

***Mediating American and South Korean News Discourses
about North Korea through Translation
A Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis***

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Kyung Hye Kim

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

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Abstract

It is widely acknowledged that mass media play a central role in circulating and disseminating ideas. Particularly in this globalised era, it is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore the role and impact of news media in shaping public opinion worldwide. During the attacks on New York in September 2001, for instance, *CNN* – the American cable news network – broadcast across the world twenty-four hours, and most of its reports were translated, or interpreted, into other languages, to be aired in other countries in real time. Most people are thus exposed to extensive reporting every day, but they are not necessarily aware that each news institution promotes, or, at least tries to construct, a particular media discourse according to its political or social orientation.

Because of the complexity of mass media discourses, however, it is difficult to demonstrate how the language used participates in constructing and disseminating certain ideologies, or to challenge stereotypes and power relationships. This explains why media, news, political and institutional texts are preferred genres for critical discourse analysts. The extensive body of literature on news media discourses and their impact which draws on critical discourse analysis includes Van Dijk (1988), Fairclough (1995b), Al-Hejin (2007), Kim S (2008), among many others.

Translation is a major variable that influences the circulation of ideas and ideologies, and translational choices can participate in provoking (or diffusing) political conflict. At the same time, translation may also challenge dominant discourses. Baker (1996: 14) acknowledges the power of translation, arguing that translation and the study of translation have been used as a “weapon in fighting colonialism, sexism, racism, and so on”. And yet, most research on news discourse has so far tended to examine monolingual texts, rather than multilingual texts, including translations, despite the fact that numerous news reports are translated from one language into another on a regular basis. Critical approaches to language study have occasionally been used to investigate translation, in order “to reveal how translation is shaped by ideologies and in this way contributes to the perpetuation or subversion of particular discourses” (Olk 2002: 101), but such studies have remained restricted in scope.

Drawing on corpus-based methodology and critical discourse analysis, this study examines US and South Korean news stories published in mainstream media with a view to identifying specific discursive practices relating to North Korea and how they are mediated in translation. The study attempts to analyse the relationship between textual features and practices specific to each news outlet.

The corpus for this study consists of two separate sub-corpora, designed and compiled according to the same criteria and specifications: one made up of news texts originally written in English, and the other consisting of translated texts which include English source texts and the target texts translated from English into Korean. The texts are drawn from *Newsweek/Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN/CNN Hanguel News*. It is hoped that this study will enhance our understanding of some of the ways in which particular media discourses are constructed, disseminated and mediated via translation.

Declaration

I declare that no portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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사랑하는 부모님, 김무성 & 최서욱님께

Chapter One

Introduction

That the media provide some information about an issue... proves absolutely nothing about the adequacy or accuracy of media coverage. The media do in fact suppress a great deal of information, but even more important is the way they present a particular fact – its placement, tone, and frequency of repetition – and the framework of analysis in which it is placed.

(Herman and Chomsky 1988: 12)

Issues relating to North Korea have received extensive media attention in the US as well as South Korea, since North Korea has exercised the most influence on the relationship between the two countries over the past fifty years. There are still unresolved tensions between South and North Korea, and occasional skirmishes have been reported in the border area. Widespread famine in North Korea, the policies of North Korea's late leader (Kim Jong Il), and North Korea's insistence on building nuclear facilities constitute sites of tension not only for the United Nations but also the US and South Korea.

An extensive body of news articles on these issues has been published thus far, and is being continuously updated. These reports, however, do not always give the same message, since they often draw different pictures of the same event, depending on the agenda, the guidelines, or the attitude of the news outlet with respect to the issue being covered. For example, when the Choen-an warship was allegedly sunk by North Korea in 2010, the *Chosun Ilbo*, widely known as one of the conservative newspapers in Korea, contributed a number of articles and editorials pointing to North Korea as the culprit, while *Hankyreh*, widely viewed as one of the leading left-wing newspapers, attempted to present evidence to demonstrate that North Korea was not responsible for the attack and that the findings of a full-scale forensic investigation were fabricated. Of course, a number of different criteria may be applied in order to define the meanings of 'conservative' or 'left-wing' in the context of news media. As North Korean issues are inextricably linked politically, socially and economically to South Korea, some studies in South Korea, such as Lee (2007), consider the attitudes of the news outlets towards

items about North Korea as one criterion for categorising them as being either conservative or left-wing. Lee analyses editorials from six different newspapers in South Korea, including *The Chosun Ilbo* and *The Hankyoreh*, with specific reference to North Korean issues under President Roh's government. The analysis reveals *The Chosun Ilbo* to be the most conservative, while *The Hankyoreh* is placed at the opposite end of the spectrum. If Lee's argument is accepted, *The Chosun Ilbo* may be thought of as a 'right-wing' publication and *The Hankyoreh* as 'left-wing'.

However, this does not mean that this study gives particular preference to specific news outlets in the matter of data selection. Although this study acknowledges that each outlet adopts a subtly different attitude towards North Korea (see Chapter Four), data are selected primarily based on circulation figures and the availability of translations.

Against this background, the current study sets out to examine US and South Korean news stories published in mainstream media in the period 1998 to 2010, with a view to identifying specific discursive patterns that reveal each country's and each news outlet's approach to North Korea and how these patterns are mediated in translation. The study draws on critical discourse analysis as a source of theoretical insight and on corpus tools of analysis to support these insights with a robust methodology.

1.1 Rationale for Study

Most people are exposed to extensive reporting every day, but they are not necessarily aware that each news institution promotes, or, at least, tries to construct, a particular discourse according to its political or sociological orientation. Because of the complexity of mass media discourses, it is difficult to demonstrate how the language used participates in constructing and disseminating certain ideologies, or to challenge stereotypes and power relationships. This explains why media, news, political and institutional texts are preferred genres for critical discourse analysts. The extensive body of literature on news media discourses and their impact which draws on critical discourse analysis includes Van Dijk (1988), Fairclough (1995a), Al-Hejin (2007), Kim S (2008), among many others.

This study, too, focuses on the genre of news, for the following four reasons. First, events described and reported in the news reflect the main concerns and outlook of a society. Second, as Tolson (1996: 18) states, news is a constantly updated, continuous text, which has no conclusion and which punctuates a society on a “repeated, regular [and] scheduled basis”. An extensive body of constantly updated news articles enables researchers to analyse data diachronically, and to reach findings that cannot be accessed by looking at synchronic data alone. A good example is Qian’s study (2010), where articles published in the *Sun* in the UK and *People’s Daily* in China are used as data in order to look at ways in which discourses on terrorism have changed in the Chinese and the UK press between 2000 and 2002, covering the period immediately before and immediately after 9/11. Third, news is widely presented as objective and balanced; however, it is often contested and accused of misleading its audiences. As in other discourses, whatever is presented in the news is selected carefully according to a set of criteria and values that serve to promote a certain point of view. Hence, news is not a “value-free reflection of ‘facts’” but is a “representation in the sense of construction” (Fowler 1991: 4); it is “socially constructed” in that “what events are reported is not a reflection of the intrinsic importance of those events, but reveals that operation of a complex and artificial set of criteria for selection” (ibid.: 2). These criteria are explicitly elaborated or implicitly adopted by a news organisation or conglomerate and often result in a considerably biased press. Understanding news as a complex institutional process, Taylor (1992) argues, particularly with reference to the coverage of war news, that:

The media can serve not just as providers of ‘straight’ news and information but also as agents of propaganda and disinformation. This is because the very processes by which war reports are gathered at source, packaged by journalists and disseminated to a wider audience are subject to a wide spectrum of influences ranging from battlefield censorship to broadcasting standards to taste and decency in the newsrooms far beyond it.

Taylor fails to mention translation as a key site of mediation or source of influence in this context, but translation is a major variable that influences the circulation of ideas and ideologies, and translational choices can participate in provoking (or diffusing) political conflict. At the same time, translation may also challenge dominant discourses. Baker (1996: 14) acknowledges the power of translation,

arguing that translation and the study of translation have been used as a “weapon in fighting colonialism, sexism, racism, and so on”. And yet, most research on news discourse has so far tended to examine monolingual texts, rather than bilingual or multilingual texts, including translations, despite the fact that numerous news reports are translated from one language into another on a regular basis, and that alternative media – which contests the reporting of mainstream media – also relies heavily on translation. Critical approaches to language study have occasionally been used to investigate translation, in order “to reveal how translation is shaped by ideologies and in this way contributes to the perpetuation or subversion of particular discourses” (Olk 2002: 101), but such studies have remained restricted in scope. This study uses a corpus of original and translated news on North Korea to reveal some of the ways in which translation mediates discourses of conflict in mainstream news.

The study attempts to bring two distinct and influential approaches together: the quantitative approach, typical of corpus linguistics, and the qualitative approach, represented here by Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA), in an attempt to demonstrate their combined value for the field of translation studies. A quantitative, corpus-based approach is particularly illuminating in capturing collocational and other recurrent patterns associated with specific lexical items across a large corpus, while a qualitative, CDA-informed approach is best suited for scrutinising specific stretches of text at various levels and explaining them in terms of historical, political and social events. CDA, which is used in this study as a source of theorising, has proved productive in revealing the ideological investment in linguistic choices attested in news texts (e.g. Richardson 2007 and Park 2009). Hardt-Mautner (1995) stresses the need to combine qualitative and quantitative techniques, and, in recent years, some researchers, such as Baker et al. (2008), have begun to call for an integrated approach in an attempt to bring corpus linguistics and CDA together. This study adopts an integrated model for analysing news texts, combining CDA and corpus techniques to interrogate a large corpus of media texts, both original and translated. The combination of the two approaches should allow reliable generalisations to be made about recurrent choices in this genre and the patterns they are associated with and, at the same time, to trace larger and more intricate discursive patterns and explain them in terms of the historical and social reality in which they are embedded.

Attempting a corpus-based CDA study in the field of translation is challenging because of the shortage of relevant research, and hence of models of analysis to be followed, in the English-speaking world and Korea. The corpus-based methodology has been mostly used in investigating the lexical choices made by a given translator (e.g. Baker 1999, 2000) or in translator training (e.g. Cheong 2003, Nam 2007). CDA has been occasionally employed in analysing translations; however, these studies (e.g. Kang 2007, 2008a and 2008b; Schäffner and Bassnett 2010) have not been corpus-based, and are relatively few in number.

Media translation too has been a seriously under-researched topic to date, as noted above. In the English-speaking world, although a few studies, including Al-Hejin (2007) and Bang (2003 and 2008), demonstrate the power of CDA in revealing the discursive construction of identity in news media, they analyse monolingual texts, not multilingual or translated texts. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) is among the few studies that discuss translation and media; however, it is limited to the discussion of news structures and global news agencies, and pays far too little attention to textual analysis of actual news items.

Although Korea has witnessed a surge in the number of translation training institutions and publications on translation recently, and extensive research in translation studies has been carried out by Korean scholars, published research on media translation is still in its infancy. In relatively recent years, scholarly research has been increasingly carried out on media translation and has analysed authentic data (Kim Y 2003a and 2003b; Kim 2006; Kang 2007, 2008a and 2008b, and Lee 2011); however, none of these analyses is corpus-based. To the best of my knowledge, no study has attempted to incorporate CDA and corpus-based approaches in analysing translated news texts.¹

Most importantly, it remains a matter of serious concern that issues of North Korea have rarely been the subject of research in translation studies; discourses on

¹ With the exception of Munday, who does engage with CDA and corpus-based studies for the contrastive analyses of translated material. In his recent work *Style and Ideology in Translation*, Munday (2008) adopts an interdisciplinary approach, where he brings not only CDA but also corpus-based studies, stylistics, narratology and translation studies together to examine style in translation, with reference to the ideological context. He does not, however, use news texts as data.

North Korea have only been very occasionally examined. Bang (2003 and 2008) investigates the representation of North Korea in South Korean (2003) and US (2008) news reporting, drawing on CDA. More recently, Kwon (2011) examined *CNN* and *Al Jazeera* in order to investigate the ways in which the sinking of the South Korean navy corvette, *Choenan*, by a torpedo fired from a North Korean submarine is described and framed. However, these studies are not conducted within the field of translation studies, and the corpora are monolingual (either Korean, in the case of Bang 2003, or English, in the case of Bang 2008 and Kwon 2011). Furthermore, in Bang's analyses, North Korea is not discussed in its own right, but is analysed together with other countries, including the US, China and Japan. The only three studies that examine the translation of news articles about North Korea, to my knowledge, are all conducted by Kang (2007, 2008a, and 2008b). These studies do not employ corpus tools, and the data set is limited to news headlines or a few selected articles from only one news outlet: *Newsweek*.

This study represents the first attempt to carry out a CDA-informed, corpus-based analysis of a large corpus of original and translated news discourses about North Korea.

1.2 Data collection and selection

The corpus compiled for this study consists of two separate sub-corpora, one made up of original English news texts published in the US between 1998 and 2010, and the other of the set of English source texts selected for translation into Korean and their Korean translations, published in South Korean news outlets during the same period (See Figure 1 and Table 1 below). The year 1998 is selected as the cut-off point because this is when North Korea officially opened its borders with South Korea, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that there would be more coverage of North Korea in US and South Korean news outlets from that date onwards.

Most of the data for this study consists of news reports that have already been uploaded on each institution's website, although part of the corpus was developed by sourcing texts from the National Assembly Library in Korea, which were then scanned or keyed in (see Chapter Four for further details). Advances in technology enable a number of news media organisations to upload their transcripts of broadcast reports as

well as published articles to their websites to attract a wider range of audiences around the world, and wireless networking helps news readers and viewers in many parts of the world to explore these news resources with minimal effort. These advances have implications for research. As Mautner (2005: 809) states, the internet is not only “a tool for information retrieval and exchange”, but also “a huge repository of authentic data”. So far, however, as Kang (2008b: 16) points out, there has been little discussion among translation scholars in Korea of translated news that is accessible on the Internet and now increasingly consumed by a growing body of audience, particularly among the younger generation. The current research aims to address this gap to some extent, by sourcing and collecting data that is readily available to large audiences on news websites.

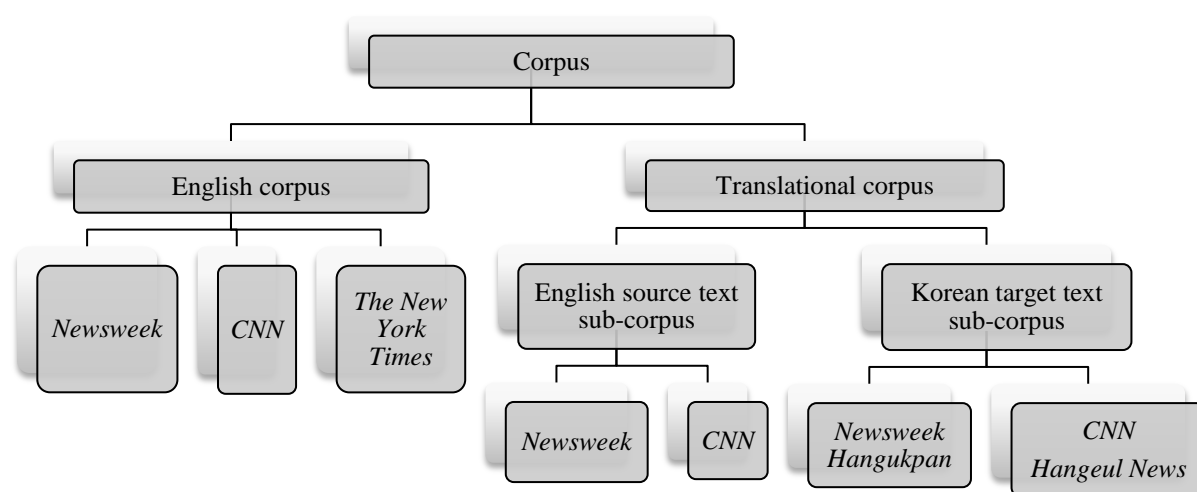


Figure 1. Corpus structure

English Corpus			Translational Corpus			
			English ST sub-corpus		Korean TT sub-corpus	
<i>Newsweek</i>	<i>CNN</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>Newsweek</i>	<i>CNN</i>	<i>Newsweek Hangukpan</i>	<i>CNN Hangeul News</i>
1,707,376 tokens ²	59,929,368 tokens	7,363,431 tokens	313,997 tokens	52,865 tokens	226,598 tokens	33,684 tokens
50,357 types ³	136,849 types	83,925 types	20,108 types	5,701 types	60,561 types	11,114 types
69,000,175 tokens 173,444 types			366,862 tokens 20,995 types		260,282 tokens 65,504 types	

Table 1. Corpus size

² The total number of words appearing in a text. For example, the following sentence, “South Korea is closely related to North Korea politically” consists of nine tokens.

³ The total number of different words appearing in a text. For instance, the sentence presented in the above footnote (“South Korea is closely related to North Korea politically”) consists of eight types.

As is evident from the above description, the corpus is designed to include different types of media. *Newsweek* and *Newsweek Hangukpan* are magazines; *CNN* and *CNN Hangeul News* are TV broadcasts that provide transcripts on the web; and *The New York Times* is a daily newspaper. *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News* feature translated materials.

1.3 Research questions

This study addresses the following overarching research question:

What does a combined quantitative and qualitative approach informed by Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis reveal about the ways in which discourses on North Korea are elaborated in mainstream US media outlets and the ways in which they are mediated in translation in South Korean media outlets?

The above broad research question can be further divided into a set of more specific and interconnected questions, as follows:

1. What does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discourses on North Korea elaborated in mainstream US media, as evident in a corpus of English texts from *CNN*, *Newsweek* and *The New York Times*?
2. What does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discourses on North Korea elaborated in the subset of English texts selected as source texts for translation into Korean by *CNN Hangeul News* and *Newsweek Hangukpan*?
3. What does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discourses on North Korea elaborated in a corpus of the Korean translations published in *CNN Hangeul News* and *Newsweek Hangukpan*?
4. To what extent are patterns identified in the English corpus, English ST sub-corpus and Korean TT sub-corpus institution-specific?
5. What does a CDA-informed analysis of concordance lines reveal about semantic prosodies and semantic preferences in the English corpus, English ST sub-corpus and Korean TT sub-corpus?
6. What does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discursive shifts in the translated Korean texts?

1.4 Organisation of Chapters

Following this brief Introduction, Chapter Two offers an account of recent developments in corpus linguistics and corpus-based translation studies. Various types of corpora currently being used in studying translation are then introduced, and a number of issues raised in connection with the design of corpora for the study of translation, with special reference to the Korean context.

Chapter Three outlines the principles of CDA and offers an overview of CDA studies. It then focuses on corpus-based CDA studies: both corpus-based CDA studies in general, and recent corpus-based CDA studies that focus specifically on analysing news articles in the English speaking world. It concludes with a discussion of corpus-based CDA studies in the Korean context.

The first part of Chapter Four outlines the composition of all the corpora which constitute the data for the current study, while the second part describes the process adopted for preparing electronic texts.

The bulk of this thesis consists of a sustained textual analysis of the corpus specifically designed for this study: Chapters Five, Six and Seven are devoted to the analysis of data (the English corpus of original US news items, the English ST sub-corpus of texts selected for translation into Korean, and the Korean TT sub-corpus, respectively). These chapters seek to answer the set of research questions that motivated the thesis. In Chapter Five, the aim is to identify the most frequently cited items, including countries and capital cities, in connection with North Korea in original US news items, and to describe their collocational and semantic patterning.

Chapters Six and Seven present an analysis of the translational corpus, consisting of the English ST sub-corpus and the Korean TT sub-corpus. The aim of these Chapters is to answer the remaining research questions relating to the translational corpus. Chapter Six examines the extent to which the patterns identified through the analysis of the English ST sub-corpus are different from those of the English corpus discussed in Chapter Five. Chapter Seven attempts to establish the extent to which patterns and collocational profiles identified in the analysis of the Korean TT sub-corpus overlap with, or deviate from, those identified in the analysis of the English ST

sub-corpus, and to scrutinise any significant lexical shifts, and shifts in semantic prosody revealed in the analysis.

Chapter Eight discusses the main findings and revisits the rationale and research objectives that guided and structured the thesis. This study is then assessed in the light of its limitations, before looking ahead to potential future research avenues.

Chapter Two

Corpus-based Translation Studies and Developments in the Korean Context

Corpus linguistics offers a new perspective for understanding and studying linguistic behaviour. It enables translation scholars to study translation as a “variety of language behaviour that merits attention in its own right” (Kruger, 2004: 1) by investigating recurrent patterning in translated texts. The idea of using corpora to study the distinctive patterning of translated text was first suggested by Baker (1993). Since then, much work has been undertaken to describe the patterning of translated text (see, in particular, Laviosa-Braithwaite 1998a, 1998b, 1998c and Olohan and Baker 2000), and there is already an extensive body of literature in translation studies that engages with the principles, methodology and history of corpus analysis (see Baker 1993, 1995 and Cheong 2003).

This chapter begins with a brief overview of corpus linguistics and corpus development. The types of corpora currently being used to study translation will then be introduced. Issues in the design of corpora for the study of translation, such as whether full texts or extracts are used, will be addressed, focusing specifically on corpus-based translation studies specifically in the Korean context.

2.1 Corpus linguistics: an overview and corpus development

Sinclair (1996: 4-5) makes a distinction between a corpus and a computational corpus, defining a corpus as a “collection of pieces of language that are selected and ordered according to explicit linguistic criteria in order for it to be used as a sample of the language”, whereas a computational corpus is a corpus “which is encoded in a standardised and homogenous way for open ended retrieval tasks”. On a similar note, Leech (1992: 106) explains differences between corpus linguistics and computational linguistics by arguing that the latter branch of linguistics should “strictly be labelled ‘computer corpus linguistics’ to distinguish it from the corpus linguistics of the pre-computer age”, since there is a growing overlap between the two. However, this distinction will not be pursued here. Instead, corpus linguistics will be broadly defined

as ‘the discipline concerned with the study of language by using an electronically stored and processed corpus for a special purpose’, given that it is now widely acknowledged that corpus linguistics is a by-product of the computer era. Thus, throughout this thesis, the term ‘corpus linguistics’ is used to refer to what Leech calls ‘computer corpus linguistics’.

Leech (1992: 105) points out that the term ‘corpus linguistics’ appeared only occasionally before the publication of *Corpus Linguistics*, a collection of articles edited by Aarts and Meijs (1984), and since then corpus linguistics has gradually become a recognised branch of linguistics. However, as Leech (ibid.) acknowledges, corpus linguistics is more of a methodology for undertaking linguistic research than a particular branch of linguistics such as syntax or phonology.

McEnery and Wilson (2001: 1) define corpus linguistics as “the study of language based on examples of ‘real life’ language use”, and Kennedy (1998: 7) states that it is “based on bodies of text as the domain of study and as the source of evidence for linguistic description and argumentation”. Baker (2000: 6) describes corpus linguistics as that branch of linguistics which relies on “the large scale analysis of a very large body of authentic running text to capture regularities in language use” and stresses that the texts are held in “machine readable form”. Kang (2003) similarly points out that a computational corpus provides an empirical methodology for study by presenting language as it is actually being used in the real world.⁴ As can be seen from these statements, corpus linguistics focuses on linguistic performance, paying more attention to linguistic description and to the development of quantitative, as well as qualitative, models of language based on empirical data than linguistic competence.

⁴ Chomsky, probably the best known critic of corpus linguistics and its methodology, has been sceptical about the use of corpora and has pointed out some of its limitations. He distinguishes between language competence, the knowledge of rules and structure of a language possessed by native speakers; and language performance, a language in practice and communication, suggesting that the linguist must seek to model language competence, rather than performance. Chomsky, who was in favour of investigating linguistic competence than linguistic performance, further states that a corpus is not suitable for examining a person’s language competence, since language is infinite and creative, whereas a corpus is finite, which means it can be distorted. However, Chomsky has been strongly challenged in recent years by several scholars, including McEnery and Wilson (2001), who refute Chomsky’s criticism in great detail.

2.1.1 Corpus development in the English-speaking world

Kennedy tentatively estimated in 1998 that there were probably seven hundred corpus building projects under way worldwide by the late 1990s. Since then, a number of studies have discussed or employed both pre-electronic and modern computerised corpora in their research to date (e.g. Kennedy 1998 and Chen 2006). Thus this section will focus on the corpora that inspired scholars to generate some of the most important research over the past few decades.

In the 1960s, the Brown Corpus⁵, compiled by Brown University in the US, was the first computerised American English corpus. Designed for linguistic research, it contains one million words and consists of 500 samples, each of around 2,000 words of written American English. Due to the shortcomings of software and technology at the time, the texts had to be keyed in, thus limiting the size of the corpus, although it was still of great benefit for language teaching. The Brown Corpus proved crucial in developing corpus methodology, not only because it was widely recognised as the pioneering example of a first-generation computerised corpus, but also because it was developed in the face of ‘massive indifference’ and the then ‘increasingly dominant paradigm in US linguistics, led by Noam Chomsky’⁶ (Kennedy 1998: 23).

In the 1970s, another corpus of written English was compiled, this time by Lancaster University in the UK. Known as the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen (LOB)⁷ corpus, it contained one million words and was intended to be the British counterpart of the Brown Corpus. In size and structure, the LOB corpus is identical to the Brown Corpus in that it consists of 500 texts of about 2,000 words each. Because of their design similarities, the LOB and Brown corpora contributed to the development of comparative studies of written American and British English.

⁵ <http://archive.org/details/BrownCorpus> [last accessed 8 April 2012], and see the Brown Corpus manual for more details at: <http://khnt.aksis.uib.no/icame/manuals/brown/> [last accessed 8 April 2012].

⁶ ‘Generative grammar’ by Chomsky was one of the dominant paradigms in the US in the 1960s. As mentioned earlier, because Chomsky had several arguments against corpora, computational corpus linguistics was slowly moved to back water, and the notable exception is the Brown corpus.

⁷ For more details: <http://khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/manuals/lob/INDEX.HTM> [last accessed 2 June 2010].

Like the LOB Corpus, the Kolhapur Corpus of Indian English⁸, the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English⁹, the Australian Corpus of English¹⁰ – also known as the Macquarie Corpus of Written Australian English – and the Corpus of English-Canadian Writing were all subsequently modelled, both in structure and size, on the Brown Corpus. These corpora facilitate comparative studies by providing access to a wide variety of English as used in the English speaking world. The Brown Corpus also informed the creation of the International Corpus of English (ICE)¹¹, intended to support comparative studies of English worldwide.¹²

Following the creation of the Brown and LOB corpora, many other corpora were compiled, in English and various other languages. Improvements in the technology of storing texts made the creation of larger corpora possible, and these began to be compiled for specific purposes, such as dictionary-making, the study of spoken English¹³ and researching language acquisition¹⁴.

