concerned more with Type 2 than with Type 1, their proportions are

comparatively more evenly distributed. In CD, Type 1 is used primarily to highlight OCTS's contribution to Hong Kong's socio-economic development, and Hong Kong's stability and prosperity, as in the following:

(19) '*One country, two systems*' <u>serves the prosperity and stability</u> of Hong Kong and, in turn, the interests… (**CD**)

(20) The hearing, which said the '*one country, two systems*' model <u>met encroachments</u>, and press freedom and judicial independence were…(**CD**)

Even for Type 2, they also emphasize the success of OCTS and its further development, such as *continued to work well*, *has succeeded remarkably well*, *playing out well enough*, *will enter a new phase*, *will never change*, and *will never waver* (see Example 20). Nevertheless, CD also acknowledges that OCTS *met encroachments*, *will deviate from its right direction*, and *has faced some new circumstances* (see Example 20).

In NW, Type 1 is used to emphasize what OCTS promises to Hong Kong. It stresses the freedom, civil liberties OCTS promises to give to Hong Kong (see Example 21).

(21) Both Ms. Chan and Mr. Lam said that Mr. Xi emphasized to the Hong Kong business leaders that the "*one country, two systems*" principle that <u>allows Hong Kong to enjoy civil liberties unheard of in the mainland was a two-way street</u>… (**NW**)

(22) The protests clearly show that the so-called "*one country, two systems*" formula <u>does not work</u> and that Beijing has failed to keep its promises. (**NW**)

However, Type 2 is used to emphasize the problems that occur to OCTS, such as *does not work*, *is eroding*, *will expire*, *is going down the drain*, *expires*, *has come under pressure from Chinese political and economic influence*, and *was due to expire*. It is concerned with whether OCTS is working or will work or not, and most of them give a negative evaluation of OCTS in these examples (see Example 22).

In TG, Type 1 is also used to emphasize what OCTS does to other entities. It emphasizes the political and economic freedoms guaranteed by OCTS. However, unlike the use of causative verbs in NW, TG prefers to use non-causative verbs to emphasize the importance of OCTS, as in the following:

(23) Hong Kong's "*one country, two systems*" agreement <u>offers greater political and economic freedoms</u> and describes universal suffrage as its "ultimate aim". (**TG**)

Halliday (1994) makes a distinction between causative structures (e.g., *John made the ball roll.*) and non-causative structures (e.g., *John rolled the ball.*). Non-causative structures emphasize that the actor (i.e., *John*) directly acts on the goal (i.e., *the ball*), while causative structures underline that the action is conducted through indirect means. The use of causative structures in NW implies that Hong Kong will have democracy and civil rights spontaneously and that OCTS only serves an enabling function. The non-causative structures in TG suggest that OCTS has a determinant role on the freedom and democracy of Hong Kong. They represent NW's and TG's different views of the role of OCTS in Hong Kong's democracy and civil rights.

This difference can also be revealed in the use of Type 2. Although it is also used in TG to question the feasibility of OCTS, Type 2 gives a positive evaluation of OCTS sometimes, as in the following:

(24) Ten years ago, the fear was that Beijing would trample all over it. In fact, the handover's "*one country, two systems*" solution <u>has persisted</u>. (**TG**)

Therefore, while both NW and TG highlight the active role of OCTS, NW highlights the enabling role of OCTS in the freedom and democracy of Hong Kong, but TG underscores the determinant role of OCTS in Hong Kong's freedom and democracy.

5.2.4 OCTS as Goal

When OCTS occurs as Goal, it is used to emphasize what action has been taken towards it. In CD, it follows such verbs as *implement**[1] (79), *uphold** (17), *follow** (9), *carry** *out* (6), *advance** (5), *safeguard** (5), *promote** (4), *put into practice* (4), *adopt** (3), and *endorse** (3). They are used to emphasize the implementation and practice of OCTS by the Chinese government or the Hong Kong government (see Example 25).

(25) The president pledged that the central government will continue to <u>uphold</u> the principle of "*One*

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[1]For the convenience of analysis, * is used here to refer to lemma of each verb.

Country, Two Systems", which he described as "the best solution" to the Hong Kong (**CD**)

(26) "…They even conspire with external forces to <u>undermine</u> national sovereignty and '*one country, two systems*'," he warned. (**CD**)

However, it also follows some verbs carrying explicit negative meanings, such as *undermine**(4), *violate**(3), *deny**(2), *sabotage**(2), *attack**(1), *discredit**(1), *disparage**(1), *impact**(1), *negate**(1), and *override**(1). They are used to represent the opposition party's or the protesters' violation of OCTS or the false attack on Chinese government's violation of OCTS (see Example 26). Therefore, the preference for the recontextualization of OCTS as Goal in CD can be explained in terms of the need to legitimize the action of the Chinese government, and build a positive image for the Chinese government. Meanwhile, it is also used to delegitimize the behavior of the opposition party and the protestors in Hong Kong.