The Cobuild Project (Collins Birmingham University International Language Database) in 1980 is a landmark in corpus development. This was a joint project between a commercial publisher, Collins, and a research team from the University of Birmingham. It created a 20-million word corpus that was later expanded into what came to be known as the Bank of English – a 650 million word database of written and spoken English as of 2010, which forms part of a 2.5 billion word database called the Collins Corpus. The Bank of English contains written material from websites, newspapers, magazines and books published around the world, and spoken material from radio, TV and everyday conversations. New data is added to the corpus on a monthly basis. The Cobuild project set new standards for the management of large

⁸ <http://khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/manuals/kolhapur/index.htm> [last accessed 8 April 2012].

⁹ <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/lals/resources/corpora-default/corpora-wsc> [last accessed 8 April 2012], and see the manual guide for more details: <http://icame.uib.no/wsc/index.htm> [last accessed 8 April 2012].

¹⁰ <http://www.ausnc.org.au/corpora/ace> [last accessed 8 April 2012], and see the manual of information at: <http://khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/manuals/ace/INDEX.HTM> [last accessed 8 April 2012].

¹¹ <http://ice-corpora.net/ice/index.htm> [last accessed 8 April 2012].

¹² ICE comprises more than twenty sub-corpora, representing regional varieties of English, such as Ghanaian English, New Zealand English and Hong Kong English. Each corpus consists of one million words of spoken and written English produced since 1989. Each team working on building a regional corpus is given precise instructions to facilitate comparisons between national varieties. Some corpora are available to download under license from the website for non-profit academic research purposes only.

¹³ Examples include the London-Lund Corpus of spoken English, the Lancaster/IBM Spoken English Corpus and the Corpus of Spoken American English.

¹⁴ For example, the Child Language Data Exchange System (<http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/> [last accessed 8 April 2012]).

corpora, not only because of its size, but also because it linked corpus building to “a particular commercial research and development project to produce corpus-based dictionaries, grammars and language teaching courses” (Kennedy 1998: 47).

Interest and success in the systematic compilation of corpora in the 1990s encouraged researchers to attempt more challenging and ambitious projects. The British National Corpus (BNC)¹⁵ was created by a number of institutions, with support from the British Government. These institutions are: Oxford University Press, the British Library’s Research and Innovation Centre, the Science and Engineering Council, the British Library and the British Academy. Compilation commenced in 1991 and by 1994, when it was completed, the corpus stood at more than 100 million words. This ‘sample corpus’, so called because it consists of samples of contemporary written (90%) and spoken (10%) British English, is not subject to either update or enlargement. It consists of extracts from a wide range of sources, including regional and national newspapers, popular fiction, letters, memoranda and essays, as well as recorded radio shows and government meetings. Widely accessed for education, academic and commercial purposes, the BNC is a major point of reference for British English. In addition, it is commonly used as the non-translated part of comparable English corpora – i.e. corpora that consist of two sub-corpora in the same language, one consisting of translated texts and the other consisting of non-translated texts (see Olohan and Baker 2000, Baker 2007, see also section 2.2 below). Restricted access to the corpus is available freely through the BNC website, and full subscription and some sub-corpora can be purchased at an affordable price.

All the corpora described above are monolingual English corpora, but bilingual and multilingual corpora have also been compiled. Most notably, the European Corpus Initiative Multilingual Corpus 1 (ECI/MC1)¹⁶ was developed between 1992 and 1993 and is now available on CD-ROM. This corpus is in excess of 98 million words in size, taken from major European and other languages as well as many minor ones, such as Albanian, Estonian, Gaelic and Tibetan. It includes 34 million words of German newspaper texts, 4.1 million words of French newspaper texts, 5.5 million words of extracts from the Leiden Corpus of Dutch (consisting of newspapers and transcribed

¹⁵ <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/> [last accessed 8 April 2012].

¹⁶ <http://www.elsnet.org/eci.html> [last accessed 8 April 2012].

speech), and five million words of parallel texts in English, French and Spanish from the International Labour Organisation.

2.1.2 Corpus development in Asia

Outside European and English-speaking countries, there have also been important developments in corpus building. In Asia, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) of Japan established the Electronic Dictionary Project as early as 1986 as part of a nine-year national project for the development of a large-scale electronic dictionary for natural language processing.¹⁷ The National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL) is also involved in a number of corpus development projects, most notably the KOTONOHA project¹⁸, which involves building three corpora: the Taiyo Corpus¹⁹, the Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese (CSJ)²⁰, and the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ). The Taiyo Corpus and the CSJ are easily accessible through the internet and are now available to researchers worldwide, whilst, at the time of writing, the BCCWJ is being enlarged and developed and is expected to be made available in 2011.

Specifically designed for the study of the written register of Modern Japanese, the Taiyo Corpus holds in excess of 15 million characters – 3,409 articles from sixty issues of the periodical *Taiyo* published over the period of 1895-1925. *Taiyo* was a periodical read widely by Japanese readers between the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. By contrast, the CSJ has been built specifically to support research into the spoken register of present-day Japanese. A corpus of 658 hours of speech – approximately 7.5 million words – was stored on eighteen DVD-ROM discs. Of this, 95% is taken from spontaneous monologues, such as academic presentations, while the remaining 5% is from spontaneous dialogues and reading aloud. CSJ enables researchers to conduct speech engineering, linguistic and phonetic research²¹, by

¹⁷ In order to carry out the project, the Dictionary Research Institute, Ltd. (EDR) was established with joint funding from the Japan Key Technology Centre and eight private companies (Fujitsu, Ltd., NEC Corporation, Hitachi, Ltd., Sharp Corporation, Toshiba Corporation, Oki Electric Industry Co., Ltd., Mitsubishi Electric Corporation, and Matsushita Electric Industrial Co., Ltd.). More information can be obtained through the website: <http://www.gip.jipdec.or.jp/english/project-e/project20-e.html> [last accessed 2 June 2010].

¹⁸ KOTONOHA means ‘word of language’ in classical Japanese. For more details: <http://www.ninjal.ac.jp/english/products/kotonoha/> [last accessed 8 April 2012].

¹⁹ http://www.kokken.go.jp/en/research_projects/kotonoha/taiyo_corpus/ [last accessed 2 June 2010].

²⁰ http://www.kokken.go.jp/en/research_projects/kotonoha/csj/ [last accessed 2 June 2010].

²¹ See the ‘Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese’ website (<http://www.kokken.go.jp/katsudo/seika/corpus>

providing a rich set of annotations, including transcriptions, labels of phonetic segmentation and intonation, both in text files and XML format.

Launched in 2006, by 2010 the BCCWJ held in excess of 100 million words of written Japanese, divided into three sub-corpora: (i) a 35 million-word sub-corpus that consists of a collection of samples extracted randomly from books, magazines and newspapers published between 2001 and 2005; (ii) a thirty million-word sub-corpus comprising all books catalogued in more than thirteen metropolitan libraries in Tokyo; and (iii) a thirty-five million-word special-purpose sub-corpus containing a set of diverse mini-corpora, including government white papers, textbooks, bestselling books, and internet texts taken from *Yahoo! Japan Inc.* The BCCWJ, as clearly explained on the NINJAL website²², is specifically designed to support the research agenda of the NINJAL groups. At the time of writing, ten million words are readily available, for full-text retrieval, to researchers worldwide through the project's website²³.

In the Chinese-speaking world, a number of corpora have also been compiled. The Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese (Sinica Corpus) in Taiwan began compiling data in 1991 and was completed in 1997. It is one of the earliest corpora of Chinese, and is reportedly the world's first balanced (i.e. representative) modern Chinese corpus to be annotated with part-of-speech information. Specifically constructed for the analysis of modern Chinese, it holds five million words collected from general magazines, newspapers, academic journals, textbooks, general books and reference material such as technical reports and theses. It also includes audio-visual texts taken from the Bulletin Board System (BBS)²⁴, as well as records of interviews and conversation. At the time of writing, the corpus is managed by the Institute of Information Science and Chinese Knowledge and Information Processing group in the Academia Sinica, and is freely available to researchers worldwide through the internet.

As stated above, it is clear that the Academia Sinica has played a key role in initiating corpus research in Taiwan. Chen (2006: 59) argues that "Chinese corpus

/public [last accessed 2 June 2010]) where more detailed information is provided.

²² <http://www.ninjal.ac.jp/english/> [last accessed 29 December 2012].

²³ <http://www.kotonoha.gr.jp/demo/> [last accessed 2 June 2010].

²⁴ Bulletin Board System (BBS) is a computer software system that enables users to share or exchange information, such as messages or files.

linguistics emerged in Taiwan in the 1990s due to the highly coordinated efforts of [the Academia Sinica]. In 2002, it also launched a large-scale initiative, entitled ‘Language Archives’, with the aim of creating a resource for the study of minority and aboriginal languages in Taiwan. This project encouraged researchers to study not only various dialects, but also the endangered languages of Taiwan.

However, whatever type of patterning is being examined, the Sinica Corpus is limited in terms of the light it can shed on modern Chinese as used in Mainland China (hereafter the mainland)²⁵, for several reasons. First, the Academia Sinica Corpus consists of texts written and spoken in Mandarin as used in Taiwan, and Taiwan has been separated politically from the mainland for many years. Therefore, there is a difference between the Mandarin used in Taiwan and the Mandarin of the mainland. For instance, according to McEnery and Xiao (2004: 1175), ‘you’ in Taiwanese Mandarin functions as a “perfective marker indicating the actualisation of a situation, especially in conversations”, whilst speakers in the mainland “find it odd and even ungrammatical”. There is also a difference in Chinese characters. Since it was introduced by the mainland Chinese government in the 1950s, simplified Chinese, a variant of traditional Chinese, has been largely adopted on the mainland, whereas Hong Kong and Taiwan still use the traditional, complex form.

Fortunately, numerous corpora of Mandarin Chinese, as used in the mainland, are also available. Led by the Ministry of Education (MOE), Chinese corpus research started in the early 1980s. Several universities and research institutions were commissioned to carry out a number of state-funded projects; however, one of the main obstacles that hampered research in the early stages was word segmentation and POS (part-of-speech) annotation, due to different word combination mechanisms and the continuous writing system, an open-ended one, which does not use spaces to indicate word boundaries. However, Shanxi University conducted research starting in 1988 in order to address the problem, and by 1992 adjusted and integrated guidelines were finally distributed; these became “the key foundation of a national standard to govern Chinese corpus annotation” (Chen 2006: 49). Nevertheless, as Chen (*ibid.*: 50) explains,

²⁵ The geopolitical terms ‘Mainland China’ and ‘the mainland’ are used here to refer to the area under the jurisdiction of the People’s Republic of China. This excludes Hong Kong and Macau, which adopt different economic and political systems, and it also excludes Taiwan (Republic of China), which is administered by Taiwan’s own government.

“due to the complexities of building electronic databases containing Chinese texts, corpus linguistics in mainland China, not surprisingly, started with English corpora”. The first English corpus in China – the ‘Jiaotong Daxue English for Science and Technology (JDEST) Corpus’ developed in 1982 by the Shanghai Jiao Tong University – contained one million words sampled from texts written in British and American English; it was later expanded to four million words.

In the early 1990s, the Modern Chinese Language Corpus (MCLC), containing 70 million characters of written and spoken Chinese, was developed by the Research Institute of Language Application in Beijing. Chen (2006: 51) suggests that the MCLC has “a national status similar to the BNC in the UK”. It comprises 1.4 billion characters taken from original Chinese writings produced between 1919 and the 1990s. It is worth noting that a mainland Chinese corpus linguist has more recently been involved in the development of a Chinese corpus in the West, modelled on the Freiburg-LOB (FLOB)²⁶ Corpus of British English. The linguist in question, Xiao, has been involved in the creation of the one million words Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese (LCMC), in collaboration with McEnery. McEnery and Xiao (2004: 1175) justify the development of the corpus by pointing out that most Chinese corpus resources publicly available in 2004 were not balanced (i.e. not representative, as the text types or language varieties are limited to a certain degree), and that most of them were not suitable for cross-linguistic research.

Having been colonised by the British nearly a hundred years ago, Hong Kong soon became officially bilingual, with some of its citizens using English and Cantonese as mother tongues. This background enabled scholars to engage with both parallel and comparable corpora; therefore Hong Kong has played a significant role in leading multilingual corpus linguistics. One of the first Chinese corpora to be compiled in Hong Kong was the Linguistic Variations in Chinese Speech Communities (LIVAC) corpus, developed by the Language Information Sciences Research Centre at The City University of Hong Kong.²⁷ It contains texts from Chinese newspapers and electronic

²⁶ The one-million-word F-LOB corpus was compiled by Christian Mair in 1991 to parallel the original LOB and Brown corpora as closely as possible. More information is available at <http://khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/manuals/flob/index.htm> [last accessed 2 June 2010].

²⁷ McEnery and Xiao (2004: 1175) argue that the LIVAC corpus can “only be used to explore regional variation in Chinese” although it is designed for comparative research.

media from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Beijing, Shanghai, Macau and Singapore. According to the LIVAC website²⁸, textual material has been collected every four days since July 1995, and the corpus is, at the time of writing, in excess of 350 million Chinese characters and over 150 thousand word types in size.

2.1.3 Corpus development in Korea

Chen (2006: 36) argues that “the whole enterprise of computer science was first developed with Indo-European languages”; and that it is therefore reasonable to see “a delay on the part of Chinese in embracing corpus linguistics as a modern methodology for linguistic research”. The same pattern has influenced other Asian countries, such as Korea, where corpus building did not begin until the late 1980s. Nevertheless, since then, Korea’s rapid technological advance has acted as a stimulus to its scholars, many of whom worked in the area of linguistics and computational linguistics. Recognising that an electronic corpus enables them to access and analyse a vast amount of data more efficiently and productively, Korean researchers proceeded to build large scale, high quality language databases.

Among the more active institutions of the last few decades in this regard, Yonsei University, Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) and Korea University have played an important role in building various types of Korean language corpora, both spoken and written, annotated and tagged. Since the 1980s, a vast amount of electronically stored Korean text has become available to researchers, and corpus work has increasingly become the focus of interest for researchers working in linguistics and translation studies. Given its centrality to the current study, this section begins with a detailed overview of corpus work in the Korean context, and a brief excursion into the typology of corpora and attendant terminology that are now widely used in translation studies will be followed in the next section.

(a) Major corpora of Korean

A number of computerised corpora of Korean are currently available. These include Korea-1 Corpus, the Yonsei Corpus, the Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) Corpus (consisting of several corpora), and the National Institute of the Korean Language Corpus. The 21st Century Sejong Project has been regarded as

²⁸ See <http://www.livac.org/info.php?lang=en> [last accessed 2 June 2010].

the Korean National Corpus since 1998. After a brief introduction to the main corpora of Korean, the 21st Century Sejong Project will be discussed in detail, since it has partly been designed to cater for the specific needs of translation scholars and to serve as one of the reference corpora in Korea.

The Korea-1 Corpus is held at the Korea University. It was launched in 1995 as part of a larger project, which involved compiling a Korean database and a Korean dictionary to assist the study of the Korean language. The Korea-1 corpus holds in excess of 10 million words and consists of samples of contemporary texts originally written and spoken in Korean – newspapers, brochures, radio scripts and letters, for instance.

The Yonsei Corpus is hosted and developed by the ‘Yonsei Institute of Language and Information Studies’ of Yonsei University, which has been compiling the corpus since the late 1980s. Consisting of 88.8 million *eojeols*²⁹ at the time of writing, the corpus is designed as a resource for learners of English. The corpus also includes a section of Korean translations, together with their source texts (i.e. a parallel corpus), thus supporting the compilation of dictionaries and other reference books.

The Semantic Web Research Centre of the Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) is currently involved in three projects, including the Bank of Resource for language and Annotation (BORA) and the Korea Terminology Research Centre for Language and Knowledge Engineering (KORTERM). BORA is a language resource bank, which includes raw and annotated corpora of spoken and written languages, various types of electronic dictionaries and other language-related resources. With twelve sub-corpora, including a raw corpus, a newspaper corpus, and multilingual corpora, BORA provides researchers with several sets of language corpora, one of which is a parallel and multilingual corpus containing 60,000 sentences, which are translations of Chinese and English texts into Korean. KORTERM³⁰ explains the overall objectives of its projects as follows:

²⁹ Hong et al. (1996: 676) define ‘*eojeol*’ as “a unit for Korean morphological analyzer”. A detailed discussion of *eojeol* and the orthographic word in Korean can be found in section 2.2.1. *Eojeols* referred to in this thesis are meant to be tokens.

³⁰ http://semanticweb.kaist.ac.kr/research/korterm/korean/index_up.php [last accessed 29 December 2012].

... by promoting collaborations in the field of terminology [it sets out to] facilitate communication between experts and the exchange of knowledge; [to] facilitate the formation of multi-functional terminologies verified by specialists and organisations in each field; and [to] support a domestic and international information infrastructure for efficient and standardised communication in the global information society.

(my translation)

In order to achieve these aims, KOTERM has collaborated with expert terminology researchers and organisations in diverse fields, including the Yonsei University Dictionary Compilation Group. According to their website, it has collaborated internationally with International Information Centre for Terminology (InfoTerm) and its member organisations in developing a terminology search engine as well as a terminology corpus. As a consequence, an economic terminology corpus was compiled in 1999, a chemistry terminology corpus in 2000, a biology terminology corpus in 2001, and so forth. Each of the corpora constructed by KOTERM consists of a million *eojeols*, and some – chemistry, for instance – have a Korean-English parallel section.

The National Institute of the Korean Language, a governmental organisation, has also been developing its own corpus, known as ‘the National Institute of the Korean Language Corpus’, since 1992. The corpus consists of around 68 million *eojeols*, and it has been used in the compilation of the Standard Korean Dictionary.

Of all the corpora being compiled in Korea, the 21st Century Sejong Project corpus is the largest. It is different from those described above in that it is managed at a national level, rather than by individuals or small groups. Realising the importance of constructing a corpus of the Korean language, the Korean government has initiated various projects in order to support research in this area. Named after King Sejong, who, more than five hundred years ago, invented *Hangeul*, the writing system of the Korean language, the 21st Century Sejong Project was launched by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in association with a number of academic institutions, including the National Institute of the Korean Language, in 1998; and it was completed in 2007. Corpora compiled as part of this project are now managed and can be accessed through the 21st Century Sejong Project homepage³¹, and are also available on CD-ROM. The Sejong

³¹ <http://www.sejong.or.kr/> [last accessed 8 April 2012].

electronic dictionary is similarly accessible through the website.

The 21st Century Sejong Project corpus was designed to include a variety of authors, translators and topics, and researchers are allowed free access to it. The Korean government built the corpus in response to the shortage of publicly available, balanced (i.e. representative) national corpora of the Korean language. The aim of this project is to preserve and further develop *Hangeul*, the Korean language, and to make it one of the leading global writing systems. Hence, building corpora and databases is considered one of the top priorities for the Korean government.

This 200 million *eojeol* Korean national corpus consists of a set of samples of written and spoken language from a wide range of sources, such as newspapers, magazines and academic works. It includes old and modern Korean, oral folklore literature and Korean as used abroad. Of particular interest is the fact that the corpus includes samples of the North Korean language³² and South Korean dialects. As Kang and Kim (2001) point out, it is worth noting that the 21st Century Sejong Project also supports research on methodology and software development as well as the compilation of various corpora.

The project comprises a set of sub-projects: (i) the construction of the primary general corpus of the Korean language; (ii) the construction of a corpus, named ‘Special Corpus’, which consists of corpora of Korean as used by both North Koreans and Koreans who live overseas, and which includes archaic Korean words and transcriptions of colloquial Korean; (iii) the development of an electronic dictionary; (iv) the creation of resources to enhance the use of the Korean language and writing system in the new information society; (v) the education and training of researchers for the KLIOP (Korean Language Information-oriented Project); (vi) the standardisation of terminology; (vii) the documentation of, and support for, non-standard languages used by Korean ancestors; (viii) the development and distribution of new fonts; and (ix) the management and distribution of findings from the project. Specific attention should be

³² Just as the length of time for which Taiwan has been separated from the mainland has given rise to a number of small differences in the Chinese language, the separation of North Korea (Democratic People’s Republic of Korea) from South Korea (Republic of Korea) for more than sixty years means that the language used in North Korea has diverged from that used in the South: the Korean language used in the North exhibits differences in vocabulary, spelling, grammar and pronunciation.

paid to the first and the second sub-project as they provide vast amounts of data related to this study.

In terms of the construction of the primary general corpus of the Korean language, a project referred to as ‘Primary Corpus Construction’, the website³³ clearly states that the goal is “to establish a national corpus of Korean language that is comparable both in quality and size to the world’s greatest national corpora, such as [the] BNC (British National Corpus)”. The project appears to have reached its goal of building a 200 million word corpus which consists of the modern Korean language, with five million *eojeols*, a tagged part of speech with two million *eojeols*, a sense-tagged corpus with two million *eojeols* and a syntactically tagged corpus of 120 thousand *eojeols*.

The Special Corpus consists of material in Korean as used by North Koreans and Koreans living overseas. It therefore supports research on dynamic changes in the Korean language. In 2007, the Special Corpus consisted of (i) thirty million *eojeols*, annotated and tagged for parts of speech; (ii) a raw corpus of three hundred thousand *eojeols* of Korean-English; (iii) an annotated and tagged corpus of another three hundred thousand *eojeols* of Korean-English; (iv) a raw Korean-Japanese parallel corpus consisting of 211,000 *eojeols* corpus; and (v) a fifty thousand *eojeols* annotated and tagged corpus.

There is also a Korean-English parallel corpus compiled as part of the project. As the website explains, the parallel corpus is expected to contribute to the development “not only of natural language processing but also many areas in which knowledge of linguistic engineering is involved such as machine translation, translation evaluation systems, language education, comparative linguistics and teaching of Korean as a foreign language”.

2.2 Types of corpora in translation studies

Some corpora are more suitable for the investigation of particular linguistic issues than others. This section will focus on the types of corpora that are relevant to the current

³³ <http://www.sejong.or.kr/gopage.php?svc=base.eintro> [last accessed 8 April 2012].

study.

Hoffman (2008: 24-26) discusses four types of corpora: (i) synchronic or diachronic; (ii) complete texts or samples (i.e. only parts of full texts); (iii) static or dynamic; and (iv) plain or marked-up corpora. The parameters that inform this categorisation are relevant to all types of corpora, whether monolingual or translational. However, for the purposes of this study, it is important to complement this typology with one that is particularly relevant to translation studies. Three main types of corpora (parallel, multilingual and comparable corpora) will be discussed here, following the terminology adopted by some leading scholars, including Baker (1995) and Olohan (2004).³⁴

A parallel corpus consists of a set of texts in a given source language and their translated versions in another language.³⁵ Making use of Baker's terminology, Kenny (1998: 51-53) describes a parallel corpus as consisting of a set of texts "originally written in a language A alongside their translations into a language B". A parallel corpus provides a good basis for examining shifts in translation.

Parallel corpora can be either unidirectional or bidirectional. A unidirectional parallel corpus consists of two separate collections of texts, one part consisting of source texts in language A and the other part of target texts in language B. A bidirectional parallel corpus may encompass two sets of texts, each of which includes source texts in one language and their translations into the other language. Kenny (2001: 51) reports that parallel corpora had already been compiled for several language pairs, including English-French (Salkie 1995), English-Italian (Marinai et al. 1992), English-Norwegian (Johansson and Hofland 1994; Johansson et al. 1996) and English-German (Schmied and Schäffler 1994). Several more language pairs have since been added by

³⁴ For a more comprehensive overview of the full range of corpora, see David Lee's website on corpus-based linguistics: <http://www.uow.edu.au/~dlee/CBLLinks.htm> [last accessed 8 April 2012].

³⁵ There is some inconsistency in terminology here. Johansson (1998: 4-5) discusses one such instance of inconsistency, in the use of 'parallel corpora'. He suggests using alternative, more specific designations: 'bilingual/multilingual comparable corpora (original texts in different languages), bilingual/multilingual translation corpora (original texts and translations into other languages), and monolingual comparable corpora (original and translated texts in the same language)'. Olohan (2004: 24) refers her readers to Johansson's definition, and to Laviosa-Braithwaite (1997). However, Johansson's categorisation is somewhat complex, and 'parallel' and 'comparable corpus' have become widely used, as Johansson himself anticipated (*ibid.*). I will therefore follow the terminology adopted by Baker (1995) and McEnery et al. (2000) in referring to corpora that consist of paired source texts and target texts as parallel.

individual scholars, for example, English-Brazilian Portuguese (Dayrell 2005: 39 for more details), English-Chinese (Chen 2006; Wen 2009) and English-Korean (Park 2007; Park 2008). Several institutions have also developed their own corpora: English-Finnish (University of Jyväskylä), English-Swedish (Lund University) and Chinese-English (Beijing Foreign Studies University).

Parallel corpora tend to be bilingual as can be seen from the above studies, but they can also be multilingual, involving translations of the same source text into different target languages. For example, the UN parallel corpus compiled by the Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC) consists of source texts in English and target texts in French and Spanish. In Korea, the Semantic Web Research Centre (SWRC, see section 2.1.3 above) provides researchers with several sets of corpora, one of which is a parallel and multilingual corpus containing 60,000 sentences, all translations of Korean texts into Chinese and English.

Much attention has been paid to, and much effort put into, the field of computational linguistics and other disciplines in order to improve the performance of software tools with the aim of assisting the process of aligning the texts that make up parallel corpora. ParaConc, a program developed by Michael Barlow, is one of the most popular and typically used tools in contrastive analyses and corpus-based translation studies. Designed for researchers who wish to work with translated texts, it contains software for bilingual and multilingual corpora. The software is in principle able to handle a variety of languages, thereby permitting investigations of a wide range of translated texts.

A parallel corpus may be used in training translators. Baker (1995: 231) suggests that it can show trainee translators how to overcome practical difficulties, since it provides a realistic model of professional translation in pedagogical settings. Cheong (2003) supports Baker's suggestion in her overview of current progress in corpus-based translation studies; she also provides notes on the application of a corpus-based approach to general translation in the classroom and to Language B translation classrooms. Cheong (*ibid.*: 81-83) concludes that teachers can help students become familiar with various lexicons and expressions by using parallel corpora in translation classrooms. They allow target language users to be exposed to a variety of new

expressions, thereby reducing the use of monotonous, repetitive stretches. A further argument in support of Baker's approach to translator training can be found in Nam's work (2007). Using a parallel and bilingual comparable corpus³⁶ in the postgraduate Korean-English translation classroom, Nam demonstrates how crucial a role a number of translation aids such as machine translation tools, dictionaries, the worldwide web and parallel texts might play in assisting students to find better solutions for their translation difficulties. He confirms that corpora are more effective than other tools in helping students working on translations from Korean into English, especially with regard to metaphors, idioms and culture-specific items (but cf. Stewart 2000, who argues that corpora encourage repetitive linguistic behaviour and hamper creativity).

Baker (1995: 232) defines a **multilingual corpus** as sets of two or more monolingual corpora in different languages built in either the same or different institutions on the basis of similar design criteria. As she argues, multilingual corpora also play an important role in training translators and improving the performance of machine translation systems by offering empirical evidence of linguistic features and patterns in various languages. However, Baker (ibid.: 233) also acknowledges that this type of corpus is not suitable for addressing theoretical issues such as what is distinctive about translation per se. A multilingual corpus is underpinned by an assumption that "there is a natural way of saying anything in any language, and that all we need to do is to find out how to say something naturally in language A and language B" (ibid.). So far, little attention has been paid to the role of multilingual corpora in Korean translation studies. To the best of my knowledge, there have been no studies involving multilingual corpora, and the term itself is barely referred to by Korean translators and researchers.

A **comparable corpus** consists of "two separate collections of texts in the same language: one corpus consisting of original (non-translated) texts in the language in question and the other consisting of translations into that language from a given source language or languages" (Baker 1995: 234). Kenny (1998: 51-53) defines a comparable corpus as a collection of texts "originally written in a language, say English, alongside a collection of texts translated (from one or more languages) into English". The notion of

³⁶ Zanettin (1998: 618) defines a bilingual comparable corpus as "a collection of texts composed independently in the respective languages and put together on the basis of similarity of content, domain and communicative function". This is the same as Baker's definition (1995) of a multilingual corpus.

a comparable corpus was first coined by Baker, who introduced the methodology and concepts of corpus linguistics to translation studies. Being aware of the need to refine criteria and concepts developed by linguists, Baker (1995) uses ‘comparable corpora’ to refer to “something which is a cross between parallel and multilingual corpora” in an attempt to adapt the approach to the needs of translation scholars. Baker (*ibid.*: 234) stresses that “both [sub]-corpora should cover a similar domain, variety of language and time span, and be of comparable length”. She also suggests that a comparable corpus is particularly suited to examining the specific features of translated texts (*ibid.*: 232-234). Baker proposes to investigate recurrent patterns of translation by drawing on ‘comparable corpora’ as primary data.

Sub-corpora of a comparable corpus are not translations of each other; one consists of non-translated texts and the other of translations into the same language. The British National Corpus (BNC) and Translational English Corpus (TEC) have been used together (for example, in Olohan and Baker 2000, Baker 2007) as comparable corpora of English. BNC is a 100-million-word corpus of texts (written and spoken) originally produced in English (see section 2.1.1 above), and TEC is a corpus of texts translated into English from a variety of languages, such as Arabic, Brazilian, Chinese, Finnish, German, Hebrew, Italian, Russian, Spanish and Thai. It is held at the Centre for Translation and Intercultural Studies at the University of Manchester.³⁷ Along with the refinement of software tools, TEC has been continually enlarged. TEC allows researchers to investigate recurrent patterning that is specific to English translational language, and which cannot be identified through the comparison of source and target texts alone. It also supports research into stylistic variation across individual translators. At the time of writing, the overall size of TEC is around ten million words. It consists of four sub-corpora: fiction, biography, newspaper articles and in-flight magazines.

The use of comparable corpora, suggested by Baker in the early 1990s, offered new insights in translation studies. It anticipated a shift “in the focus of theoretical research in the discipline, a shift away from comparing either ST [source text] with TT [target text] or language A with language B to comparing text production per se with translation” (Baker 1995: 233). Olohan (2004) states that one of the most pervasive assumptions underlying traditionally biased views of translation – that the original texts

³⁷ TEC is accessed freely via the web at <http://ronaldo.cs.tcd.ie/tec2/jnlp/> [last accessed 8 April 2012].

are prioritised, while translation is treated as a derivation – has undoubtedly been challenged. Laviosa-Braithwaite (1997, 1998b, 1998c), Zanettin (1998) and Balaskó (2008), among others, have carried out studies based on comparable corpora.

Studying translation without reference to the source text has proved controversial and challenging (Olohan 2004: 39). As Chen (2006: 101) points out, alongside the flourishing of the comparable approach to translation studies, “concerns have been raised repeatedly about the seemingly forgotten status of the source text in the discipline” (see Laviosa-Braithwaite 1998c, Mauranen 2000, Stewart 2000). Moreover, a comparable corpus is less useful for the study of shifts in translation. Laviosa-Braithwaite (2002: 63) therefore argues that we need to construct a parallel corpus alongside a comparable one. This would include the source texts of the translational component in order to arrive at better explanations of any patterns identified. Therefore, comparable corpora are a more useful resource for translation studies when used in combination with parallel corpora.

A parallel or comparable corpus on its own may not reveal the patterns that are of immediate interest to the researcher. Further, Chen (2006) explains that some interesting tendencies may start to emerge when a corpus is compared against the backdrop of a larger reference corpus, such as the British National Corpus (BNC) (ibid.: 177). Rayson et al. (1997) and Stubbs (1995) also state that it is common practice in corpus linguistics to use a reference corpus as the source of comparative data for isolating features that are specific to the corpus under investigation. In recent years some researchers, such as Bernardini & Zanettin (2004) and Kenny (2003), began to call for an integrated approach in an attempt to bring parallel, comparable, and reference corpora together. This call has been headed in Korea, among other countries, as evident in Lee K (2005, see section 2.3).

2.2.1 Issues in the design of Korean corpora

Since this study involves the corpus building process of the Korean corpus (the Korean target text sub-corpus), it is now necessary here to explore some of the issues in and problems of the design of a Korean corpus that researchers may encounter during the development of the corpus.

A number of studies have engaged with issues relating to design and processing of corpus data (e.g. Biber 1993, Laviosa-Braithwaite 2002, Bowker and Pearson 2002, and Olohan 2004), but these tend to be limited to European languages. More recently, some studies have addressed specific problems which arise during the compilation and processing of the corpora of non-European languages, such as Chinese (Chen 2006, Wen 2009) and Arabic (Abdul-Fattah 2010). Wen (2009), in particular, discusses difficulties of word-segmentation and POS-tagging at great length in relation to Chinese, where there are no spaces inserted between words. However, detailed studies such as Wen's remain very limited in number, and none have dealt with Korean. In this section, therefore, particular attention is given to a number of considerations that need to be taken into account in the design and processing of a Korean corpus.³⁸ Questions relating to the design of Korean corpora will be addressed, where technical issues specific to the Korean language are discussed.

Various criteria for compiling corpora are generally established on the basis of the need for, and the specific purposes of, different research projects. However, one of the important points to take into consideration is that a certain software program does not support certain languages: as Bowker (2002: 74) points out, some tools may not be able to handle languages that are not based on the Roman alphabet. For instance, difficulties can occur when using Asian languages, such as Chinese and Korean, which, because of their complex characters, require two bytes – i.e. two units of storage – whilst, in most other languages, characters require only one byte. Fortunately, however, Unicode³⁹, which allows computers to present texts expressed in most of the world's writing systems, has emerged as the computing industry standard. Incorporating a double-byte encoding system helps researchers store their own languages and compare them with others more easily. In addition, ASCII code⁴⁰ and ANSI code⁴¹ are also used to store English, as well as Korean, texts. Codes are used differently for each different program: for instance, the WordSmith program, the main data analysis tool used in this study (see 5.1), prefers the Unicode, while ANSI code format is preferred for text

³⁸ For more information regarding issues in the design of corpora, see Sinclair (1991), Olohan (2004), and Dayrell (2005).

³⁹ Unicode: a universal code system, developed with the Universal Character Set computing standard.

⁴⁰ ASCII: American Standard Code for Information Interchange comprises eight bits (binary digit).

⁴¹ ANSI: American National Standards Institute. It has established ANSI character set, a standard set of letters and numbers, which is used in computers. ANSI code processes English as one byte whereas others are read as two bytes.

processing in the Paraconc program.

Further technical difficulties may arise in the field of corpus-based translation studies when an attempt is made to compare the sentence length of an English source text with a Korean target text, because some software programs do not recognise particular punctuation marks that are exclusively used in the Korean context. For example, inter-punctuations (·), or partition signs, are frequently used in Korean news articles in various ways,⁴² but are not used at all in most other languages. Hence, if a set of data containing inter-punctuations (partition signs) is processed, WordSmith, the main data analysis tool used in this study, will judge the signs as individual words, thereby offering skewed results, especially when examining the collocational profiles.⁴³ Consequently, some punctuation marks exclusively used in the Korean context have to be replaced by their English counterparts in order to arrive at more comparable results.⁴⁴ Some Korean marks that need to be taken into account are: (i) inter-punctuations (partition signs), (ii) semi pauses (´) used when the texts are horizontally aligned in Korean, (iii) Korean hyphen (~) mostly used in describing duration of time – i.e. 5 January ~ 17 April, and (iv) full-width quotes (『...』) used for indicating the title of a book (rather than italics, as in English).

However, Korean poses no challenge to corpus researchers because of its writing system. Thus, while a Chinese text has to be word-segmented because words are not separated by spaces, a Korean word is largely comparable to an English word. Korean does use spaces to separate words, and Korean is not character-based but has a syllabic writing system. Nevertheless, English and Korean are very different morphologically and lexically. The basic unit of analysis in Korean can be ‘*eojeol*’, for which there is no equivalent in English.⁴⁵ According to a definition provided by Hong et al. (1996: 673), an *eojeol* is composed of “one or more morphemes and is separated from another *eojeol*

⁴² The National Institute of the Korean Language (2012) (available at <http://stdweb2.korean.go.kr/main.jsp> [last accessed 8 April 2012]) explains that an inter-punctuation is used when each unit in a sentence is of equal value and the units are closely connected to each other. For instance: 3·1 (1st of March), 28·female·the University of Manchester (age, gender, affiliation).

⁴³ Scott (2012, WordSmith online Help file) defines collocates as “the words which occur in the neighbourhood of a search word”. Detailed explanation will be given in Chapter Four.

⁴⁴ Wen (2009: 102-106) provides good examples of this type of adaptation and warns researchers working on Chinese against overlooking technical problems of this type.

⁴⁵ See Lee S (2010) who discusses the difficulty and problems of using ‘word’ as a basic unit of translation in English-Korean translation.

with a space and/or a punctuation[al] mark”. Although this definition may appear to be the same as that of a ‘word’ in English, the *Standard Korean Language Dictionary*, which is compiled by The National Institute of the Korean Language (2012), defines a ‘word’ as the smallest unit of language which has a grammatical meaning, and in modern Korean grammar, various kinds of *josa*, the Korean particles *-eun*, *-neun*, *-ga*, for instance, are also considered to be words. The following sentence, ‘나는 책을 읽었다 [I read a book]’ is composed of three *eojeols* (나는//책을//읽었다) and five words (나/는//책/을//읽었다). This understanding of a word and an *eojeol* is referred to *Jeolchungsik Chegye* (literal translation: the mediated system). *Jeolchungsik Chegye* was developed in the 1930s and 1940s, and it treats various kinds of *josa*, Korean particles, as words.

In addition to the *Jeolchungsik Chegye*, there are two other systems of explaining the concept of a ‘word’ and an ‘*eojeol*’ in Korean: *Bunseoksik Chegye* and *Jonghapsik Chegye*. The *Bunseoksik Chegye*, a system of analysis which was developed in the early 1900s, sees various kinds of *josa* and endings, including verb-endings⁴⁶, as words, while the *Jonghapsik Chegye*, a comprehensive system that appeared in the 1940s, allows scholars to interpret an *eojeol* as being equivalent to a word. While three different systems are available, and the *Jeolchungsik Chegye* is currently adopted by the Korean Government and disseminated in schools, the *Jonghapsik Chegye* is preferred by researchers who compare Korean with other languages, particularly English, due to the system’s flexibility and convenience. For instance, Choi (2003) adopts the *Jonghapsik Chegye* in order to examine the difference between the total number of words used in an English source and a Korean target text, on the grounds that a *josa*, and other suffixes, cannot be used independently and do not have meanings of their own.

The present study will also adopt the *Jonghapsik Chegye*. Thus, a *josa* will not be considered as a basic unit, but an ‘*eojeol*’ will be automatically translated into a ‘word’ in the Korean context, and in turn, this ‘word’ will be interpreted as being the equivalent of an English word. The same applies to the variations of the verb forms and that of the verb endings. As it was mentioned earlier, honorifics are very developed in the Korean language system, and particles are attached to verbs, resulting in a variety of verb forms. For instance, the literal translation of ‘do’ is ‘하다’ in Korean. However,

⁴⁶ The English word ‘do’ is translated into ‘하다 (hada)’ in Korean. When it is used to describe an act of a person older than the speaker, this word becomes ‘하시다 (ha-si-da)’. In this case, ‘시’ is a verb ending.

with the honorifics, it transformed into ‘하시다’. Furthermore, there are varieties of verb endings as a result of contractions in Korean. For example, the following two sentences, ‘저녁을 먹는다. *그리고* 잠을 잔다’ [Have dinner. **And** go to bed] can be joined into one, ‘저녁을 먹*고* 잠을 잔다’, where the conjunction, ‘그리고’ [and], is shortened and attached to the verb. When ‘while’ is used instead of ‘and’, the sentence will be ‘저녁을 먹*으며* 잠을 잔다’. Thus, *Jeolchungsik Chegye* does not distinguish those differences found in verb forms, verb endings when counting a total token of a corpus, resulting in a Korean word being largely comparable to an English word. This led most corpus-based translation studies carried out so far in the Korean context including Choi (2003) to adopt *Jeolchungsik Chegye* rather than other options available. However, admittedly, there are other scholars, including Kim H (2008) who uses the morph-tagged corpus in order to investigate the honorific expressions in Korean translated texts.

Furthermore, *Jeolchungsik Chegye* is adopted because it is the one used by major corpora of Korean. The 21st Century Sejong Project corpus, one of the major and the largest Korean corpora developed at a national level, which is discussed in detail in section 2.1.3 above, also recorded and publicly announced the size of the corpus by *eojeol*. The size of a corpus is featured by *eojeols*. Given that *eojeol* does not separate *josa*, verb endings and other suffixes, it can be referred to as tokens in English.

2.3 Corpus-based translation studies in the Korean Context

Corpus-based translation studies has received increasing attention in recent years in Korea. Oh (2004) provides a corpus-based analysis of Korean causal conjunctives, while Yoo et al. (2007) focus on the principles of selecting the Korean particles ‘-ka’ and ‘-nun’ in a Korean-English parallel corpus. Lee D (2005a and 2005b) conducted corpus-based research on the sub-languages of weather and traffic news. In language education, several attempts have been made to enhance the competence of language learners by using a corpus (e.g. Han and Lee 2009) to improve their command of English collocations (Lee Y 2009) and to help them learn vocabulary and improve their writing skills (Whi 2006). In order to solve some problems of corpus design, such as ensuring representativeness, Yang and Park (2003) study the statistical relationship between corpus size (the number of tokens) and lexical items (the number of types). At the same time, Korean linguists have engaged in a number of projects that involve using

a corpus, for example, to compile dictionaries (Yonsei Corpus and Korea-1 Corpus, see section 2.1.3 above).

More literature has been published on corpus linguistics in Korea, but it is not the intention of this study to explore this area in detail. Instead, particular attention is given to the study of translated Korean texts using a corpus-based methodology. This section therefore provides a brief account of developments in corpus-based translation studies in Korea in order to prepare the ground for the application of a specific methodology in the present study.

A quick search of journal articles, monographs and edited collections shows that little attention has been paid so far in Korean translation studies to the possibility of describing recurrent patterns in written Korean translations. Some scholars have engaged with the possibility of using corpora in translation studies, but their contributions tend to be confined to providing a general introduction to corpus-based translation studies and to the methodology of using corpora (see Jang 2000, Cheong 2003, Lee S 2004). Most studies in corpus-based translation studies have only been carried out in a small number of areas, such as English language education (Nam 2007), translation shift analysis (Park 2007) and the examination of equivalence in English/Korean translational texts (Hwang 2004). One major drawback of the latter approach is that recurrent patterns in translated text per se are considered as secondary to the main concern of the researchers – i.e. establishing textual equivalents through the analysis of various examples. In addition, the data used in existing research is very limited in size.

To date, corpus-based research conducted in Korea has tended to focus on parallel rather than comparable texts (Choi 2003, Ahn and Kang 2005, Park 2007, Park 2008, Cho 2009), with few exceptions (see below). This is in line with the traditional approach to studying translation, which consists of comparing source and target texts without reference to non-translated texts in the same language. Indeed, arguments raised with regard to translational language almost always focus either on the issue of quality or on market response. Thus, whilst the use of a parallel corpus in examining linguistic equivalence or translation errors is relatively well established, the value of comparable corpora as a means of investigating translational language has largely been overlooked.

Nevertheless, a few attempts have been made to identify distinctive features of Korean translated texts. Kim H (2003) investigates some distinctive features of translational language that appear in Hemingway's literary work, *The Killers*, translated from English into Korean at the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in Jilin province, in north-eastern China, compared to translations of the same work published in 1984, 1987 and 1958. In an attempt to investigate dissimilarities in the use of Korean across different districts, he explores four different translations of the novel. In conclusion, he argues that the Yanbian translation tends to use more natural Korean language, i.e. it is more target oriented, and also features more regional dialect than other versions. However, this study is too specific in terms of the genre, district, and size of data, and its findings therefore cannot be generalised. Moreover, the rationale for selecting *The Killers* as data is not given.

Lee K (2005) analyses patterns of distinctive linguistic features of translation, 'translationese', involving 'by' in English translations. She examines ways in which the English preposition 'by' is translated into Korean using texts translated from English into Korean, which are taken from the 21st Century Sejong Project corpus, a major translational corpus in Korea. At the same time, Lee employs the 21st Sejong Project corpus as a reference corpus in order to investigate the way in which the Korean counterpart of the English 'by' is used in texts originally written in Korean. She then compares the type/token ratio of the equivalent of 'by' in Korean translations and original Korean texts. This study is important in that it opens up the potential for using monolingual and parallel corpora extracted from the corpus developed as part of the Sejong Project. Lee defines translationese as the phenomenon whereby "the reader senses that he/she is reading a translation when they [s/he] find[s] the text clumsy or unidiomatic" (ibid.: 45). This understanding of translationese is theoretically unproductive in that the quality of translation is assumed to be improved "when translationese is analysed and alternatives to translationese are suggested" (ibid.). As Frawley (1984: 168) argues, however, translation itself is essentially a third code, and translationese may be interpreted as one of the distinctive features of translated texts.

Kim H (2008) has played a pioneering role in corpus-based translation studies in the Korean context by constructing a corpus of a million *eojeol* each of morph-tagged non-translated and translated text in order to investigate shifts in the use of honorific

expressions⁴⁷ in translation. This study is innovative in that it analyses not only English-Korean translations, but also non-translated Korean texts.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has offered an overview of corpus linguistics and corpus-based translation studies. Corpus development in the English-speaking world as well as in Asia is discussed, and four major types of corpora (the parallel corpus, comparable corpus, multilingual corpus and the reference corpus) that are widely used in translation studies are then discussed. Corpus-based translation research in the Korean context and some issues in and problems of the design of a Korean corpus, such as technical difficulties and the basic unit of analysis in Korean, are also explored. The next chapter will look at CDA and corpus-based CDA in some depth. Key concepts of CDA, including ‘discourse’, and various definitions of discourse will also be discussed.

⁴⁷ The honorific system is a unique aspect of the Korean language. Sohn (2001: 408) defines honorifics, or identical politeness forms, as “grammatical and lexical forms encoding the speaker’s socio-culturally appropriate regard towards the addressee and the referent”. Honorifics are realised in the form of lexical items as well as in the form of particles and suffixes.

Chapter Three

Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis has allowed linguists to analyse specific features of language that have ideological implications (see section 3.1 below), and promises to provide a similarly productive framework in translation studies. Corpus linguistics, on the other hand, has allowed both linguists and translation scholars to offer quantitative analyses of large volumes of data. This chapter is devoted to the discussion of an integrated research methodology that combines CDA and corpus techniques in order to analyse news media articles and their translations.

The chapter begins with a brief overview of CDA studies (section 3.1), including a discussion of various definitions of ‘discourse’, the key concept of CDA, and the limitations of the CDA-informed approach. Corpus-based CDA studies are then examined in some depth in the following section (section 3.2), including both corpus-based CDA studies in general, and recent corpus-based CDA studies that focus specifically on analysing news articles in the English speaking world. The final section of the chapter explores corpus-based CDA studies in the Korean context.

3.1 CDA studies: an overview

As signalled in the designation ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’, understanding the concept of ‘discourse’ is fundamental in conducting CDA research. ‘Discourse’ is a notion that is frequently mentioned across all disciplines, and it has become a common currency in many fields, its use not necessarily being limited to the humanities or social sciences. Various definitions of ‘discourse’, as Widdowson (2004) points out, are often contentious and highly abstract, with further confusion being introduced through the interchangeable use of ‘text’ and ‘discourse’. In what follows, a number of different definitions of ‘discourse’ will be explored, in an attempt to provide a more concrete and delineated concept of CDA for the purposes of the current study.

3.1.1 ‘Discourse’ and the ‘Critical’ focus of CDA

Discourse is a difficult concept to pin down, largely because there are “so many conflicting and overlapping definitions formulated from various theoretical and

disciplinary standpoints” (Fairclough 1992: 3). Widdowson (1995: 157-158) agrees that the concept is diffuse and admits of diverse interpretations, not only because it is intrinsically complex, but also because it is something everybody talks about without knowing with any certainty just what it is, often failing to distinguish between text and discourse.

Various definitions of discourse have been suggested by numerous scholars to date, mostly drawing on Foucault’s definition of discourse as “the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualisable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements” (1972: 80). Fairclough later uses the term discourse in a wider context to refer to the “whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part” (1989: 24), “a particular way of constructing a particular (domain of) social practice” (1995b: 76), and “a particular way of representing some part of the (physical, social, psychological) world” (2003: 17). Mills (2002) points out that Foucault himself provided several and sometimes contradictory definitions of discourse. Nonetheless, as a sociologist, Foucault was mostly interested in discourse as a vehicle of oppression and resistance. Following Foucault’s argument that discourse is “at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality” (1981: 52 as cited in Mills 2002: 57), Mills (*ibid.*: 62) concludes that discourse should be seen as an overall term that encompasses all statements, as well as the rules that govern how some statements are circulated and other statements excluded. For scholars such as Fairclough, discourse is thus a social process through which ideas are disseminated, thereby constituting situations, constructing knowledge, and framing social identities and relationships; all CDA scholars are interested in repeated linguistic behaviour and patterns, which eventually lead to the formation of social and cultural structures, because they understand discourses as “relatively stable uses of language serving the organisation and structuring of social life” (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 6).

Although discourse is understood as an exercise of power and a site of social interaction, some of its definitions continue to be somewhat abstract. In particular, it is not always clear what ‘discourse’ signifies, and how it differs from ‘text’ (Widdowson 2004). Based on Bax (2011), three major features of the various definitions of

‘discourse’ that are relevant to the present study will be examined in more detail: ‘authentic language’, ‘above sentence level’ and ‘context’.

First, ‘discourse’ consists of authentic, naturally occurring language (rather than invented examples). Textual material analysed by CDA scholars is not invented but drawn from everyday language use and widely disseminated genres, such as news articles and advertisements. This feature does not distinguish discourse from ‘text’, but the second feature mentioned above does. Discourse focuses on units of language which are “larger in size and scope than a sentence” (Bax 2011: 20), and does not deal with “isolated words and sentences” (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 2). Widdowson (2007: 6) further distinguishes ‘discourse’ from ‘text’ by explaining that ‘texts’ “do not contain meaning, but are used to mediate it across discourses”, while ‘discourse’ may be referred to as a “complex of communicative purposes”. Wodak and Meyer (2001: 6) offer a clearer definition of ‘discourse’ as “structured forms of knowledge” and ‘texts’ as “concrete oral utterances or written documents”. Thus, ‘discourse’ materialises in variable stretches of language, irrespective of mode (i.e. written or spoken), and can incorporate non-verbal material, such as images and signs. In the appropriate context, the letter ‘I’, for example, indicating an information desk, is “perfectly comprehensible discourse, no matter how brief” (Bax 2011: 23-24). And finally, ‘discourse’ encompasses not only the verbal and non-verbal material used in interaction but also the context in which the interaction occurs. Thus, for ‘I’ to function as a signal of ‘information desk’, it has to be interpreted within a specific ‘context’, and this context subsumes within it not only shared knowledge and schemata, but also cultural, historical, social, political and personal factors.

Because discourse is heavily influenced by the contexts in which it is produced, CDA scholars such as Foucault argue that a discourse often leads to the reproduction of other discourses that are compatible with it. Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 258) thus define discourse as “a form of social practice” born out of “a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it”.⁴⁸ They add that:

⁴⁸ According to Wodak and Busch (2004: 111), Van Leeuwen identifies two kinds of relations between discourses and social practices: “discourse itself [as] social practice, discourse as a form of action, as something people do to or for or with each other”, and “discourse as a way of representing social practice(s), as a form of knowledge, as the things people say about social practice(s)” (Van Leeuwen 1993:

The discursive event is shaped by [the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s)], but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it.