However, those verbs following OCTS in NW highlight the violation and challenge of OCTS by the Chinese government. This can be witnessed in such action verbs as *undermine** (8), *violate** (4), *discredit** (2), *misinterpret** (2), *challenge** (2), *confront** (1), *contravene** (1), *convene** (1), *dismantle** (1), *disregard** (1), *erode** (1), *reject** (1), *forgo** (1), *oppose** (1), and *shatter** (1). Intensifying strategies have also been consistently used in NW to strengthen the negative evaluation of OCTS, as can be seen from these adverbs frequently occurring the action verbs (see Example 27).

(27) But China under Mr. Xi has not hesitated to enforce its will in Hong Kong, even at the risk of appearing to *blatantly violate* the "*one country, two systems*" pledge. (**NW**)

(28) Beijing at every turn. But at the same time, [this person must] earn the support of Hong Kong people by helping us to *defend* "one country, two systems," protect our rights and freedoms, and the rule of law. (**NW**)

In NW, OCTS also follows these verbs with the semantic preference for maintenance and preservation, such as *respect** (8), *hold* up* (4), *uphold** (4), *defend** (2), *maintain** (2), *preserve** (2), *advance** (1), *enshrine** (1), *pursue** (1), and *support** (1). They emphasize that OCTS should be respected and upheld, but the Chinese government fails to respect OCTS (see Example 28).

Like NW, TG also emphasizes the damage brought to OCTS, such as *undermine* (3),

discredit (1), *erode* (1), *invalidate* (1), *rip up* (1), and *violate* (1) (see Example 30). However, the numbers of these negative verbs are comparatively small in TG. The majority of these verbs in TG emphasize the necessity to defend, maintain, buttress, and uphold OCTS, as can be seen from these verbs, such as *maintain** (2), *enshrine** (2), *buttress** (1), *defend** (1), *ensure** (1), *recognize** (1), and *respect** (1) (see Example 31). In other words, it is more concerned with the protection of OCTS than with finding fault with the Chinese government's action towards OCTS.

(29) Yet the fact that the "*one country, two systems*" formula has been almost *completely discredited* by events in Hong Kong is part of the context. (**TG**)

(30) The UK remains fully committed to the joint declaration and we will not shy away from *defending* the principle of 'one country, two systems'. (**TG**)

5.3 Evaluation and perspectivation

Evaluation is concerned with different types of evaluative meanings expressed, while perspectivation addresses from what perspectives they are recontextualized. This study makes a distinction between two types of evaluative meanings: (1) negative, and (2) positive/neutral. Table 4 shows the occurrences of each type of grammatical meanings for each grammatical role. CD shows an overwhelming positive recontextualization of OCTS, while NW features the most negative recontextualization of OCTS. Even though OCTS is recontextualized in a more negative way in TG than in CD, but its recontextualization in TG is not as negative as in NW. Overall, the recontextualization of OCTS in TG is still more positive/neutral than negative.

Table 4. Evaluation of OCTS in the three corpora

Corpora	Types	Actor	Goal	Circum.	Nomin.	Carrier	Total
CD	Positive/neutral	43	227	176	171	70	687
	Negative	5	23	19	13	0	60
NW	Positive/neutral	18	37	90	17	19	181
	Negative	20	56	76	39	23	214
TG	Positive/neutral	9	9	92	2	9	121
	Negative	13	19	32	6	6	76

Besides, OCTS is recontextualized from different perspectives. In some cases, it puts

more emphasis on "One China" by emphasizing the Chinese government's role in Hong Kong's development, the benefits Hong Kong receives from being part of China, and Hong Kong's stability and development. In some other cases, it stresses "two systems" by highlighting Hong Kong's unique status, and the autonomy, civil rights, and freedom Hong Kong was promised by the Chinese government or the OCTS. However, in a few cases, OCTS is recontextualized to underline its impact on Taiwan. Therefore, the occurrences of OCTS can be broadly classified into four types based on the perspectives they represent: (1) China; (2) Hong Kong, (3) Taiwan; (4) Others. Examples are as follows:

(31) Under the "*One Country, Two Systems*" arrangement, <u>the central government has a constitutional role</u> to play in the political development of the HKSAR. (**China**)

(32) The solution is simple: adhere to the "*one country, two systems*" formula of the late Deng Xiaoping and allow us <u>to continue enjoying our freedom and our original way of life</u>. (**Hong Kong**)

(33) Indeed, even during the 2014 protests, Mr. Xi held up Hong Kong's "*one country, two systems*" approach <u>as a model that might eventually coax Taiwan, the self-governed island, to accept Chinese sovereignty</u>. (**Taiwan**)

(34) Actually, Hong Kong was, in a way ruled under a "*one country, two systems*" formula by the British, too. (**Others**)