Other scholars, including Van Leeuwen, Mills and Van Dijk, develop this argument further and stress the role of discourse in constructing dominant-dominated relations and managing social conflict. Van Leeuwen (1993: 193), in particular, argues that CDA should understand discourse as an “instrument of power and control”. Van Dijk (1993) concludes that discovering how powerful speakers or groups employ certain discursive structures and strategies in order to persuade their audience is the main objective in CDA analysis⁴⁹. This is because, as Fairclough and Wodak (1997) acknowledge, discursive practices, or a set of interrelated social practices, can aggravate unequal power relations between social groups through the manufacturing of consent and social cognition, and by positioning people in specific ways in relation to a range of issues.

Taking into account the context in which language operates, and understanding discourse as social action that is socially constitutive, CDA analysts examine the specific and subtle ways in which language plays a crucial role in constructing reality. A fundamental point that they reiterate in their writings is that there is a dialectal relationship between the language we use and the world around us, since language “both reflects the world and affects it” (Bax 2011: 30). As a context-bound approach focusing on societal impulses, CDA goes beyond the traditional concerns of sociology and pure linguistics by examining the relationship between language and power struggles in society. Ultimately, it sets out to demonstrate how language is used as a form of social control.

193).

⁴⁹ Van Dijk (1993) divides critical discourse analysis into two major dimensions – production and reception.

CDA aims to critically investigate aspects of societal disparities and inequalities as they are expressed, constituted and legitimised by language use, and to reflect on the way language reinforces such inequalities on a day-to-day basis (Wodak 2001, Leung 2006, Wodak and Meyer 2009). Adopting a critical analytical stance allows CDA to investigate the various discourses that circulate in society in an attempt to reveal hidden ideologies, thereby exposing processes of domination, oppression and power control, which are reflected in language use. From this point of view, the main focus of interest of CDA is ‘covertness’, and Van Dijk (1993) thus calls for CDA to focus on the ‘hidden’ discourse dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality that result from it.

Van Dijk (1998) explains that CDA is an analytical research method that investigates the discursive manifestations appearing in texts, in order to interpret the ways in which social power abuse, dominance and inequality are manipulated, legitimised, reproduced, enacted and sometimes resisted, in specific social and political contexts. Having emerged as an engaged critical theory of language, by the 1990s CDA analysts were explicit about their socio-political perspectives and aims,⁵⁰ stressing that CDA is “linguistics with a conscience and a cause, one which seeks to reveal how language is used and abused in the exercise of power and the suppression of human rights” (Widdowson 1998: 136). Leung (2006: 140-141), too, stresses that CDA exhorts readers to be alert to the subtle ways in which their beliefs are influenced, formed, reformed, or reconfirmed via discourse, for CDA discourse embodies beliefs and social identities, often in covert ways. Because CDA scholars adopt an explicit socio-political stance and see language as implicated in social injustice, they are often considered political critics, social activists, or social scientists, who are strongly committed to effecting change through linguistic intervention (Van Dijk 1993, Fairclough 1996, Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000).

CDA does not aim to contribute to only one specific discipline or paradigm, but is primarily concerned with important social issues that affect the lives of many people and that influence the construction of social identities and systems of belief. This is why ideology, political discourse, racism, institutional discourse, globalisation, capitalism, media language, gender, and immigration are preferred topics for CDA scholars.

⁵⁰ Several attempts have been made to identify the main principles of CDA (see, for example, Kress 1990, Van Dijk 1993, Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Wodak 2002, Wodak and Meyer 2009).

However, as Van Dijk (1993: 253) points out, CDA scholars differ from politicians and activists in that they go beyond the “immediate, serious or pressing issue of the day”, and the fact that “their structural understanding rather presupposes more general insights, and indirect and long-term analyses of fundamental causes, conditions and consequences of such issues”. Unlike politicians and activists, CDA scholars are interested in analysing discourse practices that have evolved over a particular period of time. As can be seen from the above, discourse, power, and ideology are key concepts in CDA, which investigates individual discourses in order to expose the underlying power relationships that shape all discursive practices.

3.1.2 Limitations of a CDA-informed approach

Like other approaches to the study of language and discourse, CDA has not been immune to criticism. One limitation of CDA is that it masks the agency of the individual and dismisses the impact of an individual’s discourse by focusing too heavily on the power of institutions and groups. As Van Dijk confirms, CDA ignores personal forms of exercising power, “unless enacted as an individual realisation of group power” (Van Dijk 1993: 254). For CDA scholars, “individual resources and specifics of single-exchange situations are not crucial” – only “overall structural features in social fields or in overall society” are worth examining (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 10).⁵¹

Widdowson (1995 and 2004) claims that there is a lack of objectivity in the work of CDA scholars in that they select texts that are likely to support their assumptions and offer not full analyses but “only partial interpretation” (1995: 169) in line with their political intentions. When it comes to the selection of discourse samples for analysis, CDA fails to acknowledge the significance of the issue of representativeness. CDA, a typically qualitative approach, analyses limited amounts of texts in depth, and the samples selected for analysis are often too small to be representative or consist of data fragments presented with no explanation of the criteria for selection. Very little

⁵¹ By contrast, other social theories, such as narrative theory, do recognise the agency and power of the individual, and acknowledge that personal narratives can unsettle the social order and be deliberately used to resist dominant narratives (Baker 2006). This is particularly important in the context of media reporting, where personal stories are often incorporated into the reporting of an event. For example, when reporting war atrocities, most news outlets will include interviews with non-combatants caught up in the conflict, and these personal stories – though selected and reshaped by an institution – will have some impact on our understanding of the conflict. A personal ‘blog’ may also function as a central point for sharing information and communicating with others, thus allowing individual stories that are uploaded to be ‘tweeted’ again and again, until, in the end, they become shared information, and, therefore, public stories.

discussion is offered to explain how data is or should be sampled in the field of CDA (Garzone and Santulli 2004, Stubbs 1997). Leung (2006) thus calls for the use of electronic data banks, pointing out that some issues raised by Widdowson regarding the relationship between analysis and interpretation of a text can be addressed by processing larger quantities of data.

Stubbs⁵² raises a related concern when he argues that CDA scholars find “what they expect to find, whether absences or presences” (1997: 102) because of their lack of attention to issues of methodology. He discusses two case studies from his earlier work in 1995 and 1996 to demonstrate how CDA limitations might be addressed, focusing on the use of corpora to analyse processes of cultural transmission, reproduction and language change (*ibid.*: 110-114). For example, he shows how an analysis of ‘care’ using large diachronic and contemporary corpora reveals that the lexeme had “undergone a change from predominantly personal uses (to take care of someone) to very frequent institutional uses (child care)” (1997: 112). Based on another case study carried out in 1995, where he examined different uses and collocational patterns of four adjectives, namely ‘little’, ‘small’, ‘big’, and ‘large’, he shows that ‘little’ occurs predominantly with girl(s) and ‘small’ with boy(s), thereby imbuing ‘little’ with strong connotative meanings of ‘cute and cuddly’. “The combination ‘little man’”, on the other hand, “is almost always pejorative, as is ‘ridiculous little man’” (1997: 113). As can be seen from Stubbs’ work, the kind of issues that are of concern to CDA scholars can be addressed more systematically through the use of corpora. The present study aims to address some of the limitations of CDA by adopting a corpus-based methodology.

Stubbs’s findings can be largely understood in relation to the notion of ‘semantic prosody’, although he does not use this term in the studies referred to here. This, and the related notion of ‘semantic preference’ have proved very productive in corpus-based studies (Louw 1993, Sinclair 1987a and 1991). And yet, although Zethsen (2006: 284) argues that “within the very broad area of CDA, [...] semantic profile of a given word could be used as the basis for investigating our perception/the status of objects or concepts in a social or political context, either generally speaking or within specific discourses”, these notions have not yet been applied in CDA studies.

⁵² It should be noted that Stubbs does not consider himself a CDA scholar and has in fact been one of the vocal critics of CDA (see Stubbs 1997).

(a) Semantic Prosody

Recent discussions of semantic prosody include Xiao and McEnery (2006); Louw and Chateau (2010); and Stewart (2010). The concept of semantic prosody can be traced back to 1948, when Firth first mentioned ‘prosody’ in his paper ‘Sounds and Prosodies’. However, Firth’s use of the term was limited to “phonological colouring which spreads beyond semantic boundaries” (Zhang 2010: 190).

The first serious discussion and analyses of semantic prosody emerged later, in 1987, when Sinclair first discussed a phenomenon that later became known as semantic prosody, although he did not specifically coin the term. Sinclair noted that “many uses of words and phrases show a tendency to occur in a certain semantic environment” (1991: 112). It was not until 1993, however, that the term semantic prosody was coined by Louw (1993: 159), who defined it as a “constant aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates”. Since then, several studies on semantic prosody have appeared; they include Partington (1998 and 2004), who refers to it as “the spreading of connotational colouring beyond single word boundaries” (1998: 68). Although ‘semantic prosody’ and ‘connotation’ are considered by Partington (*ibid.*) to be partly interchangeable, semantic prosody is different from connotation, because it is “more strongly collocational than the schematic aspects of connotation” (Louw 2000: 50), while ‘connotation’ is limited to a single word or item.

The primary function of semantic prosody is to express speaker/writer attitude or evaluation (Louw 2000: 58). It may be negative, positive or neutral. Different scholars use various terms to describe the particular aura of meaning or attitudinal load of a semantic prosody. However, ‘negative/unfavourable/unpleasant’, or ‘positive/favourable/pleasant’ and ‘neutral’ are the principal labels used in the literature. Semantic prosody may also contribute to communicating irony, in that a speaker or writer may “violate a semantic prosody condition to achieve some effect in the hearer” (Xiao and McEnery 2006: 106); this is achieved when there is “sufficient distance between the expected collocation and the combination of words proposed by the author” (Louw and Chateau 2010: 757). Violations of semantic prosody (including the communication of irony) will be discussed in more depth in the analytical chapters – chapters five, six and seven, where authentic examples acquired from the corpus compiled for this study will be given.

Although semantic prosody has attracted the attention of a growing number of linguists,⁵³ an overwhelming majority of studies are monolingual and focus on Indo-European languages. Cross-linguistic studies of semantic prosody are rare; they include Kenny (1998) and Tognini-Bonelli (2001). One of the few studies that engage with non-European languages is Xiao and McEnery (2006), who carry out a cross-linguistic analysis of English and Chinese. In terms of genre, literary texts are widely used to examine semantic prosody, but other genres, such as courtroom transcripts (Cotterill 2001) and news (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008) have also been examined from the perspective of semantic prosody.

(b) Semantic Preference

Semantic preference concerns a similar form of patterning where a set of semantically related collocates of a given lexical item (or ‘node’) are identified and provide insight into the lexical environment and ultimately the semantic prosody characteristic of the use of the relevant item. Oster and Lawick (2008: 335) use semantic preference to refer to “the semantic field a word’s collocates predominantly belong to”, and define semantic prosody as a “more general characterisation of these collocates”, whether positive or negative. Partington (2004: 151) also states that the role of semantic preference is restricted to relating the node to a lexical item from a “particular *semantic set*” (my emphasis) whereas prosody “can affect wider stretches of text”. Xiao and McEnery (2006: 107) argue that semantic prosody covers “affective meanings of a given node with its typical collocates”, whereas semantic preference is a *semantic set* of collocates. We can therefore conclude that semantic preference is a feature of the *semantic patterning* of a lexical item, which can be captured by identifying a specific *set of collocates* that share some semantic property. For instance, ‘happen’ (Sinclair 1987b), ‘utterly’ (Louw 1993) and ‘cause’ (Stubbs 1995) can be said to be characterized by a negative semantic prosody because they each regularly occur in the environment of a set of collocates that may not belong to a semantic set but are all unpleasant or negative: for example, ‘utterly pointless’ and ‘utterly unacceptable’ reflect the same negative prosody but the adjectives ‘pointless’ and ‘unacceptable’ belong to different semantic sets. On the other hand, ‘dollar’, ‘pound’, ‘won’ and ‘money’, belong to the

⁵³ See Xiao and McEnery (2006: 106), where earlier studies on semantic prosody are summarised in tabular form.

same semantic set, as do ‘desk’, ‘chair’, ‘bed’ and ‘table’, and are therefore examples of semantic preference.

Semantic prosody and semantic preference interact with each other: “semantic preference contributes powerfully to building semantic prosody”, while semantic prosody “dictates the general environment which constrains the preferential choices of the node item” (Partington 2004: 151). This phenomenon will also be discussed where relevant in chapters five, six and seven.

3.2 Corpus-based CDA studies

As mentioned in 3.1, CDA studies view language as a powerful means that provides “a finely articulated vehicle for establishing differences in power in hierarchical social structures” (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 10). Although many CDA scholars conduct manual analyses that enable them to reveal covert ideological elements, some software packages are now available that allow for examining concordance lines and scrutinising hidden ideologies, thus enabling CDA as well as other scholars to examine the way in which specific lexical items are associated with particular social issues. As mentioned earlier, CDA has received some criticism relating to its perceived lack of objectivity in selecting texts, which results in failure to achieve an acceptable level of representativeness. Because CDA is a typically qualitative approach which focuses on close textual analysis, it needs to be supplemented with a different methodology to strengthen its claims and enable it to generalise its findings.

Using corpora as supplementary tools to support CDA analyses would resolve the representativeness issue and the problem of selecting materials to some extent, because in corpus linguistics data consists of texts or samples of texts chosen on the basis of an explicit, transparent and largely objective criteria of text selection. At the same time, a corpus-based methodology offers the opportunity of supporting close textual analysis of specific stretches of data with statistical findings drawn from a larger corpus, thus lending the findings more credibility. For example, in the article mentioned in 3.1.2, Stubbs (1997) argues that his two case studies reveal discursive patterns that are not open to unaided introspection and are not discoverable without statistical analyses of large corpora. Patterns revealed by such holistic analyses are often not

predictable and are not available to *a priori* intuition (Hunston 2002; Louw and Chateau 2010).

3.2.1 Corpus-based CDA studies in the English-speaking world

Some CDA scholars have felt the need to adopt a quantitative approach in order to work with broader, and more representative, empirical data to strengthen their arguments (for instance, Van Dijk 1988, Fairclough 1992, Hardt-Mautner 1995, Stubbs 1996 and 1997). Van Dijk seems to be the first scholar to have realised the necessity of incorporating such an approach within a CDA framework. When, through his earlier work on the analysis of international and national news in the press, he consolidated the two elements, CDA and corpus-based studies, he predicted that “only the work of large teams or, in future, of computers would enable the qualitative analysis to be quantified” (1988: 66). Nonetheless, his prediction remained abstract, since he did not specify how a corpus-based methodology might be adapted to CDA research.

A few years later, the potential of using corpora in CDA was again raised in Fairclough (1992). While encouraging discourse analysts to collaborate with other scholars from relevant disciplines in order to decide which samples are typical or representative and whether the corpus reflects “the diversity of practice and change of practice across different types of situation”, he anticipated that work on corpora might “change the preliminary mental map” (ibid.: 227) of CDA, i.e. it would encourage researchers to engage in interdisciplinary work. Although Fairclough discussed various ways in which a corpus can be enhanced for discourse analysis, his discussion of employing corpus-based methodology in CDA was also limited to relatively brief comments on its potential.

Another early attempt to explore the usefulness of corpora in CDA analysis was made by Hardt-Mautner (1995: 3-5), who stresses the need to combine qualitative and quantitative techniques, arguing that “what is gained in terms of depth is usually lost in terms of breadth” in that, in reality, one cannot generate a detailed and holistic analysis of a huge body of data manually, whereas computer programmes “cannot by themselves produce a meaningful analysis”, since analysis requires interpretation by humans. Hardt-Mautner (ibid.) proposes a procedure for integrating a quantitative approach (corpus linguistics) with a qualitative approach (CDA). First, she argues, a particular

feature revealed through qualitative analysis can be investigated using corpora: for example, collocational behaviour, including semantic prosodies, revealed through close textual analysis can be investigated using large corpora. Alternatively, a particular pattern found in corpora can be studied qualitatively in a larger context. Third, the findings of both procedures can be compared against the backdrop of a large reference corpus, such as the BNC or the COBUILD corpus. Hard-Mautner can be regarded as a pioneer of corpus-based CDA because she explicitly argued for the possibility of a merger between the two methodologies, and investigated the way in which corpus linguistics and CDA may be productively combined. She also alerted scholars to the need to move constantly between two antithetical views of data, by shedding light on the merits and limitations of each and modelling a procedure for better research.

Later, in 1996 and 1997, Stubbs expressed support for Hardt-Mautner's argument and conducted an in-depth analysis in which he showed how CDA could be improved by using corpora. He cast doubt on several CDA studies by pointing out that they were largely focused on short texts, or text fragments, where "the restriction to data fragments poses problems of evidence and generalisation"; these studies, he argued, lacked a comparative basis (1996: 129). He therefore proposed some principles for text analysis, which included conducting comparative analysis in order to make generalisations about typical language use, and analysing long texts quantitatively to show how such analysis can provide unexpected statistical findings. In his 1997 article, after discussing a series of criticisms of CDA, he emphasised the importance of employing the combined methodology by arguing that it is crucial to making reliable generalisations concerning the impact of different linguistic choices. Stubbs (1997: 111) stresses that:

Analyses must be comparative: individual texts must be compared with each other and with data from corpora. Analyses must not be restricted to isolated data fragments: a much wider range of data must be sampled before generalisations are made about typical language use. And a much wider range of linguistic features must be studied, since varieties of language use are defined, not by individual features, but by clusters of co-occurring features: this entails the use of quantitative and probabilistic methods of text and corpus analysis.

Various scholars, including those mentioned above, attempt to achieve a balance between a quantitative and a qualitative approach, and between objective statistical data and subjective individual interpretation, by incorporating the two approaches to analyse language in use. A quantitative, corpus-based approach is most illuminating for describing collocational and other recurrent patterns associated with specific lexical items across the entire corpus, while a qualitative, CDA-informed approach is best suited for scrutinising specific stretches of text at various levels. Drawing on a combined methodology enables scholars in CDA to reach beyond an intuitive interpretation and to make reliable generalisations about recurrent lexical choices on the one hand, and, at the same time, to trace larger, more intricate discursive patterns that cannot be revealed through corpus analysis.

In more relatively recent years, some researchers, such as Hunston (2002:109–23), Garzone and Santulli (2004), Orpin (2005), Mautner (2005 and 2007), Baker (2006), Ensslin and Johnson (2006), and Baker et al. (2008), have begun to call more consistently for an integrated approach in an attempt to bring corpus linguistics and CDA together. Among them, Orpin (2005) in particular has invested in actively attempting to bolster the proposed methodology, following Stubb's suggestions (1997). For him, corpora can be used to describe the semantic profiles of words and to highlight connotational differences, whereas CDA allows us to interpret the ideological significance of the findings. Orpin engages extensively in highlighting the potential benefits of combining a corpus-based methodology with CDA, pointing out that there has been relatively little discussion about the use of corpora to examine language and ideology.

Mautner (2007) demonstrates that corpora offer considerable potential for discourse analysis. She investigated the word 'elderly' in a 57-million-word online spinoff from the more than 500-million-word *Bank of English* corpus with a view to identifying evidence of stereotypical constructions of age and aging. Mautner's findings suggest that the dominant semantic preferences of 'elderly' include 'care', 'illness', 'disability', 'vulnerability' and 'crime', and the semantic prosody is often strongly negative, with 'elderly' "emerging less as a marker of chronological age than of perceived social consequences" (ibid.: 51). Here, 'age' is used as "the basis for a whole chain of stereotypical assumptions about individuals' attributes, needs, and life

chances”, which means that “someone who is old and fit, old and wealthy, or old and powerful, or a combination of all these, is much less likely to be referred to as *elderly* than are those who are old and disabled, old and poor, or old and dependent (or, as is quite likely, a combination of all these)” (ibid.: 51, 63-64). While expressing some reservations about applying a corpus methodology within the framework of CDA, including the issue of neglecting accompanying visuals, Mautner (ibid.: 66) nevertheless defends the use of corpora in CDA by explaining that “there is no miracle cure for the perennial tension between macro and micro levels of analysis, and between quantitative and qualitative procedures, but enriching projects in sociolinguistics and discourse analysis with corpus methodology can go some way toward turning this tension into fruitful dialogue”.

(a) Corpus-based CDA analysis: examining the dialectal relationship between language and society

Since the late 1990s, corpora have been used in CDA studies to analyse government and academic discourses (Piper 2000); business texts (Alexander 1999, Koller 2004, Nelson 2006); legislative discourse (Graham 2001); medical discourse (Salager-Meyer et al. 2003); ideology (Orpin 2005); interviews (Saraceni 2003); workplace discourse (Holmes and Marra 2002); and investigate lexico-grammatical patterning in a large corpus (Mautner 2007). However, only a few of these studies interpret the concept of discourse from the CDA scholar’s point of view, i.e. most of them draw on corpus linguistics in order to present salient evidence from sample ‘texts’ rather than ‘discourse’ in the CDA sense, without offering insight into either the relationship between language and ideology, or language and society. For example, Holmes and Marra (2002) conducted research on humour in order to identify its characteristics in workplace cultures, but their study focuses on different types and styles of humour as used in four different organisation meetings, rather than on the extent to which humour may be effective in shaping, changing, or challenging workplace cultures.

Of the few studies that have combined CDA and corpora, perhaps the most important are Fairclough (2000), Pérez-González (2000), Piper (2000), Graham (2001), Saraceni (2003) and Koller (2004), who engage directly with the dialectical relationship between language and society. Fairclough (2000) compiled a computerised corpus of New Labour texts and a small corpus of earlier old Labour texts. Inspired by the idea

that “managerial government is partly managing language” (ibid.: viii), he investigated not only newspaper articles by New Labour leaders but also Labour party documents (election manifesto), books, pamphlets, and other government documents in order to investigate particular words and phrases. Comparing New Labour and ‘earlier’ Labour materials, as well as comparing New Labour material with larger corpora of contemporary English, Fairclough set out to discover patterns of linguistic behaviour in a specifically political context, and identified particular words such as ‘we’, ‘welfare’, ‘Britain’, ‘new’, ‘reform’ and ‘young’ as occurring with particularly high frequency in the New Labour context. He identified a strong pattern associated with the use of ‘new’, as in ‘new labour’, ‘new deal’, ‘new politics’, ‘new Britain’, ‘new Europe’, ‘new era’, and even ‘new world’. Here, he argues, the word is used “quite selectively for national, political, and governmental renewal in ‘new times’ which generate new opportunities and challenges and call for new approaches, ideas, and attitudes” (ibid.: 19). His corpus also reveals that ‘modernisation’ is overwhelmingly used with reference to the UK while references to ‘reform’ tend to be restricted to the EU. The collocation ‘economic reform’ occurs very often, and ‘reform’ tends to collocate with items such as ‘labour’, ‘capital’ and ‘product’, always with reference to the EU. On the other hand, ‘modernise’ occurs only once in the context of markets and the economy. Interpreting these results from the perspective of a CDA scholar, Fairclough argues that “economic change is ‘reform’ not ‘modernisation’, and it applies only at EU level, not in Britain” (ibid.).

Pérez-González (2000) conducted a corpus-based study which combined a quantitative and qualitative approach to reveal sexism in British media discourse. He draws on his own corpus of news narratives and the 20.5 million word online COBUILD corpus. His own corpus consisted of 150 samples of hard news narratives, concerned with issues of public interest. An equal number of samples were compiled of soft news narratives that are less temporally bound, including news on fashion. Both the hard and soft narrative samples correspond to a period of six months in 1996 and are drawn from four different daily newspapers (*The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Independent* and *The Observer*). Investigating who speaks in the news and what voices are given space in the hard and soft news articles through the examination of direct and indirect discourse shows that women’s speech is more often represented in soft news than in hard news. In soft news, women are introduced with reference to marital or family relations, physical appearance and age; media discourse thus reinforces sexist

stereotypes, e.g., *‘the widow of Sir William Walton’*, *‘Leonora King, a mother of five’*, *‘Alice Ormsby Gore, the 43-year-old fiancée of guitarist Eric Clapton’*. What makes this study different from other studies, however, is the author’s interpretation of data. Pérez-González argues that “sexist discourse does not affect the representation of the news of women as a whole, as they no longer constitute a homogeneous group”, and that women are individual subjects “whose identity results from the interaction between their gender, social class, race and, even more importantly, their professional status” (ibid.: 2118). This implies that some women achieve a social status “beyond the reach of sexist discourse” (ibid.). The study thus challenges the feminist view that gender biases exist in linguistic structures and is perpetuated in journalism, foregrounding instead “the importance of the individual process of linguistic production and interpretation” (ibid.).

Piper (2000) draws on a 950,000 word corpus of recent government and academic publications on lifelong learning in order to examine associations and connotations of the words ‘individuals’ and ‘people’, including their syntactic behaviour, and compares her findings with the BNC. Her focus is on the role of individuals as members of institutionalised collectives, as agents, as rational citizens and as consumers. Piper’s analysis of the syntactic and collocational behaviour of ‘individuals’ and ‘people’ reveals that they behave differently as ideological markers, and that ‘people’ is a far more frequent word in general language use than it is in policy-making. She thus concludes that these differences show lifelong learning discourse having close connection with contemporary processes of individualisation, consumption and production, and argues that “academics and policy-makers, or at least policy writers, do appear to be engaged in the co-construction of late modern individualism, whereas the population at large is less single-mindedly engaged in this mission” (ibid.: 537).

Other authors have investigated different genres and issues. Graham (2001), for example, examined a corpus of legislative discourse to investigate the role played by policy language in creating the foundations of an emergent form of political economy. Koller (2004) looked at the extent to which the war metaphor is employed in the context of describing business women, reflecting the hegemonic masculinity that pervades business discourse. Saraceni’s work on interviews and speeches relating to the 2003 war on Iraq, collected over a period of six weeks, is particularly inspiring in that it attempts

to determine the extent to which the ideas of Tony Blair, the then prime minister of the UK, and George Bush, the then president of the USA, “may not be as alike as one might be tempted to believe” (2003: 3). His findings reveal differences in the discourse of the two leaders, even though their decisions were closely in line with each other during the war. Blair seems to have a more complex personality, according to Saraceni, i.e. his discourse not only lacks many characteristics of right-wing rhetoric, but it is also different from typical left wing rhetoric, whereas Bush’s discourse is identified as typically right wing. One of the weaknesses of this study is its failure to make generalisations due to the small size of the corpus compiled. It would have also been more interesting and convincing if the author had differentiated speeches and interviews, since, to an extent, speeches are characterised by more formal rhetoric and an ideological investment in discursive conventions than interviews; and the interviewee may be led by an interviewer’s loaded questions.

Similar studies include van Dijk (1991), Galasiński and Marley (1998), Downs (2002), Moore (2002), Pan (2002), Johnson et al. (2003), Jeffries (2003), Page (2003), Partington (2003), Garzone and Santulli (2004), Hardman (2004) and O’Halloran (2007), among others. Of the studies that have been carried out to date, most have looked at press and newspaper articles. This is understandable since, as Henry and Tator (2002: 72) argue, CDA is “a tool for deconstructing the ideologies of the mass media and other elite groups and for identifying and defining social, economic and historical power relations between dominant and subordinate groups”. In the context of the current research, the most recent studies by Al-Hejin (2007), Baker et al. (2008) and Qian (2010) are worth considering in some detail because they are the latest to investigate news articles from a CDA perspective.

(b) Recent Corpus-based CDA studies of news material

The textual analysis conducted by Al-Hejin (2007), who examined twenty-three articles (totalling 14,148 words) on the Muslim veil authored by BBC journalists and correspondents in the French and British contexts, revealed a number of important trends. First, prejudice against the veil was not always questioned. Second, the veil often collocates with words such as ‘extremism’, ‘fundamentalism’, ‘radicalism’, and ‘backwardness’, and is hence constructed as a ‘threat’ and a problem. A similar analysis of ‘veil’ in the British National Corpus (BNC) also reveals that in 59% of all

occurrences, the adjectival form ('veiled') tends to collocate with negative words such as 'threats', 'hostility' and 'racism'. Al-Hejin argues that "subtler linguistic effects seemed to contribute to negative and inaccurate representations of the veil", and that "these included a reluctance to specify the form of veil being discussed; referring to the veil as a symbol, a tradition or cultural practice" (ibid.: 29). This situation, according to him, can be interpreted in relation to the change in political climate after the terrorist bombings in London in 2005. The events led to a discursive shift in the position of New Labour away from 'multiculturalism', the slogan that the then government had associated with Britain since 1997, towards 'integration'. This often meant that "Muslims should conform to the British way of life", thus making the veil a problem. At the same time, the government framed the events in question as evidence that multiculturalism did not work (ibid.: 27-30). The BBC reports ultimately reflect the shift involved in promoting the discourse of so called 'integration'.

Al-Hejin's exploration of the link between language and society is of considerable interest to my current research, because his study demonstrates that linguistic patterns, features and tendencies revealed in the analysis of news items reflect the prevailing political attitude towards a certain issue. The study provides support for the contention that linguistic usage encodes representations of the world and shows that the language used in news reports is not neutral – that it is not randomly, or intuitively, but selectively chosen. Like Britain, South Korea witnessed a sudden change in the government's policy towards North Korea since President Lee, who belongs to a right-wing party, came into power in 2008. As in Al-Hejin's study, a corpus-based analysis of South Korean reporting on North Korea during that period is expected to reveal interesting linguistic patterns with ideological import. It is anticipated that various negative items will be associated with North Korea, especially during the period when the country conducted nuclear and missile tests which involved firing short-range missiles into the East Sea of South Korea, and when several skirmishes occurred between South and North Korean navies; for example, in 2010 when North Korea allegedly sank the South Korean warship 'Cheonanham'.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ The Cheonan-ham, or Cheonanship, a South Korean warship, exploded in March 2010. A South Korean-led investigation was carried out with the help of a team of international experts from the US, the UK, Australia and Sweden. Based on forensic evidence, the team concluded that a North Korean torpedo sank the ship, but North Korea denied its involvement and rejected the findings as a fabrication.

Baker et al. (2008)⁵⁵ examined a corpus of 140 million words consisting of articles from twelve national and three regional newspapers published between 1996 and 2005, relating to refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (collectively referred to as RASIM). Their findings were that “the vast majority (86%) of ... collocates could be classified under only eight categories of reference, namely: (a) Provenance/transit/destination, (b) Number, (c) Entry, (d) Economic problems, (e) Residence, (f) Return/repatriation, (g) Legality and (h) Plight” and that “these categories are regularly used in ways which negatively reference RASIM, particularly those concerned with entry, economic problems and legality” (ibid.: 286-290). Initially, the findings were that the tabloids tend to adopt a predominantly negative stance in their reporting on issues related to RASIM, whereas broadsheets adopt a more balanced stance (ibid.). However, CDA analysis, which focused on a small number of articles, revealed that what appeared to be positive topoi in a small number of articles (assumed through corpus analysis to take a less negative attitude to RASIM) were not positive after all (ibid.: 296). The study thus challenges the view of broadsheets as “consistently neutral or only positive toward RASIM”, although it does confirm that “UK national newspapers generally termed ‘tabloid’ form a more homogeneous group than those termed ‘broadsheet’” (ibid.: 290).

Baker et al.’s research is similar to Al-Hejin’s work in its methodology and overall argument. It confirms that examination of news corpora can reveal the underlying attitudes of media outlets, whether positive or negative, towards a particular object of study, and that corpus-based analysis can allow us to identify the characteristics of each news outlet.

Most recently, Qian (2010) carried out a corpus-based CDA study of ‘terrorism’, using the *People’s Daily*, the Chinese newspaper, and *The Sun*, the British newspaper, before and after the 9/11 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in Manhattan. She also used Xinhua News Agency and Associate Press Worldstream corpora as large reference corpora for comparing and extracting key words. The study distinguishes itself from Bang’s work by being diachronic.⁵⁶ Qian looks at ways in which discourses

⁵⁵ Similar studies can be found in Baker and McEnery (2005), Baker et al. (2007) and Gabrielatos and Baker (2006 and 2008).

⁵⁶ Qian accepts Cameron’s (1997) criticism of corpus linguistics, namely that it focuses too much on

on terrorism have changed in the Chinese and UK press between 2000 and 2002, covering a period before and after 9/11. She divides the data set into three periods: before, during, and after the 9/11 events, in order to examine the changes more systematically. This custom-made corpus, consisting of articles published in China and the UK, is also interesting given the different political systems of the two countries: “[the] UK does not have government-controlled newspapers, while all newspapers in China are subject to state censorship to some degree” (ibid.: 47). Qian maintains that the *People’s Daily*, the broadsheet newspaper of China, and *The Sun*, the UK tabloid, are similar, in that they are both daily newspapers. However, the findings might have been different had she considered Baker et al.’s study (2008), discussed above, where different attitudes of tabloids and broadsheets are discussed.

3.2.2 Corpus-based CDA studies in South Korea: analysing news articles

In marked contrast to the growth of interest in corpus-based CDA in the English-speaking world, examination of journals published by some Korean associations in the field of sociolinguistics reveals that, to date, little research has been carried out within the framework of corpus-based CDA. Nevertheless, a few publications can be found which adopt a corpus-based approach to the study of discourse with the aim of reflecting the ways in which seemingly innocuous words can be ideologically loaded in their use.

Bang’s studies, in 2003⁵⁷ and 2008, which investigate the discursive construction of identity, are particularly interesting because they deal specifically with representations of North Korea in South Korean and US news reporting. Both studies use WordSmith tools (see 5.1 for more details) and a corpus consisting of news articles from three Korean newspapers (*The Korean Herald*, *The Korean Times* and *The Chosun Ilbo*) published over a five-year period – between 1997 and 2001. In her 2003 MPhil dissertation, Bang examined the specific ways in which North Korea and the US are described in the South Korean press. She looked at lexical items referring to, or modifying, ‘North Korea’, such as ‘communist’ and ‘regime’, as well as ‘North Korea’ as a grammatical subject and an object in various word clusters (or ‘lexical bundles’).

synchronic data while ignoring the importance of history.

⁵⁷ Bang (2003) is older than the other studies included in this section, but it was part of a later project (2008).

Some interesting results that emerged from her analysis include the following: (i) ‘relations’ and ‘talks’ are two of the most frequent collocates associated with North Korea, reflecting “difficulty and volatility involved in building a relationship with North Korea” (ibid.: 65); (ii) over half the total occurrences of ‘North Korea’ collocate with ‘communist regime’, which has a negative connotation in the context of a political system; also, there is no occurrence of ‘communist government’, an expression that can be used as an alternative in theory; (iii) at the same time, ‘North Korea’ tends to collocate with ‘aid’, ‘assistance’, ‘help’ and ‘support’ in the South Korean newspapers, thereby constantly positioning that country as a beneficiary of economic aid from South Korea and other neighbouring countries (ibid.: 97-98). Bang accordingly argues that the representation of North Korea in the South Korean press is “largely constructed in terms of [its] relationship with South Korea” (ibid.: 97).

In her 2008 PhD thesis, Bang expands her argument by investigating two American broadsheets, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, where she finds subtle and cumulatively constructed patterns of the representation of foreign countries, including North Korea, and their leaders, corresponding to that country’s relationship with the US. She further investigates the collocational patterns of ‘said’ and a set of grammatical collocates – ‘from’, ‘for’, ‘in’, ‘of’, ‘to’ and ‘with’ – of the key words ‘North Korea’, ‘China’, ‘Japan’ and ‘South Korea’. Her findings revealed that “more voice is given to a country and the leader of a country which are perceived as more elite and friendly towards the United States” (ibid.: 200).

Although Bang does not examine the significant collocational patterns retrieved from her corpus against a larger reference corpus in either of her studies, it is clear that she fully acknowledges the effectiveness of using quantitative data and corpus methods “in showing linguistic patterns in [the] construction of discourse on certain socio-political entities and events, which may not be obvious to the naked eye” (Bang and Shin 2010: 100). Her thorough analysis of the representation of North Korea is highly significant for the current research; it offers an overview of how North Korea is represented in the South Korean and US press, and provides a starting point and an introductory insight into examining the discursive practices of news media outlets, specifically in relation to North Korea. It also demonstrates that the innocuous word ‘North Korea’ can be coloured according to the political climate prevailing in a given

country, and presents a considerable amount of evidence in this respect, allowing the current research to compare its results against the findings of an earlier study.

Seo (2008) uses a corpus-based methodology to analyse the extent to which conflicting ideological positions of two different news networks, *Fox News* in the US and *Al-Jazeera* in Qatar, are reflected in reporting the post-war situation in Iraq. Her findings show that *Al-Jazeera* “selectively used more anti-US labels” to weaken and discredit pro-US designations such as ‘liberation of Iraq’ and ‘operation Iraqi freedom’: for example, *Al-Jazeera* tends to use ‘US-led invasion of Iraq’, ‘Civil-war’, and ‘attack’, while *Fox News* chooses “more explicit western-centred terms to reinforce the positive image construction of the pro-US group as in-group” (ibid.: 180), including its use of ‘war on terrorism/terror’ and ‘Iraq War’ labels far more than *Al-Jazeera*. Seo argues that ideological differences may result in the deliberate manipulation of discourse by the various news outlets in order to effect an “interpretive framing of pre-war and post-war Iraq according to their respective ideological framing” (ibid.).

Bang and Shin’s study (2010) sheds light on the discursive practices of news articles, and on the links between linguistic practices and the shaping of social structures. They adopt a corpus-based CDA approach to examine the use of the word ‘democracy’ in binominal structures, e.g. ‘democracy and freedom’, in two American newspapers (a total of 42 million words), *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, and in two South Korean newspapers (a total of 200,000 words), *Dong-A Ilbo* and *Hangyoreh*. Bang and Shin look for the occurrences of ‘democracy’ with ‘and’, i.e. ‘democracy and’ structures, in the US and South Korean corpora. The results reveal that human-rights-related noun phrases, such as ‘democracy and human rights’, are highly frequent in both corpora. However, ‘democracy and market economy’ ranks second in the Korean corpus and ‘democracy and rule of law’ ranks second in the US corpus. Moreover, if all capitalism-related noun phrases occurring with ‘democracy’, e.g. ‘economic development’, in the South Korean corpus are counted, their overall frequency exceeds the frequency of human rights-related noun phrases.

Bang and Shin argue that binominal structures are used as rhetorical tools to “justify and defend actions taken by the government and politicians in the South Korean corpus” and to “criticise the government or the political opposition” (ibid.: 100). They

state that human rights noun phrases, which include ‘human rights’ and ‘freedom’, are frequently found with ‘democracy’ in the US corpus, while capitalism-related noun phrases, such as ‘democracy and market economy’ and ‘democracy and capitalism’, occur most frequently in the South Korean corpus, where they are construed as “entities that need to develop together or co-exist” (ibid.: 91). Analysis of the collocational patterns of ‘democracy’ also suggests that binominals perform evaluative and rhetorical functions in that they are used to “evaluate other countries on [sic] their political, social and economic problems” in the US corpus (ibid.: 100). For example, when stretches such as ‘Islam and democracy has been only partially successful...’ and ‘Islam and democracy is struggling to produce results’ are used, Bang and Shin argue, “*Islam* is implicitly negatively evaluated by being positioned in opposition to the positively-connoted *democracy*” (ibid.: 92). Meanwhile, in the US corpus, the US is portrayed as the main champion of democracy in other countries, with ‘democracy’ repeatedly collocating with verbs such as ‘support’, ‘promote’, ‘help’, ‘encourage’, ‘bring’ and ‘spread’; the US is featured as an actor in about 40% of all such occurrences.

3.3 CDA in translation studies

The most extended application of CDA in translation studies can be found in the work of Hatim and Mason (1990). Drawing on the work of Fairclough and other CDA scholars, Hatim and Mason (1990: 70) use ‘discourse’ to refer to “modes of expression such as talking and thinking”. Mason (1994: 25) later redefined discourse as “systematically organised sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution”, and Hatim (2008: 89) also later revisited his work and redefined ‘discourse’ as “the institutional-attitudinal framework within which both genre and text cease to be mere vehicles of communication and become fully operational carriers of ideological meaning”. One of the most important contributions of Hatim and Mason’s work (1990 and 1997)⁵⁸ is that they identify a link between CDA

⁵⁸ Hatim and Mason (1990) distinguish discourse from text and genre in the context of translation. They argue that text is communicative and goal-oriented while discourse is attitudinal and realised in text. They follow Kress (1985: 19, cited in Hatim and Mason 1990: 69) in defining genres as “conventionalised forms of text” and argue that the relationship between genre and discourse is “culturally determined”, and that there are “constraints on which discourses go with which genres and vice versa” (ibid.: 71). Hatim (1998: 68) argues that genre generally refers to the “linguistic expression conventionally associated with certain forms of writing” whilst discourse refers to the “material out of which interaction is moulded as well as the themes addressed”. For him, text means a “sequence of sentences serving an overall rhetorical purpose” (ibid.). It follows that genre is conventional, and may be associated with particular types of discourse, but different discourses may feature in any genre.

and translation studies by looking at translation as a communicative process that takes place within a social framework. Translators negotiate the meanings embedded in a source text and tailor them to a new environment (i.e. a target society/culture) in accordance with certain communicative requirements. Consequently, Hatim and Mason place translation within a wider context, taking account of communicative, pragmatic and semiotic dimensions by paying more attention to the ideational and interpersonal functions of translation.

Several studies that engage with CDA have been undertaken since then – e.g. Schäffner (1997, 2003 and 2004) and Valdeón (2007). However, these have been limited in number. Moreover, the application of the CDA model to the translation of global news has also been largely neglected, despite the fact that CDA lends itself particularly well to the examination of this genre in the context of translation, both because CDA scholars have conducted numerous analyses of news texts, which can serve as robust models for translation scholars, and because CDA pays much attention to the particular context in which discourses are produced and translated. The analysis of news translation must always involve an examination of the ‘context’ in which both source texts and target texts are produced, since news translation is heavily influenced by a number of variables, including individual ideologies, institutional attitudes of those producing and circulating the news texts, a wide range of complex and interrelated events that unfold in real time, as well as the economic and temporal restrictions involved in publishing and disseminating news. Examination of translational shifts in this genre must involve an initial comparison of the different contexts (material as well as discursive) in which the source and target texts are produced. Furthermore, as CDA is particularly interested in language as an expression of power structures, a CDA-informed analysis of translated news texts can address questions such as ‘what is selected for translation’, ‘who is translating what, when and for whom’, and ‘what has not been translated, and why’. In the analysis of news translations published by mainstream global media institutions, such questions become more crucial, because, as signalled in the term ‘mainstream’, these institutions are influential, dominant and powerful, and they are invested in the dissemination and circulation of certain ideas and ideologies to the exclusion of others.

3.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has discussed CDA and corpus-based CDA studies in some detail, as a backdrop to conducting corpus-based CDA analysis of a specially compiled corpus in chapters five, six and seven. Various definitions and some features of one of the key concepts of CDA, discourse, have been explored and discussed in relation to power and ideology. The aims and the limitations of the CDA approach have also been examined, and an overview of a number of corpus-based CDA studies carried out to date, both in the English-speaking world and in Korea, have been offered. The next chapter will outline the composition of the corpus specifically designed for the current research, including text selection criteria. An explanation of the methodology used in retrieving and analysing linguistic patterns will also be offered.

Chapter Four

Data and Methodology

This chapter begins by outlining the composition of all corpora that constitute the data for the current research. The second part of the chapter describes the process adopted for preparing electronic texts. Factiva, a database that holds a large volume of international news reports and business documents, which is used in this study to facilitate corpus development, is also discussed.

4.1 The corpus: an overview

This study involves building a corpus in order to identify specific discursive practices in both US and Korean mainstream media in relation to North Korea. The analysis will further attempt to establish whether specific patterns identified in each corpus are institution-specific.

Since one of the research questions that drive this study addresses the extent to which news texts are mediated via translation, the corpus has to include source texts and their translations; in this case the texts are drawn from *Newsweek* and *CNN* and the target texts from *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hanguel News* respectively. The translation corpus thus consists of two separate source text (ST) and target text (TT) sub-corpora designed according to the same criteria and specifications, one made up of news texts originally written in English, and the other consisting of texts translated from English into Korean, as shown in Figure 2 and Table 2.

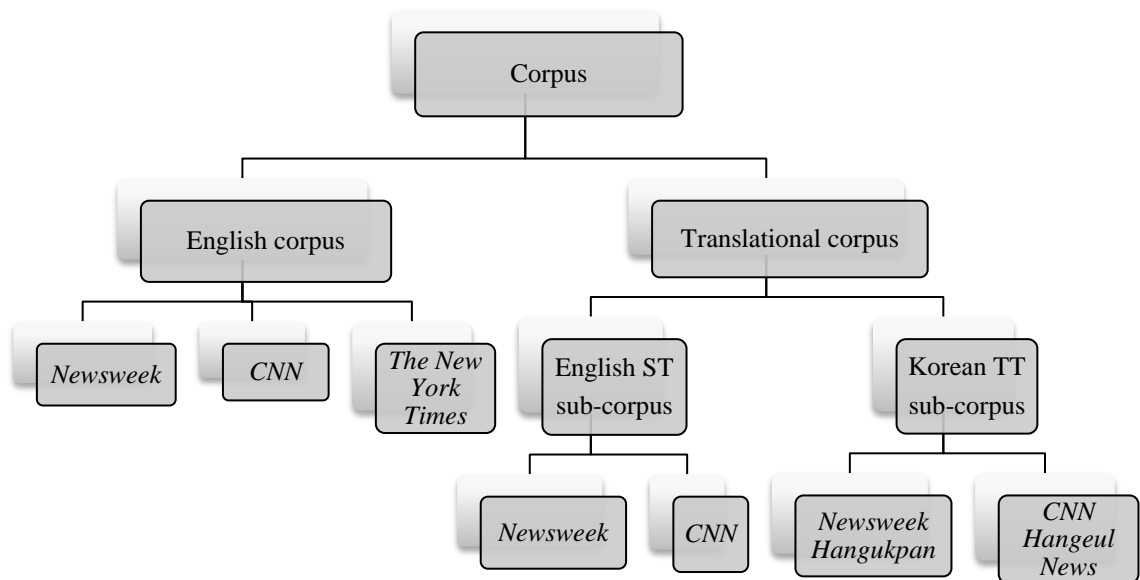


Figure 2. Corpus structure

English Corpus			Translational Corpus			
			English ST sub-corpus		Korean TT sub-corpus	
<i>Newsweek</i>	<i>CNN</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>Newsweek</i>	<i>CNN</i>	<i>Newsweek Hangukpan</i>	<i>CNN Hangeul News</i>
1,707,376 tokens	59,929,368 tokens	7,363,431 tokens	313,997 tokens	52,865 tokens	226,598 tokens	33,684 tokens
50,357 types	136,849 types	83,925 types	20,108 types	5,701 types	60,561 types	11,114 types
69,000,175 tokens 173,444 types			366,862 tokens 20,995 types		260,282 tokens 65,504 types	

Table 2. Corpus size

As is evident from the above description, the corpus is designed to include different types of media. *Newsweek* and *Newsweek Hangukpan* are magazines; *CNN* and *CNN Hangeul News* are TV broadcasts that provide transcripts on the web; and *The New York Times* (NYT) is a daily newspaper. *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News* feature translated materials and are selected to address research questions 2, 3, 4,

5 and 6, in particular. The English corpus, the English ST sub-corpus and the Korean TT sub-corpus and relevant selection criteria are discussed below in more detail.

4.1.1 English Corpus: general features and text selection criteria

The English sub-corpus consists of all texts featuring in *Newsweek*, *CNN*, and *The New York Times* (hereafter *NYT*) that include the words ‘North Korea’ and were published during the period 1998 to 2010. News reports published between 1998 and 2010 that feature ‘North Korea’ are all included in the current corpus, regardless of their topics and genres, i.e. the texts are not limited to political reports but also incorporate sports reports, editorials and letters from readers. The year 1998 is selected as the cut-off point because this is when North Korea officially opened its borders with South Korea, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that there would be more coverage of North Korea in the US and South Korean news outlets.

Admittedly, there had been some exchanges between the South Korea and North Korea before 1998. For instance, North Korea sent aid to South Korea in 1984 when South Korea suffered from a flood (Kim 2012). This opened up a possibility of reconciliation between the two countries, and the first official meeting was held for separated families in 1985.

However, two attacks by North Korea were carried out since then (North Korean special force’s Gangneung submarine infiltration incident in 1996 (Chae 2007) and the Korean Air Flight 858 explosion by a bomb planted by two North Korean agents (Lee 2012). The relationship between the two countries deteriorated again. However, in 1998 South Korean tourists were finally allowed to visit a particular tourist region, Geumgangsan (Mount Geumgang), by cruise ship. This lasted until 2008, when a South Korean woman was shot dead by a North Korean soldier. 1998 was crucial not only because of the turnaround in the relationship between the South and the North, but also because the travel to the North was not limited to separated families but expanded to any South Koreans as well as foreign tourists who wanted to visit the country, although the trip was guided and administrated by North Koreans.

(a) Newsweek sub-corpus

There are two reasons for the selection of *Newsweek*, an American weekly news magazine distributed internationally: its popularity and the fact that it is translated into Korean. In terms of popularity, *Newsweek* holds the fifty-first position on the list of the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC)⁵⁹ – a non-profit circulation auditing organisation which lists American magazines, both paid and unpaid, according to their circulation figures in 2012. News outlets that feature higher on the list include entertainment magazines, a number of television guidebooks, magazines aimed at specific readerships, such as *Glamour*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Parenting*, and monthly magazines such as *National Geographic* and *Reader's Digest*. These have not been selected for inclusion in the corpus because they do not contain any information that is relevant to this study. The ABC list shows that *Time* and *Newsweek* are the most popular magazines in the US. I chose *Newsweek* in order to identify the extent to which the discourse on North Korea is mediated in translations, since some of its articles are translated into Korean. Moreover, the electronic files of recent issues of *Newsweek* have already been made available to the public on the web, and the availability of these sources on the internet makes it easier to compile the corpora.

Newsweek was founded by a former foreign editor at *Time Magazine* and was first published in 1933. In 1961, it was purchased by *The Washington Post Company*. As a weekly news magazine, *Newsweek* offers comprehensive coverage of world events, including international affairs, business, science and technology, society and arts and entertainment. The then president and editor-in-chief, Muir, introduced international editions in 1937, and *Newsweek* is now published in Arabic, Japanese, Korean, Polish, Russian, Spanish and Turkish, alongside its English edition. As of 2010, worldwide circulation stands at more than 1.5 million copies. *Newsweek* articles are easily accessible through the website (<http://www.newsweek.com/>), which has enabled me to collect data published since 1998 with minimal effort. The number of tokens (running words) is 1,707,376 and the number of types (distinct words) is 50,357.

(b) CNN sub-corpus

CNN (Cable News Network), an American cable news network founded in 1980 by Turner, was the first dedicated, around-the-clock news broadcasting organisation in the

⁵⁹ <http://www.auditedmedia.com/> [last accessed 24 December 2012].

world; it was the first all-news channel in the US and has changed news reporting cycles in that, previously, events were mainly reported in morning and evening newspapers and by newscasts. *CNN* has the highest viewing rates in the US. An annual report on US journalism (*The State of the News Media* 2009) measured audiences by calculating “the number of individual viewers who watch a channel for at least six minutes over the course of a month”, as shown in Figure 3 below:

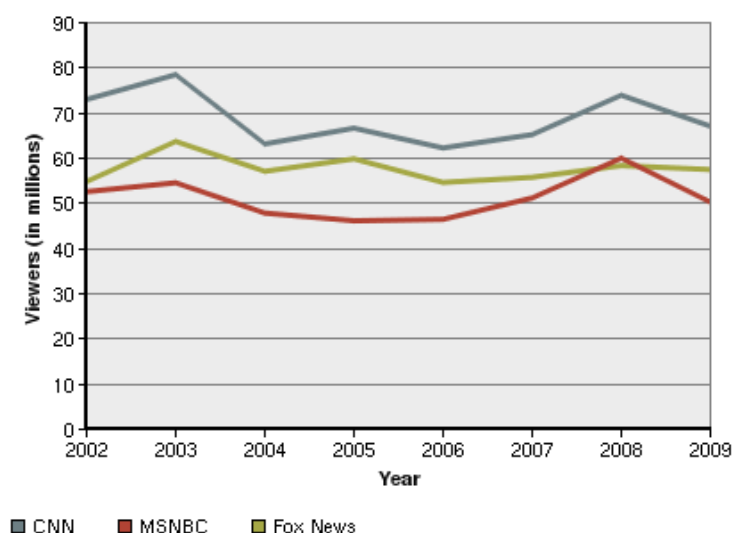


Figure 3. Cable News Cumulative Audience, by Channel (2002-2009, mean audience)⁶⁰

This chart indicates that *CNN* has consistently surpassed all other rival channels in popularity between 2002 and 2009. Moreover, its website has attracted a wide range of audiences around the world. According to *The Experian Hitwise*⁶¹, a global online service company that collects and analyses data on internet users, *CNN.com* (the news website) was ranked as the number two news webpage in 2008, second only to *Yahoo.com*.⁶² *CNN* news group services include *CNN airport network*, *CNN headline news*, *CNN radio*, *CNN Newsource*, and *CNN International*.