Table 5. The different perspectives associated with OCTS

Types	CD		NW		TG	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
China	585	78%	27	7%	4	2%
Hong Kong	69	9%	316	80%	182	92%
Taiwan	21	3%	33	8%	2	1%
Others	72	10%	19	5%	9	5%
Total	**747**	**100%**	**395**	**100%**	**197**	**100%**

As Table 5 suggests, CD aligns with the Chinese government by focusing on "One China" in its recontextualization of OCTS. This can also be seen from the most frequent lexical collocates of OCTS in CD, such as *advantages* (14), *stability* (10), *prosperity* (9), *sovereignty* (9), *achievements* (8), and *advantage* (6). Both NW and TG align with Hong Kong in its recontextualization of OCTS, which can also be witnessed in some most frequent collocates of OCTS in the two corpora. In NW, there are *autonomy* (23), *freedoms* (6), *sovereignty* (5), *free* (4), and *independence* (4). In TG, there are *autonomy*

(19) and *freedoms* (8). As regards OCTS's impact on Taiwan, CD always features a positive evaluation by highlighting OCTS as the best model for the reunification of Taiwan with the Chinese mainland, while NW features a predominant negative evaluation by highlighting that it has no appeal to Taiwan. However, TG show little interest in OCTS's impact on Taiwan. Examples are as follows:

(35) In a phone interview, Mr. Chang laughed when asked if "*one country, two systems*" still had any resonance among people in Taiwan. "I'm very confident China would break its promises on anything," he said. (**NW**)

(36) The example of Hong Kong and "*One Country, Two Systems*" is the best model to benefit reunification of Taiwan with the motherland… (**CD**)

6 Discussion and conclusion

This study has given a corpus-assisted discourse study of the recontextualization of OCTS at different levels. The findings show apparent differences between the Chinese English newspaper and the Anglo-American English newspapers in their recontextualizations of OCTS. CD prefers to highlight "one country", and emphasizes the implementation and practice of OCTS by the Chinese government and the Hong Kong government. Therefore, it underlines OCTS as abstract principles, and gives an overwhelming positive evaluation of OCTS during the last twenty years. However, NW and TG prefer to highlight "two systems". They tend to highlight the authority of OCTS and accentuate the rights, freedom, and autonomy it promises to Hong Kong. They tend to play up the failure of OCTS and give an overall more negative evaluation of OCTS in the last two decades. Nevertheless, NW and TG also show explicit differences in their recontextualization of OCTS. While NW addresses the impact of OCTS on Taiwan, TG seems to show little interest. Besides, NW tends to dramatize the violation of OCTS by the Chinese government, TG also refrains from putting the blame on the Chinese government even though it also calls for the necessity to protect and buttress OCTS. Therefore, TG tends to be less negative than NW in its recontextualization of OCTS.

The differences in their recontextualization of OCTS can be explained in terms of the different media systems as well as the national interests of each country. Known for its dominant liberal journalism system, Anglo-American newspapers feature the critical

style in its news reporting about issues in Communist countries (Herman and Chomsky 1988). It goes without saying that the recontextualization of OCTS tends to be filtered through the prism of anti-Communist ideology (Lee et al. 2002). However, as the official English newspaper in China, CD shoulders the responsibility of communicating the voice of the Chinese government and building a positive image for it. It explains why CD values the active role of the Chinese government and the Hong Kong government in the implementation and practice of OCTS. However, the explicit differences in TG's and NWs' recontextualization of OCTS can be explained in terms of the different national interests of the two countries. After the handover, the US volunteered to be the "guardian" of Hong Kong (Martin 2007, Lee et al. 2002) , and Hong Kong has risen to be one of the top issues in Sino-US relations, just like Taiwan or Tibet. In its recontextualization of OCTS, the US newspapers align with their national interests in giving a negative evaluation of the Chinese government. By contrast, as the former colonist of Hong Kong, Britain promised to keep a close watch on Hong Kong before it returned Hong Kong to China (Lee et al. 2002). The emphasis on the authority of OCTS can contribute to its image of a responsible former colonist of Hong Kong (Lui 2015). Besides, it also took care not to offend the Chinese government after its handover in view of the growing economic cooperation between Britain and the Chinese mainland. That explains why TG, unlike NW, refrains from criticizing the Chinese government.

This study, therefore, has revealed not only the particular ways of recontextualization at different levels of discourse but, more importantly, the socio-political factors behind their particular ways of recontextualization. While news media from different media systems may show distinct differences in their recontextualizations of the same issue, news media in the same media system have also shown distinct differences in the recontextualizations of the same issue or discourse in accordance with their national interests. This study has demonstrated that British and American news media tend to align with their national interests to recontextualize OCTS in their own ways. Therefore, the similarities of news media within the same media system should not be taken for granted, and the politics of recontextualization in news media is still worthy of further investigation. More systematic studies need to be conducted to show the dynamic relations between media systems, national interests and the specific ways of

recontextualization in different socio-political contexts.

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