⁶⁰ *The State of the News Media* - an annual report on American journalism.

⁶¹ *The Experian Hitwise* claims to have developed proprietary software that Internet Service Providers (ISPs) use to analyse website logs created on their network. This anonymous data is “aggregated and provided to *Experian Hitwise*, where it is analysed to provide a range of industry standard metrics relating to the viewing of websites including page requests, visits, average visit length, search terms and behaviour”. (*Experian Hitwise* website: <http://www.hitwise.com/uk/about-us/how-we-do-it>) [last accessed 16 April 2012].

⁶² *The State of the News Media* - Top News Sites 2008.

CNN has been chosen because of its extensive reporting on international news. It runs numerous international bureaus, which have been in operation since the network was founded; these are situated in Abu Dhabi, Baghdad, Beijing, Cairo, Dubai, Istanbul, Jerusalem, Johannesburg, Lagos, London, Seoul, and Tokyo. Because it has affiliated reporters around the world, *CNN* can report any event almost immediately. Robinson (1999) also acknowledges that it has a global audience in more than 212 countries and territories with extensive coverage and live reports. For instance, it was *CNN* which broke the news of the 9/11 attacks on New York. Their reporters – John Holliman and Bernard Shaw – were the only two foreign correspondents in Baghdad at the outbreak of the first Iraq war in 1991, which they reported live on the phone to *CNN* in Atlanta.⁶³ With its 24-hour, real-time, global news coverage, *CNN* became one of the world's most respected and trusted source of news and information. Several researchers have written on the *CNN* effect, including Livingston (1997) and Robinson (1999). Livingston (1997: 1) states that “it is this global, real-time quality to contemporary media that separates the ‘CNN effect’ from earlier media effects on foreign policy”, while Robinson (1999: 301) points out that “real-time communications technology could provoke major responses from domestic audiences and political elites to global events”.

At the same time, *CNN* has been the subject of much criticism. For example, in an examination of how *CNN* and *Aljazeera* construct narratives about Iraqi civilian casualties, Youssef (2009: 20) argues that *CNN* adopts a pro-American perspective, explaining that it “produced news in a frame that would likely resonate with US readers – celebrating victory, soldiers helping the injured and firing only in self-defence”. In terms of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, *CNN* experienced difficult times when Turner, the founder, publicly accused Israel of engaging in ‘terrorism’ against the Palestinians by asking “aren’t the Israelis and the Palestinians both terrorising each other?” in an exclusive interview with the *Guardian*, a British national daily newspaper, in June 2002 (Burkeman and Beaumont 2002). In China, the *anti-CNN.com* website was established in 2008 by a Chinese student in order to counter western media reports on the Tibet uprising, and the Chinese Government blocked the entire *CNN* network from mainland China (Sweeney 2008). *CNN* journalists were also banned from working in Iran after mistranslating a speech by the Iranian President in January 2006 (Cozens 2006). President Ahmadinejad had stated that Iran had the right to continue nuclear ‘research’

⁶³ TVARK website: http://www2.tv-ark.org.uk/news/gulf_war.html [last accessed 26 October 2012].

and ‘technology’. However, *CNN* translated nuclear ‘technology’ as nuclear ‘weapons’. *CNN* subsequently apologised, saying that it was a translator’s error and was not deliberate. Mohammad Hossein Khoshvaght, a director of foreign media at Iran’s Culture and Islamic Guidance Ministry, welcomed *CNN*’s apology, but he added that “it is not clear whether it was something pre-planned or a mistake”.⁶⁴ In Korea, *CNN* was also strongly criticised for referring to part of the western Pacific Ocean as ‘the sea of Japan’ rather than ‘the East Sea’⁶⁵. Since there has been a long-standing dispute at the United Nations over its official name, and the controversy remains unsettled, numerous mass media outlets such as *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal* refer to the area as ‘the body of water between Japan and Korea’, or alternate between the two designations (the East Sea/Sea of Japan). *CNN*, however, still prefers ‘the Sea of Japan’, and South Koreans remain outraged by this.

Because *CNN* coverage is supported by numerous international bureaus and *CNN* makes very good use of its overseas reporters, it is one of the most influential media outlets in the world, despite the above and similar criticisms. Its international arm continues to provide extensive news reports, since it runs live coverage non-stop around the clock. Moreover, transcripts of all broadcast news are uploaded by *CNN*, thereby making their news reports widely, and freely, accessible through the internet, which attracts an even wider audience around the world.

The current corpus includes all news transcripts produced since 1998 (not just political ones) that feature ‘North Korea’; for instance, if a transcript includes a sports story relating to North Korea, the corpus will also include sports news. The number of tokens (running words) is 59,929,368 and the number of types (distinct words) is 136,849.

(c) *The New York Times* sub-corpus

The New York Times (hereafter *NYT*), an American daily newspaper founded and published in New York City since 1851, has been selected because it is the most popular US daily newspaper and covers a variety of topics. In 2009, the ABC of North America

⁶⁴ Reuters (2006): http://today.reuters.com/news/newsArticle.aspx?type=entertainmentNews&storyID=2006-01-16T190312Z_01_L16779250_RTRUKOC_0_US-MEDIA-IRAN-CNN.xml&archived=False [last accessed 31 May 2010].

⁶⁵ See Sun (2009), for example.

published the 'top twenty-five' list of newspapers in the US, and *NYT* ranked third on the list,⁶⁶ after two other daily newspapers, *The Wall Street Journal* and *USA Today*. Even though *USA Today* has the widest circulation of any newspaper in the US, it has been excluded because it is largely national in orientation and does not cover international news to the same extent as *NYT*. Izadi and Saghave-Biria (2007: 148) also exclude *USA Today* in their study because it ranks last in terms of international news coverage and editorials, although it ranks first in terms of circulation. *The Wall Street Journal* is also excluded because it primarily covers international business and financial news.

Founded in 1851 by the journalist and politician Raymond, *NYT* consists of three sections – news, opinion and features. The news section covers both international and national news, as well as business, technology, science, health and sports. The inaugural note, 'a word about ourselves', clearly suggests that *NYT* (18 September 1851) does not regard itself as totally 'conservative' or totally 'radical' in orientation:

... We shall be *Conservative*, in all cases where we think Conservatism essential to the public good;—and we shall be *Radical* in everything which may seem to us to require radical treatment and radical reform. We do not believe that *everything* in Society is either exactly right or exactly wrong;—what is good we desire to preserve and improve;—what is evil, to exterminate, or reform.

However, in July 2007 a survey on perceptions of media bias conducted by Rasmussen Reports⁶⁷ – an electronic publishing firm specialising in the collection, publication, and distribution of public opinion polling information – concluded that *NYT* is perceived as having a 'liberal' bias.

... among the print publications in the survey, the *NYT* is perceived as being furthest to the left.... 25% of liberals see a liberal bias at the *NYT* while only 17% see a conservative bias. This makes the *NYT* the only media outlet that liberals are more likely to see as having a liberal bias than a conservative bias.

⁶⁶ According to an article by Perez-Pena (2009) published in *NYT*, weekly circulation fell 7.3 percent to about 928,000. However, this is not specific to *NYT*. Recent plummeting sales of newspapers led a number of newspaper companies to consider whether or not they should collect subscriptions from readers on their websites. Consequently, *NYT* decided to charge some frequent readers for access from 2011. However, all visitors will have full access to the home page, and they will be able to read individual articles through search sites such as Google. Therefore, a reader needs to pay only when he/she views a certain number of articles each month.

⁶⁷ <http://www.rasmussenreports.com> [last accessed 31 May 2010].

Like *Newsweek*, *NYT* has received much criticism for its coverage of particular issues. For instance, in terms of its coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, some have argued that it is pro-Palestinian, while others claim that it is pro-Israel. Mearsheimer and Walt (2006: 20) argue that “editorial bias is ... found in papers like the *NYT*, in that it occasionally criticizes Israeli policies and sometimes concedes that the Palestinians have legitimate grievances, but it is not even-handed”.⁶⁸ *NYT* was also criticized on one occasion by Barve in 2009, the Indian-American lawmaker, who stated that “(the) *NYT*’s editorial contains a factual error in its very first sentence when it describes the Republic of India as ‘long time nuclear scofflaw’”.⁶⁹ In its editorial ‘Secretary Clinton Goes to India’ published in July 2009⁷⁰, *NYT* described India as ‘a long time nuclear scofflaw’. In response to this, Barve argued that “India never signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty because it felt it discriminated against third-world countries”, and that *NYT* “ought to at least agree that one can only be a scofflaw if a law, or in this case a treaty agreement is violated. India has done nothing of the sort”, although *NYT* is free to disagree with this policy.

In spite of such criticisms, *NYT* maintains a high reputation as a daily American newspaper and has been awarded more than a hundred and twenty-five Pulitzer Prizes, with formal public statements by leading figures praising its achievements, which is more than any other news organisation can claim. Taking into consideration the phenomenally high circulation, the number of prizes *NYT* has achieved, and the considerable amount of interest the outlet has received, both positive and negative, it can be further claimed that it has been influential, to some extent, in shaping national behaviour and attitudes and in constructing a global understanding of specific world issues.

In order to attract a wide range of viewers outside the US, *NYT* also runs its own website. Detailed information accompanies each article placed on the site, including page number(s). However, many news articles featuring on the site are not accompanied

⁶⁸ Mearsheimer and Walt (2006: 20) write that “[i]n his memoirs the paper’s former executive editor Max Frankel acknowledges the impact his own attitude had on his editorial decisions: ‘I was much more deeply devoted to Israel than I dared to assert . . . Fortified by my knowledge of Israel and my friendships there, I myself wrote most of our Middle East commentaries. As more Arab than Jewish readers recognised, I wrote them from a pro-Israel perspective’”.

⁶⁹ <http://www.hindustantimes.com/News-Feed/dispatchesfromUSA/Indian-American-lawmaker-blasts-NYT-for-anti-India-editorial/Article1-434522.aspx> [last accessed 26 October 2012].

⁷⁰ http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/18/opinion/18sat1.html?_r=1 [last accessed 27 October 2012].

by the original images that featured in the printed version. Articles published since 1998 are readily accessible through the website – not only *The New York Times* website but also *New York Times Blogs*, as *New York Times Blogs* features a number of articles⁷¹; a quick search for articles published between 1 January 1998 and 17 April 2010 and featuring ‘North Korea’, for instance, rendered 8,780 files that can be incorporated into the corpus. These include news summaries that usually appear on the first page of the printed version of the paper, as well as notes on corrections relating to typos, errors concerning specific words, or contextual inaccuracies that need to be corrected, all of which are included in the corpus.

Using Factiva⁷², a database offered by the *Dow Jones* company and designed to give users access to over 14,000 sources of international news and business resources, the *NYT* articles published between 1 January 1998 and 11 December 2010 were collected. The *NYT* sub-corpus comprises 9,913 articles from *NYT* publications (*The New York Times* and *The New York Times Abstracts*) and *NYT* websites (*NYT Blogs* and the *NYT* internet website). The number of tokens (running words) is 1,707,376 and the number of types (distinct words) is 50,357.

4.1.2 The English ST sub-corpus: general features and text selection criteria

The translation corpus consists of English source texts (ST) and their Korean translations. The target text (TT) sub-corpus includes all Korean translated news articles from English appearing in *CNN Hangeul News* and *Newsweek Hangukpan*.

The English ST sub-corpus comprises all texts originally written in English and appearing in the *Newsweek* (the *Newsweek* English corpus) and the *CNN* (the *CNN International* English corpus) sub-corpora for which there are Korean translations in the Korean TT sub-corpus.

⁷¹ Some reporters maintain their own blogs and post copies of their articles on them. Thus, the reference to blogs here is as source of data, not meaning the inclusion of blog entries. Even if there is a case where the same article featured in the *NYT* official website is posted again at a *NYT* blog, it will not affect the analysis of the data, because this repetition is highly significant in CDA terms since repetition in discourse creates, reinforces, and strengthens ideas and statements. Detailed discussion is given in Chapter Five.

⁷² Detailed information about Factiva will be provided in 4.2.

(a) *Newsweek English ST sub-corpus*

Identifying texts for inclusion in the *Newsweek* ST sub-corpus was not straightforward. The first step involved extracting all English titles quoted in the Korean TT sub-corpus. These titles were then used as search items to identify the relevant texts in the *Newsweek* English corpus. The *Newsweek* corpus consists of 906 articles from *Newsweek*, *Newsweek print and online*⁷³, *Newsweek international*⁷⁴ and *Newsweek Web Exclusive*. The total size of the corpus is 313,997 tokens and 20,108 types.

In order to include STs of the Korean translated texts of *Newsweek Hangukpan*, all articles had to be revisited and checked, whether the text was translated or not, because, as mentioned above, *Newsweek Hangukpan* also includes articles originally written in Korean, as well as Korean translations. Fortunately, the *Newsweek Hangukpan* Korean translations are easily recognisable by their titles, since Korean translations, in most cases, have English source text titles cited together with Korean titles. For example, one of the articles written by Bates Gill was translated into Korean and printed in the 12th of June 2002 issue of *Newsweek Hangukpan*; the original English title, “Now it gets all the more complicated”, is followed by the translated headings: the main title – ‘중국의 탈북자 색출 강화는 임시변통에 불과하다’ [China’s tightening up of hunting down of the North Korean defectors is just a patchwork], is followed by the sub-title – ‘정치적·인도적 반향 고려해 다자간 논의 진행해야’ [multi-talk political and humanitarian repercussions should be considered in the multilateral discussions].⁷⁵

In most cases, then, Korean translations have English ST titles, but there are some exceptions, i.e. articles translated from English into Korean that are not accompanied by English titles. In these cases it is difficult to distinguish between Korean translations and Korean texts that have not been translated. This problem may be partially resolved by looking at the individual reporters’ names. Since Korean has its own unique alphabet system that is totally different from the Indo-European, foreign reporters can be identified at first sight only by their names. People in the Indo-

⁷³ Factiva explains that ‘Newsweek print and online’ includes articles from *Newsweek*’s U.S. edition, the International edition and from *Newsweek* web exclusive. ‘Newsweek print and online’ may feature the same articles that are already found in the international edition. In order to avoid this problem, the Factiva search tool was set to identify duplicates.

⁷⁴ *Newsweek International* is an international version of domestic *Newsweek* with an emphasis on international affairs. According to the Factiva description, *Newsweek International* includes articles that do not appear in the domestic edition.

⁷⁵ My translation.

European language speaking world share common first names, but they have fairly distinctive surnames. The exact opposite, however, pertains in Korea, where surnames are commonly shared, while first names are distinctive. Kim, Lee, Park are three of the most common surnames in Korea. Therefore, it can be assumed that a reporter with the surname Kim, or Lee, for instance, is likely to be Korean – in the absence of indications to the contrary. Also, *Newsweek Hangukpan* almost always gives the names of foreign reporters in their own language, e.g. the name of one of the correspondents of *Newsweek*, Bates Gill, is always written in English, not in Korean. This strategy is not of course foolproof – for example, a text may be produced in English by a Korean-American. To be on the safe side, any text that is not accompanied by an English title is excluded to ensure that all texts in the translational corpus are genuine translations from English into Korean, especially since these exclusions do not result in a corpus that is too small to be useful.

Newsweek has a ‘letters’ section where readers may share their views on particular subjects. As this section relies heavily on the involvement of *Newsweek* consumers around the world, letters are not only from America or Korea but also from Brazil, France and Thailand, for instance (provenance is specified at the end of each letter). The issue of whether a given letter was originally translated from another language into English or written by a non-native speaker of English is irrelevant here, since everything that appears in outlets such as *Newsweek* is subjected to editing to ensure high quality of presentation across the board. Moreover, letters are translated into Korean and included in *Newsweek Hangukpan* irrespective of their provenance, and since the emphasis in this study is on institutional discourse rather than individual style, there is no rationale for excluding material written by non-native speakers or translated from another language. To sum up, although the letters from readers may express individual positions, they are included in the corpus because they are selected for publication by the institution, and hence constitute part of its overall discourse. They are also likely to have undergone a process of editing, possibly to bring them more in line with the discursive practices of the institution. Ultimately, letters represent a small section of the corpus. In this study, therefore, the *Newsweek* English ST sub-corpus includes all letters that have matching Korean TTs in the *Newsweek* (Korean) TT sub-corpus.

Some articles which appear in *Newsweek Hangukpan* are originally written by Japanese reporters with near-native levels of proficiency in Korean. These had to be checked against all texts in the *Newsweek* corpus to establish whether the Japanese correspondent originally wrote them in English in each case. These texts were also searched by using their English titles as a key search word in order to make sure that they are written in English in the first place. All Korean texts bearing the names of Japanese correspondents for which English original texts were identified were included in the Korean *Newsweek Hangukpan* translation (Korean TT) sub-corpus.

(b) *CNN English ST sub-corpus*

CNN material is translated from English into a number of languages, including Arabic, Japanese and Spanish. It is also translated into Korean, and the translations are posted on the *CNN Hangeul News* website. Hence, the *CNN ST* sub-corpus contains the original English *CNN* news articles that are translated from English into Korean.

CNN Hangeul News was set up in 2001 by *Joins.com* – an affiliate of *The Joong Ang Ilbo*, one of the mainstream daily newspaper outlets in South Korea. This news service covers not only politics and economics, but also sports, science, entertainment and travel. All recent translated news reports can easily be accessed online, and every translated text is linked to its English ST, thus allowing readers to cross-examine both texts. This convenient system attracts many Korean and English language learners, and consequently the *CNN Hangeul News* site is widely accessed for education and academic purposes.

Unfortunately, at the time of building the corpus, only translations published after October 2008 were available through the internet because of an agreement between *CNN Hangeul News* and *CNN*. Furthermore, all these news scripts were translated by one translator in most cases. This means that any bias or pattern identified in the data may reflect the ‘style’ or prejudices of the translator. However, all translations have to undergo processes of editing, and apart from *Newsweek Hangukpan*, *CNN Hangeul News* is the only news outlet to provide translations on a regular basis and should therefore be represented in the corpus. No extra work was involved in building the *CNN English ST* sub-corpus, since the STs were provided by the *CNN Hangeul News* alongside Korean translations. Because of limited access to the *CNN Hangeul News*

database as mentioned above, the corpus is composed of 171 articles that correspond to Korean translations published from October 2008 to December 2010. The number of tokens (running words) of CNN English ST sub-corpus is 52,865 and the number of types (distinct words) is 5,701.

4.1.3 The Korean TT sub-corpus: general features and text selection criteria

The Korean TT sub-corpus consists of two sub-corpora: *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News*. When building the Korean TT sub-corpus, all texts in the corpus that have Chinese characters were checked carefully. China and Korea are geographically and historically close, and many Chinese characters have therefore infiltrated the Korean language. Whilst the Chinese from mainland China use simplified characters, Koreans use traditional, complex ones that are still used in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Also, the way in which Chinese characters are pronounced in the Korean context is different from the way they are pronounced in the Chinese-speaking world. Nevertheless, most Koreans use Chinese characters for their names that match their Korean pronunciations, and Chinese characters are easily found in the names of cities, buildings, parks, and regions. Chinese characters are also frequently used in Korean newspapers, TV programmes, and academic discourses, since the Chinese ideographical language is useful for clarifying the meanings of Korean words. For example, ‘gender’, ‘castle’, and ‘surname’ are featured and pronounced the same way as they are in Korean: ‘성’ [seong]. Therefore, in cases where readers might be misled or may not get the exact meaning from a Korean word, the word is almost always followed by its Chinese characters. Not surprisingly, Chinese characters recur, and are sometimes prevalent, in the Korean corpus as a whole, not limited to the Korean target corpus texts compiled in this study, most commonly to indicate Kim Jong Il and North Korea.

In the current research, Chinese characters that are used in writing Korean are manually removed from the corpus and replaced by the relevant Korean characters, to facilitate processing and because the use of Chinese characters has no implications for the study.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Detailed explanation will be given in section 7.1.

(a) Newsweek Hangukpan Korean TT sub-corpus

Kirk's (1996) investigation into *Newsweek Hangukpan* focused only on translations of reports on foreign affairs, starting with the launch of the magazine on 6 November 1991, after two years of preparation. But *Newsweek Hangukpan* also includes some original Korean reports, which were not investigated by Kirk. According to Kang (2010: 164), only 15% of the articles included in an issue were written by *Newsweek Hangukpan* journalists in 1991. However, later in 2001, "an agreement was reached concerning the need to include a larger number of news articles tailored specifically to Korean readers", hence, *Newsweek Hangukpan* "attempts to ensure that up to 50% of an issue consists of stories written by *Newsweek Hangukpan* journalists" (ibid.).

Kirk's brief but thorough overview of the structure of the magazine details the various steps followed in the translation process. She explains that there are five stages of translation: firstly, a translation is undertaken from the original English source into Korean; secondly a rewriter corrects mistranslations and edits the text, if necessary, for clarity; thirdly, a 'checker' corrects mistranslations, based on his/her experiences of living abroad; and, fourthly, a native checker, whose mother tongue is English, offers advice regarding US culture and political system. The fifth and final stage consists of an edit by a 'top checker', who is a former editorial writer. Kirk (ibid.) explains that the magazine's head office requests its editors and translators to produce texts that adhere to Korean style and simultaneously adopt the basic journalistic methods of the original publication, with accuracy being an important factor. It can therefore be assumed that *Newsweek Hangukpan* focuses primarily on 'accuracy' and 'readability'.

Following Kirk's work, Kim (2006) conducted further research into the translation environment of *Newsweek Hangukpan*. She interviewed Chang, a *Newsweek Hangukpan* vice chief with sixteen years' experience in translation, and asked questions about the publication's translation process and editing style. Kim's findings suggest that there has been a dramatic change in the way the translation process is conducted (compared to Kirk's 1996 report); for example, native checkers were fully involved in the translation process in 1996, but they now work only in limited areas. Given *Newsweek Hangukpan*'s principles of translation, which focus on accuracy and readability, it is useful to quote Chang's answer to one of Kim's questions:

From the early days of its foundation, *Newsweek Hangukpan* has focused on ‘accuracy’ and ‘readability’. We aim to produce error-free translations. Therefore, it is the translators’, and our, policy to break up long sequences into two or three sentences ... *Newsweek Hangukpan* tended [in the past] to omit a great deal of information to fit the material into a limited number of pages. However, nowadays we translate exactly what appears in the source text. Furthermore, all news translations into Korean are basically reader-oriented rather than text-oriented. We aim to improve readability, using the language which is used and experienced by Korean speakers today.

(Kim 2006: 49-50, my translation)

Newsweek Hangukpan constitutes useful data for this study for various reasons. It covers various world topics; it publishes original Korean reports and also translates some from English into Korean; it focuses particularly on accuracy; and the translations are produced weekly by one institution using many anonymous, but professional translators. Consequently, the magazine’s style is reflected ‘in’ translation but is not the style ‘of’ a particular translator. Finally, Dayrell (2005: 71), who compares collocational patterning in a comparable corpus of translated and non-translated Brazilian Portuguese, points out that it is important to take the issue of the translator’s basic linguistic competence into account in designing a translational corpus in order not to confuse lack of competence with translation-specific linguistic patterning. The hiring of professional translators, editors and checkers by *Newsweek Hangukpan* ensures that the translated news texts which will form part of the corpus compiled for this study are produced to the highest possible professional standard.

Regarding the choice of time span, access to the texts has been made possible only more recently (from 2003 onwards) through the magazine’s website, although *Newsweek Hangukpan*’s texts have been produced since 1991. Earlier editions, however, can be obtained from the National Assembly Library in Korea, thus enabling me to scan or keyboard texts from 1998 to 2002 that are not available on the site. The availability of texts published after 2003 in electronic versions has saved considerable time in constructing the Korean TT sub-corpus for this study, but they have still had to be checked against hard copies of the magazines to ensure that the corpus is reliable. The number of tokens (running words) is 226,598 and the number of types (distinct words) appearing in *Newsweek Hangukpan* is 60,561.

(b) *CNN Hangeul News Korean TT sub-corpus*

Building the *CNN Korean TT* sub-corpus proved relatively straightforward. All articles uploaded on the *CNN Hangeul News* website were automatically included in the sub-corpus, because *CNN Hangeul News* provides Korean translations only. Due to limited online access to articles published prior to October 2008 as explained above, the *CNN Hangeul News* corpus is composed of 171 articles published between October 2008 and December 2010. The total size of the *CNN Hangeul News* corpus is 33,684 tokens and 11,114 types.

4.2 Sourcing data: Factiva

Various news sources are available from the University library's electronic collections, one of which is Factiva. Factiva is a business information database provided by the *Dow Jones* company that allows users to access over 14,000 sources of international news and business resources.⁷⁷ At the time of writing, full text news articles are available in 23 different languages, including French, Arabic and Korean, and continuously updated. The database covers national and regional newspapers (e.g. *The New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal* and *Financial Times*), business publications (e.g. *The Economist* and *Fortune*), and television and radio transcripts from major media outlets (e.g. *BBC* and *Fox news*). News stories can be searched on a daily basis or by selecting a particular date, language and subject (e.g. arts/entertainment, editor's choice, political news or economic news). Headlines from specific news sources (e.g. *The Guardian*) can also be browsed. Figure 4 and Figure 5 show a screenshot of a Factiva search interface and output, respectively (the search in this case is for *NYT* articles).

⁷⁷ Unlike *Lexis Nexis*, the website that provides a number of news reports, Factiva allows users to retrieve and email, download and print full articles for a section of a paper (e.g. Politics, Sports). Users may view the content in either plain text (.txt) or rich text format (.rtf).

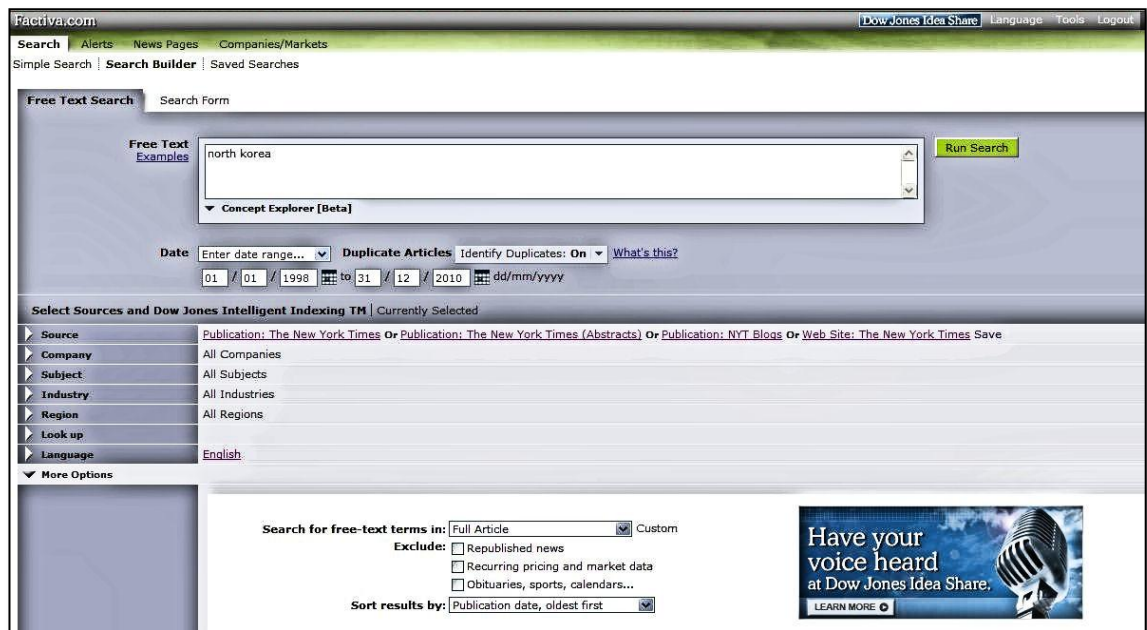


Figure 4. A Factiva search interface (search for *NYT* articles)

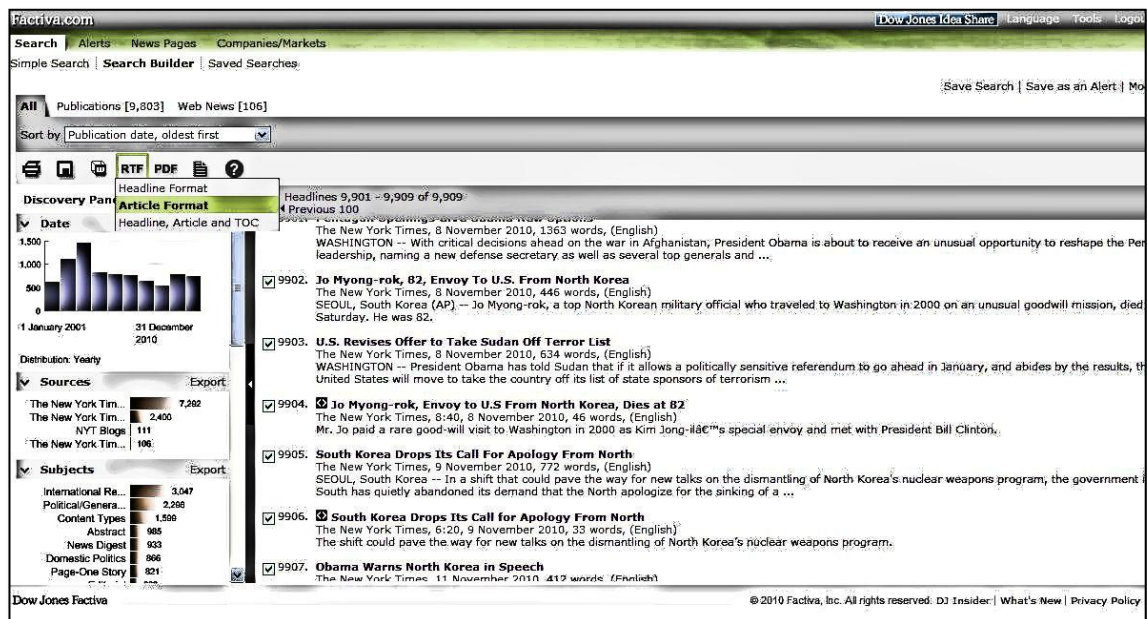


Figure 5. The output of Factiva search for *NYT* articles

Factiva proved helpful in identifying and extracting data for the *NYT* and *Newsweek* sub-corpora. However, for *CNN* and *CNN Hangukpan*, Factiva proved less helpful. It only gives access to news articles published since 1999 for *CNN* and since 2010 for *CNN Hangeul News*, although articles published before that date are available on the websites of each news outlet. As a result, the rest of the corpus has to be

developed manually. All paratexts such as captions below the pictures are also keyed manually.

4.3 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has discussed the size, composition, text selection criteria and general features of the corpora that constitute the data for this study. Various difficulties in retrieving data, including restrictions in accessing earlier editions of *CNN Hangeul News* and earlier editions of *Newsweek* that are not available electronically, have been addressed. The chapter also outlined details of the software used for retrieving and analysing the data. The next chapter will offer a data analysis of the English corpus. Quantitative analysis of frequencies of specific lexical items, including ‘North Korea’, ‘the North’ and ‘Kim’, and their collocational profiles will be presented and discussed in depth. A close examination of expanded concordance lines will also be conducted.

Chapter Five

Data Analysis I: the English corpus

This chapter offers an analysis of the English corpus. The aim is to identify the most frequently cited items, including countries and capital cities, in connection with North Korea, and to answer those aspects of research questions one, four and five that relate to the English corpus:

- (i) What does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discourses on North Korea elaborated in mainstream US media, as evident in a corpus of English texts from *CNN*, *Newsweek* and *The New York Times*?
- (iv) To what extent are patterns identified in the English corpus, English ST sub-corpus and Korean TT sub-corpus institution-specific?
- (v) What does a CDA-informed analysis of concordance lines reveal about semantic prosodies and semantic preferences in the English corpus, English ST sub-corpus and Korean TT sub-corpus?

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses of specific lexical items, including ‘North Korea’ and ‘Kim’, will be presented and discussed in depth on the basis of close examination of collocational profiles and expanded concordance lines. The English corpus as a whole consists of 69,000,175 tokens and 173,444 types.

5.1 Concordance lines and collocates

As an integrated suite of programs, WordSmith Tools (Scott 2012), the software employed for the analysis of the data, provides a number of functions by which the behaviour of words in a text can be examined. As can be seen from the snapshot of its interface, presented in Figure 6 below, Concord, KeyWords and WordList are its three main functions, specifically designed to allow researchers to conduct quantitative analyses. This study makes use of the Concord function, which allows the researcher to generate collocates, clusters and concordances.



Figure 6. A snapshot of WordSmith 5.0

The lists of collocates associated with the search word or expression and generated through the Concord function provide a useful starting point for linguistic analysis, but the output needs to be refined and supplemented with other types of analysis. This is, firstly, because function items such as articles (e.g. ‘a’, ‘an’, ‘the’) and pronouns (e.g. ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘they’, ‘we’), and possessive forms (e.g. ‘hers’, ‘his’, ‘their’, ‘our’), as well as coordinating conjunctions (e.g. ‘and’, ‘but’, ‘then’) are ranked high in the collocate list even when they are not part of a meaningful pattern. Particularly when analysing the news genre, relying on unrefined collocate lists is problematic. News articles often feature elements such as headers, including dates that incorporate the days of the week, which push these items to a higher position on the collocate list than are warranted by their contribution to elaborating the meaning of the main text.

Secondly, the collocate function only recognises orthographic words separated by spaces on each side. This means that multi-word lexical items are broken down into individual words that appear separately in the collocate list. For example, ‘North Korea’ is a compound word consisting of ‘North’ and ‘Korea’, and each of these two items is counted separately by WordSmith. The two items occur with different frequencies, mainly because ‘North Korea’ is also referred to in the corpus as ‘the North’, and also because ‘Korea’ is mentioned in relation to ‘South Korea’. These differences are not meaningful in the context of the current study, where the focus is not on variation in ways of referring to North Korea. Similar examples include ‘Kim Jong Il’, the North Korean leader, and ‘the US’. The software program, moreover, does not distinguish

between singular and plural forms, thus showing separate counts for words like ‘Korean’ and ‘Koreans’.

The lexical item – ‘North Korea’ – and the names of individual leaders of North Korea and South Korea were used as search words to generate collocate lists and concordance lines. Given that the current research attempts to examine news discourse on North Korea and how the country and its leaders are represented in the US media, it seems logical to choose ‘North Korea’ and the full name of the leader of North Korea as search words. However, the former South Korean president, Kim Dae Jung, the late North Korean leader, Kim Il Sung, and the sons of Kim Jong Il, the heir-apparents, Kim Jung Un and Kim Jong Nam, also have ‘Kim’ as their last names, like the current leader, ‘Kim Jong Il’. Bearing this in mind, the analysis will ensure that the different discourses on each individual leader are clearly distinguished from each other.

5.2 Collocates of ‘North Korea’

A collocate list and concordance lines were generated with ‘North Korea’ as a search word. The default settings for the collocate list and concordance functions were maintained. The ‘auto remove duplicate’ function which automatically removes duplicate concordance lines was not activated since *CNN*, like other news outlets, repeats items such as interviews in full or in part, at different times; and this repetition, especially of text fragments, is highly significant in CDA terms since repetition in discourse creates, reinforces, and strengthens ideas and statements.⁷⁸ The ‘stop at sentence break’ function which limits the search for collocates within the sentence boundary is the default setting and was maintained.

Because, as pointed out previously, multi-word lexical items are broken down by the program and presented separately in the word and collocate lists, all instances of

⁷⁸ Johnstone et al. (1994) specifically focus on the repetitions in discourse. Repetition functions in a number of ways, such as playfully, emotionally and expressively; however, as Johnstone et al. (ibid.: 8) explain, it is “a great aid to memory, and repeating a text evokes associations from every time you have participated in that type of event through your whole life”. Thus, repetitions found in a public speech or media by a powerful person can be of great. An example can be “I have a dream” speech by Martin Luther King Jr., and “propaganda is one example of a use of repetition by someone in a powerful position” (ibid.: 19). Similar studies include Fairclough (2000) who examines the use of the word ‘new’ in the then Prime Minister Tony Blair’s speeches. According to him, ‘new’ occurs 609 times in 53 speeches of Tony Blair between 1997 and 1999, whereas ‘modern’ occurs 89 times, ‘modernise/modernisation’ 87 times, and ‘reform’ 143 times (ibid.: 18).

‘North Korea’ were manually replaced with ‘NK’ in the collocate list, in order to determine the relationship score as described below. This also means that ‘North Korean’ and ‘North Koreans’ are rendered into ‘NKn’ and ‘NKns’ respectively. Similarly, ‘United States’, ‘United Nations’ and ‘South Korea’ were replaced by ‘USA’, ‘UN’, and ‘SK’. In the specific case of the ‘United States’, the ‘U.S’, ‘U S’ and ‘U.S.’ were all manually replaced by ‘USA’ because the ‘stop at sentence break’ function, which is activated in this study, would automatically treat ‘U.S’ as two sentences.

Although North Korea is sometimes referred to as ‘the North’ in English, ‘the North’ was not included as a search item because (i) there is a high degree of polysemy in the use of this expression, which often refers to a geographical part of different countries and regions, including the UK, for instance; (ii) using ‘the North’ as a search item would create an imbalance in the analysis, because ‘North Korean’ is not a variation of ‘the North’; whereas ‘North Korea*’ (NK*) as a search word should capture all concordance lines of ‘North Korea’ (NK) and ‘North Korean’ (NKn), it would not capture ‘the North’.

All these steps finally return 6,430 collocates, and 85,106 concordance lines. This output is too large to process efficiently, and several measures are therefore adopted to generate a more manageable amount of data to analyse, as detailed below.

In order to reduce the collocate list to a manageable size, the first step was to eliminate the function words from the list, including prepositions such as ‘of’, ‘in’, modal verbs (e.g. ‘will’, ‘should’, ‘may’), relative pronouns (e.g. ‘which’, ‘how’), articles (e.g. ‘an’, ‘the’), determiners (e.g. ‘other’), demonstratives (e.g. ‘this’, ‘these’) and auxiliary verbs (e.g. ‘was’, ‘have’, ‘does’). Only three pronouns, ‘it’, ‘here’ and ‘there’ were eliminated, while other pronouns, such as ‘itself’ or ‘he’, were left on the list, since they may refer to a specific person, or event, for example. This process is not carried out manually, but by using the ‘stop list’ function in the WordSmith tool, which enables researchers to exclude specific words in the analysis. Figure 7 shows the stop list used in this study.

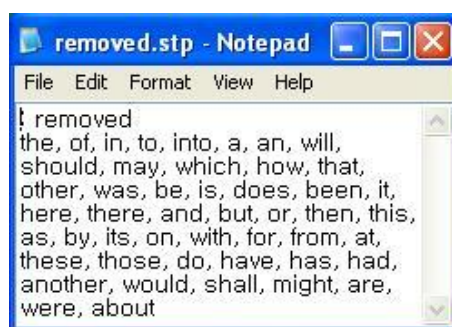


Figure 7. The stop list used in this study

This process narrows down the collocate list from 6,430 to 6,383 items, which still renders the output too large to analyse in depth.

The next step involved using statistical techniques to produce a relation score. WordSmith 5.0 provides a function that automatically calculates the statistical significance of words included in the collocate list. Although this does not reduce the overall size of the list, it does provide a basis for making decisions on how to trim down the list, since it orders collocates by significance, showing stronger collocates at the top and weaker ones at the bottom of the list. WordSmith offers six different statistical testing options, including ‘Specific Mutual Information’ (or MI), ‘MI3’, ‘T-score’ and ‘Log Likelihood’ (L.L), all four of which are commonly used by researchers.⁷⁹ Each of these options uses a different algorithm. Nevertheless, across the different statistical tests, the strongest and weakest collocates are measured according to their relation scores: the higher the relation score, the stronger the collocation. This is generally calculated by examining, (1) the frequency of occurrence of each collocate in the vicinity of the search item (in this case NK); (2) the “relative number of occurrences, both next to, and away from” the search word (Baker 2009: 101), which requires access to a full frequency list of the corpus; and (3) the overall size of the corpus.⁸⁰

Table 3 shows six snapshots of the collocate outputs for ‘NK’ acquired using the different statistical techniques, each listing items in order of collocation strength.⁸¹ In

⁷⁹ The other two options are ‘Dice Coefficient’ (DC) and ‘Z-score’.

⁸⁰ For more information about the way in which WordSmith tests statistical significance, see Scott (2010).

⁸¹ The case-sensitive option was not activated when obtaining the frequency list used for processing relation scores, for the following reasons: (1) the collocate list is computed case-insensitively and there is no option to allow the researcher to change this setting; (2) if the case-sensitive option is activated, the program generates a word list that distinguishes between a word appearing in upper case and one appearing in lower case, which means that many words, like ‘Nuclear’ and ‘nuclear’, would be counted

terms of the relation score, the higher scores indicate strong collocations, and are calculated down to three places of decimals. Firstly, Baker (2009: 102) points out that MI (Specific Mutual Information) tends to give high scores to relatively low frequency words, and as can be seen in the list, the MI output reflects this, with items such as ‘A-ARMS’ and ‘ONJUNG-RI’ featuring near the top. Secondly, although the Z-score seems to place more frequent items at the top than MI, it still returns items of lower frequency near the top of the list, thus pushing more meaningful items down the list.

Thirdly, although Clear (1993: 282) argues that the T-score statistic identifies very reliable collocations by offering “a semantic profile of the node word and a set of particular fixed phrases, grammatical frames and typical stereotyped combinations”, as the table above reveals – at least in the context of this study – the T-score test has a tendency to prioritise grammar, and hence scores ‘s’ (this is the ‘s’ of possessive forms, e.g. ‘SK’s’, ‘NK’s’, and ‘USA’s’) higher than ‘nuclear’, for instance; it also returns items such as ‘not’.

As Baker (2009) argues, L.L and MI3 seem to focus more on the grammar, too. The remaining three options, i.e. DC, MI3, and L.L, show little difference in output and all three include ‘NK’ and ‘nuclear’ as the first and second items on the list, and share the rest of the items, albeit in a different order: ‘talks’, ‘USA’, ‘Iran’, ‘program’ and ‘missile’. However, both L.L and MI3 return ‘s’ as a meaningful item. This suggests that DC focuses more on orthographic words than the other options do. I therefore decided to use DC to obtain the collocate list for the analysis to be conducted in this study.⁸²

separately, resulting in an even less manageable list; (3) where relevant, different forms of a word or compound are manually simplified, for instance, the ‘US’, ‘U.S’, and ‘US’ are replaced by ‘USA’, which means they are readily distinguished from lower case forms that might confuse the issue – in this case, the pronoun ‘us’.

⁸² Baker (2009) favours log-log and argues that it returns fewer low-frequency words than the MI score; however, log-log is not included among the statistical packages currently available from WordSmith.

Dice Coefficient (DC)

N	Word	Relation score	Total frequency
1	NK	1.015	86,350
2	NUCLEAR	0.135	10,128
3	IRAN	0.084	5,464
4	TALKS	0.053	2,758
5	PROGRAM	0.043	2,488
6	MISSILE	0.040	2,065
7	WEAPONS	0.040	2,489
8	USA	0.039	5,066
9	CHINA	0.038	2,309
10	TEST	0.034	1,684

Specific Mutual Information

N	Word	Relation score	Total frequency
1	NK	9.684	86,350
2	A-ARMS	9.663	6
3	ONJUNG-RI	9.400	10
4	RESTARTS	9.248	15
5	TAEPODONGS	9.149	7
6	TEST-LAUNCH	9.149	7
7	TEST-FIRES	9.104	19
8	YONG-HYUN	9.035	11
9	GRAPHITE-MODERATED	8.856	8
10	DEFECTING	8.773	41

MI3

N	Word	Relation score	Total frequency
1	NK	42.440	86,350
2	NUCLEAR	33.584	10,128
3	S	31.577	15,674
4	IRAN	31.468	5,464
5	TALKS	29.753	2,758
6	USA	29.164	5,066
7	MISSILE	28.614	2,065
8	PROGRAM	28.600	2,488
9	WEAPONS	28.252	2,489
10	TEST	28.073	1,684

Z-score

N	Word	Relation score	Total frequency
1	NK	2,632.857	86,350
2	NUCLEAR	327.987	10,128
3	IRAN	209.645	5,464
4	TALKS	165.825	2,758
5	MISSILE	126.342	2,065
6	TEST	116.410	1,684
7	PROGRAM	108.359	2,488
8	SANCTIONS	107.158	1,298
9	KIM	97.542	1,676
10	LIBYA	92.892	613

Log Likelihood (L.L)

N	Word	Relation score	Total frequency
1	NK	1,327,054.875	86,350
2	NUCLEAR	80,655.625	10,128
3	S	54,438.469	15,674
4	IRAN	40,491.762	5,464
5	USA	22,675.334	5,066
6	TALKS	21,399.635	2,758
7	PROGRAM	16,199.842	2,488
8	MISSILE	15,079.412	2,065
9	WEAPONS	14,976.497	2,489
10	CHINA	13,895.954	2,309

T-score

N	Word	Relation score	Total frequency
1	NK	293.920	86,350
2	S	125.041	15,674
3	NUCLEAR	100.454	10,128
4	IRAN	74.018	5,464
5	USA	70.761	5,066
6	NOT	55.913	3,155
7	IRAQ	53.453	2,849
8	TALKS	52.075	2,758
9	SAID	50.990	2,579
10	PROGRAM	50.369	2,488

Table 3. Snapshots of the output of all six statistical options

The collocate list for NK obtained through the DC statistical package still shows more than 6,300 instances. However, because the items are ordered by their collocation strength, it is now safer than it would previously have been to select a certain number of items from the top of the list for an in-depth analysis. The next step involved selecting the top three hundred items on the collocate list for analysis albeit its arbitrary figure, but for the purpose of this study, since this seemed to be a fairly manageable size.⁸³

⁸³ Another option would have been to use a specific relation score, such as 0.034 in the DC test shown in

The top three hundred items that appeared on the collocate list may be categorised into a number of groups semantically. For example, ‘Kim’, ‘Bush’, and ‘Clinton’ may be grouped together under ‘proper names’. Another possible set is countries and cities; this may be extended to include citizens of the country – for instance, ‘Korean’. This study specifically focuses on the ‘countries and cities’ set, since the research question addresses the issue of the representation of North Korea in mainstream US news media, which would involve the US’s positioning of NK on the political world map. In addition, this group is worth analysing in more depth because nearly sixteen countries and cities, including Iran and Washington, are found in the top 300 collocates of NK, suggesting that these countries may be considered major players in the political debate over North Korea. Moreover, the ‘countries and cities’ set provides a wider political map to analyse than the ‘name’, which features only three items (Kim, Bush and Clinton) in the top three hundred collocate list; other political figures’ names, such as Ahmadinejad, do not appear on the list. In both cases, countries/cities and names, the choice is consistent with the CDA framework adopted in this study. Which groups and individuals are represented in the media and how they are represented is a particular concern of CDA, because “the decision as to what event or person gets reported in the news is not an ideologically neutral process” (Bang 2003: 4), for “the media do not simply and transparently report events which are ‘naturally’ newsworthy in themselves” (Hall et al. 1978: 53). This study assumes that the ideological orientation of the US news media outlets acts as a major variable and, as we will see, results in some countries such as Iran having a higher position in the collocate list of NK than the country’s immediate neighbours.

Table 4 lists countries and cities that appear in the top three hundred collocate list, ordered according to the relation score. The table displays a number of different countries, including Iran and Iraq. Note that ‘Chinese’, ‘American’, ‘Japanese’ and ‘South Korean’ are reallocated to appear directly under ‘China’, ‘US’, ‘Japan’ and ‘South Korea’, respectively, for ease of reference and analysis.

Table 3, as a cut-off point in each case (i.e. for NK, NKn(s), and Kim). However, this would have shown a significantly different number of collocates for each item, since the relation score figures vary considerably in each case.

N	Word	Relation	Total
1	NK	1.015	86,350
	PYONGYANG	0.014	629
2	IRAN	0.084	5,464
3	USA	0.039	5,066
	AMERICAN	0.013	1,007
	WASHINGTON	0.007	440
4	CHINA	0.038	2,309
	CHINESE	0.007	366
	BEIJING	0.007	319
5	IRAQ	0.031	2,849
6	SK	0.030	1,550
	SKN	0.009	442
	SEOUL	0.008	387
7	JAPAN	0.020	1,007
	JAPANESE	0.006	293
8	LIBYA	0.014	613
9	SYRIA	0.013	607
10	RUSSIA	0.011	554
11	CUBA	0.009	401
12	PAKISTAN	0.007	367

Table 4. Countries and cities appearing in the top three hundred collocate list, ordered by relation score

The most striking pattern revealed by this collocate list is that ‘NK’ collocates very strongly with ‘Iran’, ‘USA’, ‘China’ and ‘Iraq’ – although much more so with ‘Iran’. NK’s collocation with ‘Iran’ (relation score: 0.084) is far stronger even than its collocation with ‘USA’ (0.039). These two countries in turn appear far more often in the vicinity of ‘NK’ than ‘Japan’ (0.020) who has a long history of conflict with North Korea; and ‘Iran’ in particular collocates more strongly with ‘NK’ than ‘China’ (0.038), North Korea’s closest geographical neighbour and political ally.

The countries appearing on the above collocate list can be broken down into two sets: one consisting of countries that may reasonably be expected to appear as strong collocates of North Korea, such as the USA, China, South Korea, Japan and Russia,

given the political and social landscapes involved, and the other consisting of countries that would not normally be expected to appear as collocates of North Korea, such as Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Cuba and Pakistan. This latter group is not connected to North Korea historically, geographically, culturally or – strictly speaking – politically.

The appearance of the ‘USA’ as the second most significant collocate of North Korea is to be expected given that the data consists of US TV programmes, newspapers and magazines which would naturally present events from the perspective of the US. In other words, the US plays a central role in relation to North Korea or projects itself as playing such a role in its own media. Today’s political landscape of international relations and the ongoing tensions between North Korea and the US over the former’s commitment to developing nuclear power fully explains this collocational pattern.

‘China’ also strongly collocates with ‘NK’: the total co-occurrences of ‘NK’ and ‘China’ are 2,309 and of ‘NK’ and ‘Chinese’ 366. It is not surprising to see China being frequently associated with North Korea, either, because, along with South Korea and Japan, China is the main East Asian diplomatic player involved in negotiations with North Korea. Geographically, too, China is situated very close to and shares a border with North Korea. Moreover, according to Park (2006), China forms a political alliance with North Korea primarily because, if North Korea collapses politically, it would be a serious blow to China’s own security. Thus, in all its dealings with North Korea and the US, China considers maintaining the North Korean regime to be a priority, which explains why it nurtures particularly close ties with North Korea, offers it food aid and attempts to shield it from intervention by the US and its allies.

However, it is South Korea, more so than the US and China, that is most directly affected by any change in North Korea. Geographically, politically and economically, South Korea is heavily influenced by events in North Korea, and consequently, government policy is formulated with a potential break-out of war borne in mind. Furthermore, South Korea is on constant alarm regarding what it regards as North Korea’s provocative behaviour. Simulated warfare and civil defence exercises are carried out periodically and all South Korean males are drafted into the army, since it is considered to be their obligation to serve the country for two years, primarily to fend off a potential attack by North Korea. The appearance of ‘South Korea’ in a prominent

position on the collocate list is therefore no surprise.

Given that there is a long history of conflict between North Korea and Japan, Japan's appearance in a relatively high position on the collocate list is also to be expected. The conflict between Japan and North Korea in the last few decades has featured incidents such as the kidnapping of a number of Japanese people by North Korea between 1977 and 1983, and the launching of a missile by North Korea, directed at Japan, in 2009.

Russia's relatively high position on the collocate list is also to be expected, given its close geographical and political relations with North Korea. The two countries are connected with a rail link and, like China, Russia also shares a border with North Korea. Moreover, together with China, Russia is the country that the late leader, Kim Jong Il and his father, Kim Il-sung, the founder of North Korea, often visited to discuss political issues. Russia, which had functioned as the nucleus of the USSR (Soviet Union), was once a Communist country like North Korea until it collapsed and adopted a capitalist economy. The USSR had also been one of the major players in the Cold War (between 1945 and 1990), which witnessed numerous clashes between communist and capitalist economies and social organisations. That conflict continues to colour relations between Russia and the US, since Russia still attempts to prevent the US from extending its power to East Asia by aiding North Korea (Petrov 2008 and Joo 2001): e.g. Russia provided food assistance, including some 50,000 tons of wheat, to the North, in 2011 (MSNBC 2011).

5.2.1 Unexpected alliances

All the countries mentioned above, which appear in prominent positions on the collocate list of 'NK', raise no surprises given the extent of their historical and political relations with North Korea. Hence, more effort will be made to analyse the second set of countries – Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Cuba and Pakistan – who have little in common with North Korea compared to the first set, as discussed above. For instance, while there is a long history of conflict between North Korea and Japan until the time of writing (e.g. Hogg 2008), no such history exists between North Korea and either Iraq or Iran. Nevertheless, one common point that these countries share is that each country has a history of conflict to a greater or lesser extent with the US. Iran in particular has had a

long history of political conflict with the US. The Pahlavi dynasty which ruled the country in the mid 20th century was pro-US and pro-Britain. They made huge profits by selling oil concessions to multinational companies and investors in the two countries, which resulted in considerable growth of the various oil companies in the US, supported by the US's automobile industry. The dynasty was criticised by Mosaddegh, the then prime minister, who supported nationalisation of the oil industry. When the relevant nationalisation law was passed by parliament in 1951, the British government pressured foreign countries to refuse to import Iranian oil. Shortly after, in 1953, Mosaddegh was thrown out of office by force, a coup that was orchestrated by the CIA and M16 (Byrne 2000).⁸⁴ The Pahlavi dynasty returned to power in 1953, amid growing Anti-Americanism in the country. Following the eruption of the Iranian Revolution and the collapse of the pro-American Pahlavi dynasty in 1979, oil drilling by multi-national companies was prohibited. Since then, the US has imposed a series of sanctions against Iran, and the relationship between Iran and the US has continued to deteriorate. The US supported Iraq against Iran during the Iran-Iraq war which lasted eight years, further inflaming anti-US sentiment in Iran.

Iran's nuclear technology research is another major factor in the country's conflict with the US. The US and UK newspapers have reported on Iran's nuclear ambitions and its connections with North Korea in recent years. Coughlin (2007) reported that North Korea helped Iran to execute an underground nuclear test; in July 2011, McElroy from the same newspaper also reported that the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) argued that "North Korea's weapons programmes are now benefiting from technology from Iran" and that "North Korea also possesses technology that would enable Iran's Uranium enrichment programme to increase its output". Soloman's article (2010) adopts the same line and asserts that North Korea is collaborating with Iran in developing military related systems, stating that "Tehran and Pyongyang have developed expansive military ties over the past three decades and have collaborated in developing missile systems, submarines and small arms". However, these claims are not solid enough to meet the criteria for Iran to be placed under the first set of countries and cities.

⁸⁴ National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book 28: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB28/> [last accessed 10 November 2012].

And yet, North Korea and Iran are not the only countries that have nuclear power. At the time of writing, India, Israel, North Korea and Pakistan have not ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and all have nuclear weapons. However, only North Korea and Pakistan appear in the top three hundred collocate list. Neither maintains friendly relations with the US. Indeed, the US has carried out several drone attacks on Pakistan since 2004, resulting in fuelling Anti-American sentiments in the country.

One might argue that North Korea's strong collocation with Libya and Syria is based on sharing a long history of dictatorships, which have lasted for many years in each of the three countries. However, other countries like North Korea and Libya, for example Egypt and Tunisia, which have also been governed by long-standing dictatorships, do not appear on the collocate list. Until the Egyptian revolution in January 2011, former Egyptian President Mubarak had been in power for thirty years, and the long-time president of Tunisia, Ben Ali, held power for almost twenty-four years until he was deposed by the Tunisian revolution – or movement of 'civil resistance'. Other countries, for instance, Algeria, Uzbekistan, Vietnam and Yemen, are also governed by dictators; nevertheless, they are not frequently cited by US media in relation to North Korea. Those countries operating under dictatorships that do not appear on the list have something in common, however: Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia, Uzbekistan, Vietnam and Yemen are 'pro-US dictatorships', and Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, which also do not appear on the list, are 'pro-US monarchies' at the time of writing, whilst Libya has been an anti-US country for a long time and diplomatic relations between Syria and the US have often been tense throughout the years. The US government has also imposed a series of sanctions against Syria. Therefore, being pro- or anti-US might have an impact on which country appears in the collocate list of North Korea.

Cuba's presence on the collocate list is unexpected too, given that it has no direct relationship with North Korea – economically or geographically. Admittedly, a similarity can be found between Cuba and North Korea in that they are communist countries; and yet, the major political players in North Korea do not pay visits to Cuba, as they do to Russia. Like Iran and Iraq, however, the relationship between the US and Cuba deteriorated in 1959 when its then pro-US government was replaced by Fidel

Castro, the socialist politician who had played a key role in the revolution, a movement began in 1953 and finished in 1959 against the regime of the then Cuban president, a military leader and a dictator Fulgencio Batista. *The Interim Report: Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*⁸⁵ by the United States Congress Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (1975) revealed alleged plots to kill a number of Cuban leaders, including Castro. It also revealed that the US had initiated numerous plots to assassinate Castro in many different ways, and that several attempts had been made by US presidents, including Eisenhower, who had trained CIA agents for that specific purpose. The US has also frequently imposed economic sanctions against Cuba, as it has done against Iran.

The latest BBC World service poll (2010) focusing on the perceived influence of the US in different countries – and whether that influence is thought to be mostly positive or mostly negative – as well as perceptions of different countries in the US was carried out by interviewing a total of 29,977 citizens in 28 countries either face-to-face or by telephone between November 2009 and February 2010. The result of the poll evidenced and supports the pro- and non-pro (or anti-) US pattern outlined above, in relation to countries that appear or do not appear on the collocate list of ‘NK’. The US’s influence is viewed as being more positive in Egypt (45% positive and 29% negative), and in India (39% positive and 28% negative), while it is mainly negative in Pakistan (9% positive and 52% negative). The US in turn sees Pakistan in a mostly negative light (9% positive and 70% negative); the same is true of American perception of Iran (11% positive and 69% negative), whereas the US’s views of India (55% positive and 18% negative) and Israel (40% positive and 31% negative) are more positive. In North Korea, the US’s influence is seen mainly as negative (9% positive and 70% negative).

It thus seems clear that what the countries frequently mentioned in the context of North Korea in US media have in common is that they have unfavourable relations with the US. The fact that pro-US nuclear powers such as Israel and India are not cited as frequently as Iran and Syria reveals that the US divides the world into ‘anti’ and ‘pro’

⁸⁵ In 1975 and 1976, the United States Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities published fourteen reports containing a wealth of information on the formation of US intelligence agencies, their operations, alleged plots and abuses of law and of power, as well as the US’s involvement in several attempts to assassinate foreign leaders.

groups. Consequently, the countries that are against the US government's policy are placed near the centre of contentious issues – whether they have any direct involvement in these issues or not – in order to serve specific political ends by projecting them in the media as enemies collectively conspiring against the US. This type of polarisation in which people or groups are categorised into either the in-group (self/us) or out-group (others/them) is prevalent in the discourses of political news coverage. Van Dijk (1993) and Baxter and Wallace (2009), among others, have demonstrated in relation to different issues that the 'self/us' and 'others/them' dichotomy is discursively constructed in news media and is part of a strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. This in-group and out-group binary distinction is realised linguistically: for example, through the use of pronouns such as 'us' and 'them' and various linguistic devices to demonise the other.

In what follows, some of the ways in which relationships are constructed and described by the US media to group North Korea with other countries and serve certain political ends will be identified. This will be done by analysing concordance lines obtained through using 'NK' as a search word. Specific attention will be given to the concordance lines of 'NK and Iran' (North Korea and Iran). Among other countries identified in the collocate lists, North Korea and Iran have been selected because they are among those most frequently appearing in the collocate lists in association with each other, while the USA is disregarded, since this study focuses on the way in which other countries, rather than the US itself, are described and projected by the US media.

5.3 Concordance lines of 'North Korea'

The analysis of concordance lines is useful for describing recurrent patterns while simultaneously examining individual lines involving interesting uses of a particular search word. For instance, some concordance lines of 'countries like' reveal that countries are grouped together according to a set of criteria such as 'communist' and 'non-communist' countries; China is classified as a communist country together with Vietnam and the Soviet Union (e.g. 'the way into communist countries, like China and Vietnam', 'that many communist countries, like the Soviet Union and China'); or 'friendly' and 'unfriendly' countries: Canada and Sweden are grouped as 'harmless' countries (e.g. 'harmless countries like Canada and Sweden') and Germany, France,

Pakistan, Burma and the USA are similarly referred to as ‘friendly countries’, while North Korea and Iran are ‘unfriendly countries’ (e.g. ‘talks with unfriendly countries like NK and Iran’). However, the more expanded concordance lines show that Germany, France and the USA are specifically described as ‘friendly countries’ and associated with ‘help’, or ‘international organisations’, i.e. on the US side, whilst Pakistan and Burma are described as ‘friendly’ countries to China, i.e. not on the US side. Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and North Korea are constructed as ‘dangerous’ countries (e.g. ‘served in dangerous countries like Iraq and Afghanistan’). In this section, the analysis of concordance lines associated with North Korea and Iran (which include the occurrences of ‘NK and Iran’ and ‘NK, Iran and’) will be carried out in more depth.

Firstly, using ‘NK’ as a search word returned 85,106 concordance lines. Among many other recurrent patterns, ‘like NK’ proved to be one of the most common (692 total instances). ‘Countr* like NK’, ‘state* like NK’ and ‘nation* like NK’ are among the most frequent and significant recurrent patterns, accounting for nearly 556 concordance lines. Moreover, they are mostly followed by ‘Iran’ and ‘Iraq’, two of the top items on the ‘unexpected countries’ set identified through the analysis of the collocate list; examples include ‘countries like NK and Iran’ and ‘countries like NK, Iran and Iraq’. In addition, grammatically, countr*, state*, nation* are nouns, which may be accompanied by modifiers, therefore various adjectives are often attached to before them to describe the entities mentioned. Examination of adjectival patterns associated with these three items – ‘countr* like NK’, ‘state* like NK’ and ‘nation* like NK’ – should therefore offer more insight into the ideological positioning of North Korea in US media. A detailed and in-depth analysis of each pattern will be provided below.

5.3.1 ‘Countr* like NK’

Instances of ‘countr* like NK’ were firstly analysed – a total of 179 concordance lines. An asterisk is used here in order to obtain all instances, regardless of the use of the singular or plural form of ‘country’: the results include both ‘countries like’ and ‘a country like’. A number of countries appeared in the vicinity of the search word, including Afghanistan, Brazil, China, France, India, Libya, Pakistan, Russia, South Korea and Syria. However, there is an overwhelmingly disproportionate frequency of Iran in concordance lines relating to ‘countr* like NK’, as exemplified below.

1 haps take out a nuclear missile being transported to a launch pad in a **country like NK or Iran**. Joining me now to discuss this proposed supe CNNEE_80.txt
2 human rights record. That's one of the differences between **Iran** and a **country like NK**, in which there is essentially limited or if any sens CNNEE_76.txt
3 es to shield the USA or its allies from the possibility of attack by a **country like NK or Iran**. Barring technical glitches or bad weather, a NYT_75.txt
4 more difficult and complicated, to have any military action against a **country like NK or Iran**, and if there were to be military action, tha CNNEE_5.txt
5 ssile system meant to protect all 50 states from a limited strike by a **country like NK or Iran**. Senior Republicans warned last week that the NYT_12.txt
6 d that Russian territory provides ideal locations for defenses against **countries like NK and Iran**, would you support a joint program instead NYT_83.txt
7 d that Russian territory provides ideal locations for defenses against **countries like NK and Iran**, would you support a joint program instead NYT_83.txt
8 nstruct the system, intended to shield the USA from limited attacks by **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq. But the system has been opposed by NYT_14.txt
9 cited in July 5 article about seriousness of missile threats posed by **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq Document nyta000020010809dw7800e81 T NYT_14.txt
10 istration are divided over the seriousness of missile threats posed by **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq, even as the administration says the NYT_14.txt
11 on are deeply divided over the seriousness of missile threats posed by **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq, even as the administration says the NYT_14.txt
12 ration are deeply divided over seriousness of missile threats posed by **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq, even as administration says US need NYT_14.txt
13 rnalists, sentenced, later freed by NK? When Americans are detained by **countries like NK, Iran**, or Cuba, what happens to the Obama administer CNNEE_79.txt
14 sia today we have to worry about. It's the growth of the nuclear club. **Countries like NK, Iran**, and other countries that could acquire nucle CNNEE_87.txt
15 and prosper. We have longer-range systems that will counter and deter **countries like NK and Iran**. We need missile defense, most -- most imp CNNEE_57.txt
16 imited missile defense was a response to emerging missile threats from **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq. But a reconstruction of the decision NYT_13.txt
17 llow for a missile defense system. With potential nuclear threats from **countries like NK and Iran**, the USA can no longer afford not to deplo NYT_22.txt
18 lligence reviews indicated that the appearance of missile threats from **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq had changed American defense needs. NYT_12.txt
19 nded to counter relatively small, unsophisticated missile threats from **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq. Samuel R. Berger, President Clinton NYT_12.txt
20 were released in 1998 and found that the ballistic missile threat from **countries like NK and Iran** was growing, and appeared more serious tha NYT_17.txt
21 on officials contend is crucial to defend against missile attacks from **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq. But opponents charge that such a sy NYT_14.txt
22 policy experts over the nature and extent of the potential threat from **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq that is the official justification f NYT_14.txt
23 nt Gerald R. Ford, reported that the threat of ballistic missiles from **countries like NK, Iran** or Iraq was no longer a distant one. A month NYT_15.txt
24 hance American radar capabilities to shoot down incoming missiles from **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq. In London last month, a House of Co NYT_15.txt
25 n's proposal to shield the USA from only a handful of missiles -- from **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq --is ill-conceived. Senator Carl Lev NYT_14.txt
26 ncreasingly vulnerable to attack by long-range ballistic missiles from **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq. The commission's report became one NYT_18.txt
27 ystem to combat what his Administration has identified as threats from **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq. But if the warhead proceeds on cour NYT_14.txt
28 ram of Russia and NATO to defend against possible missile attacks from **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq would address Europe's two main worr NYT_18.txt
29 d that the USA could face the threat of long-range missile attack from **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq. A decision to move ahead with the c NYT_17.txt
30 ront what the administration defines as potential nuclear threats from **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq. But he has decided to avoid making NYT_14.txt
31 s, not only by the USA, about the so-called new missile threats'' from **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq, while at the same time ''preserving NYT_18.txt
32 gned to prevent their nuclear deterrent, but to go after a threat from **countries like NK, Iran** or Iraq. Critics argue that the system could CNNEE_1-1.txt
33 important measure for halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons. If **countries like NK and Iran** continued testing, the senators reasoned, NYT_12.txt
34 orrific armaments. Call it pre-emptive pre-emption. The aim is to keep **countries like NK, Iran**, Libya and Syria from trading in arms that co NYT_43.txt
35 ct that Iraq has spread us so thin has really hurt our ability to keep **countries like NK and Iran** from their march towards nuclear capability CNNEE_52.txt
36 rom places like Pakistan. It is really inflaming situations and making **countries like NK, Iran** more of a threat to us. And this is from our CNNEE_23.txt
37 rom places like Pakistan. It is really inflaming situations and making **countries like NK, Iran** more of a threat to us. And this is from our CNNEE_23.txt
38 TON: You know, Candy, in terms of a country, obviously a nuclear-armed **country like NK or Iran** pose both a real or a potential threat. CROWL CNNEE_79.txt
39 TE: You know, Candy, in terms of a country, obviously, a nuclear-armed **country like NK or Iran** pose both a real or potential threat. But I t CNNEE_79.txt

40 ATE: You know, Candy, in terms of a country, obviously a nuclear-armed **country like NK or Iran** pose both a real or a potential threat. CROWL CNNEE_79.txt
41 on such tests that now helps restrain the nuclear weapons programs of **countries like NK and Iran**. Since the dawn of the nuclear age, Americ NYT_26.txt
42 fforts, but Obama says he is willing to sit down with rogue leaders of **countries like NK and Iran**. OBAMA: The notion that somehow not talkin CNNEE_65.txt
43 s spread so thinly, we cannot do our job in terms of making sure other **countries like NK and Iran** are not building on nuclear capability and CNNEE_52.txt
44 measures. The best way to defend against possible attack is to prevent **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq from getting these missiles in the f NYT_2.txt
45 n at home, reducing its own weapons stockpiles and not just preventing **countries like NK and Iran** from obtaining them. \$(6\$)That it enters I NYT_56.txt
46 arms deal in a village square or a convoy in the desert. As for rogue **countries like NK and Iran**, they know the USA already has more than 1 NYT_58.txt
47 ludicrous.† The USA only intended to guard against nukes from smaller **countries like NK and Iran**, she said. But Russian President Vladimir NWE_10.txt
48 ic missiles for at least a decade. Instead, the commission warned that **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq could develop a missile ''with little NYT_17.txt
49 d the networks stretching across four continents offering its wares to **countries like NK and Iran**. Working with our British colleagues, we p CNNEE_24.txt
50 w regulations intended to restrict the export of missile technology to **countries like NK, Iraq, Iran, Libya** and Syria, which the USA has acc NYT_29.txt
51 s unpaid or unemployed. Some may be tempted to sell their expertise to **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq that are trying to develop nuclear w NYT_3.txt
52 scientist, Dr. A.Q. Khan, found to be guilty of passing on secrets to **countries like NK, Iran** and Libya. We asked Mr. Armitage about what k CNNEE_28.txt
53 e that Chinese companies are selling dangerous weapons technologies to **countries like NK and Iran**. So look for Mr. Bush to raise that issue CNNEE_6.txt
54 hoping to convince the Chinese to stop selling missile technologies to **countries like NK and Iran**. Aides hinted there was a possibility a de CNNEE_6.txt
55 o get China to take steps to prevent the sale of missile technology to **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq. China's balking a little bit, wanti CNNEE_6.txt
56 y senior officials have said deterrence no longer held when it came to **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq. The officials regard the leaders of NYT_14.txt
57 nize that the world has changed in ways that require new approaches to **countries like NK, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan** and Cuba Document nyt000 NYT_13.txt
58 the network stretching across fourth continents, offering its wares to **countries like NK and Iran**. Working with our British colleagues, we p CNNEE_25.txt
59 ty," regime change has become a substitute for an actual policy toward **countries like NK and Iran**, with which we have serious security probl NWE_12.txt
60 President George W. Bush. During his first term, talks with unfriendly **countries like NK and Iran** were usually rejected out of hand in the h NYT_90.txt
61 limited defensive systems to blunt emerging threats from unpredictable **countries like NK, Iran** and Iraq. But to arrive at that desirable res NYT_20.txt
62 en China, but to shoot down the handful of missiles that unpredictable **countries like NK or Iran** might soon be able to launch against the US NYT_11.txt
63 aid to improve Israel's capacity to hit targets with nuclear weapons. **Countries like NK and Iran** seek nuclear weapons because they imagine NYT_70.txt
64 take leadership in this area. This is particularly true at a time when **countries like NK and Iran** are in the process of developing nuclear w CNNEE_70.txt
65 Times. Ms. Albright, too, said the USA was preparing for the day when **countries like NK or Iran** may threaten American cities. But Leonid Iv NYT_5.txt
66 nt? And does this attention help or hurt efforts to ease tensions with **countries like NK or Iran**? For more on this, we are joined by William CNNEE_75.txt
67 es who follow the rules are strengthened when it comes to dealing with **countries like NK and Iran** that don't follow the rules. And that mean CNNEE_77.txt
68 second thing is, there is a lot of discussion on practical steps with **countries like NK or Iran** going on right now. I think the key in thos CNNEE_63.txt
69 a diplomat, a UN ambassador, an energy secretary. He's negotiated with **countries like NK, Iran, Cuba, Iraq**. He's gotten hostages out, peace CNNEE_66.txt
70 second thing is, there is a lot of discussion on practical steps with **countries like NK or Iran** going on right now. I think the key in thos CNNEE_63.txt
71 RICHARDSON (D), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: I have been a negotiator with **countries like NK, Iran, Cuba, Iraq**. I've got hostages out. I've got CNNEE_61.txt
72 e people to know about? RICHARDSON: That I have been a negotiator with **countries like NK, Iran, Cuba, Iraq**. I've got hostages out. I've got CNNEE_61.txt
73 sting thing in there. As the president says here, "We do not deal with **countries like NK and Iran**," they're showing pictures of USA diplomat CNNEE_27.txt
74 a UN ambassador, he even Energy secretary. And he has negotiated with **countries like NK, Iran, Cuba, Iraq**, gotten hostages out, peace agree CNNEE_66.txt
75 diplomat, a UN Ambassador and energy secretary. He has negotiated with **countries like NK, Iran, Cuba, Iraq**. He has gotten hostages out, peac CNNEE_66.txt
76 plomat, a UN ambassador, and an energy secretary. He's negotiated with **countries like NK, Iran, Cuba, Iraq**. He's got hostages out, peace agr CNNEE_66.txt
77 a diplomat, a UN ambassador and energy secretary. He's negotiated with **countries like NK, Iran, Cuba, Iraq**, he's gotten hostages out, cease CNNEE_66.txt
78 dozen list. KING: Who's on it? MILLER: Well, there are some wonderful **countries like NK, Iran**, part of what President bush called the axis CNNEE_8.txt

Concordance 1. A full set of concordance lines of 'countr* like NK' which feature 'Iran'

Out of the 179 instances of ‘countr* like NK’, over 40% of all occurrences, 78 concordance lines, feature North Korea and Iran together.⁸⁶ The most recurrent patterns found in these 78 concordance lines include ‘missile defence against’, ‘threat* from’, and ‘attack* from’, as shown in Table 5. As Concordance 2 shows, however, these patterns are most frequently found in *The New York Times (NYT)*. Furthermore, *NYT* tends to use negative adjectives to describe North Korea, while this is not the case for *CNN*. Concordance 3 exemplifies the different manner of reporting on North Korea by *NYT* and *CNN*. *NYT* repeatedly constructs North Korea and Iran as ‘unpredictable’ countries.

missile	for/missile	defence	against	countr* like	NK or Iran NK, Iran and/or NK, Iran,
	threat*/attack	posed	by		
	missile/nuclear	attack*	from		
	stop	attack	from		
	missile/potential	threat*	from		
	Incoming/ballistic	missiles	from		
		negotiate*	with		

Table 5. Recurrent patterns associated with ‘countr* like NK’ with Iran in immediate vicinity

⁸⁶ WordSmith 5.0 allows researchers to save a list of concordance lines in a Microsoft Excel format, whereby researchers can retrieve the specific lines by using the ‘sort’ function of Excel.

N

Concordance

File

1 es to shield the USA or its allies from the possibility of attack by a country like NK or Iran. Barring technical glitches or bad weather, a
 2 more difficult and complicated, to have any military action against a country like NK or Iran, and if there were to be military action, tha
 3 d that Russian territory provides ideal locations for defenses against countries like NK and Iran, would you support a joint program instead
 4 d that Russian territory provides ideal locations for defenses against countries like NK and Iran, would you support a joint program instead
 5 on are deeply divided over the seriousness of missile threats posed by countries like NK, Iran and Iraq, even as the administration says the
 6 cited in July 5 article about seriousness of missile threats posed by countries like NK, Iran and Iraq Document
 7 istration are divided over the seriousness of missile threats posed by countries like NK, Iran and Iraq, even as the administration says the
 8 ration are deeply divided over seriousness of missile threats posed by countries like NK, Iran and Iraq, even as administration says US need
 9 nstruct the system, intended to shield the USA from limited attacks by countries like NK, Iran and Iraq. But the system has been opposed by
 10 ront what the administration defines as potential nuclear threats from countries like NK, Iran and Iraq. But he has decided to avoid making
 11 ystem to combat what his Administration has identified as threats from countries like NK, Iran and Iraq. But if the warhead proceeds on cour
 12 lligence reviews indicated that the appearance of missile threats from countries like NK, Iran and Iraq had changed American defense needs.
 13 s, not only by the USA, about the so-called new missile threats'' from countries like NK, Iran and Iraq, while at the same time ''preserving
 14 nded to counter relatively small, unsophisticated missile threats from countries like NK, Iran and Iraq. Samuel R. Berger, President Clinton
 15 imited missile defense was a response to emerging missile threats from countries like NK, Iran and Iraq. But a reconstruction of the decision
 16 llow for a missile defense system. With potential nuclear threats from countries like NK and Iran, the USA can no longer afford not to deplo
 17 gned to prevent their nuclear deterrent, but to go after a threat from countries like NK, Iran or Iraq. Critics argue that the system could
 18 policy experts over the nature and extent of the potential threat from countries like NK, Iran and Iraq that is the official justification f
 19 were released in 1998 and found that the ballistic missile threat from countries like NK and Iran was growing, and appeared more serious tha
 20 hance American radar capabilities to shoot down incoming missiles from countries like NK, Iran and Iraq. In London last month, a House of Co
 21 nt Gerald R. Ford, reported that the threat of ballistic missiles from countries like NK, Iran or Iraq was no longer a distant one. A month
 22 ncreasingly vulnerable to attack by long-range ballistic missiles from countries like NK, Iran and Iraq. The commission's report became one
 23 n's proposal to shield the USA from only a handful of missiles -- from countries like NK, Iran and Iraq --is ill-conceived. Senator Carl Lev
 24 on officials contend is crucial to defend against missile attacks from countries like NK, Iran and Iraq. But opponents charge that such a sy
 25 ram of Russia and NATO to defend against possible missile attacks from countries like NK, Iran and Iraq would address Europe's two main wo
 26 d that the USA could face the threat of long-range missile attack from countries like NK, Iran and Iraq. A decision to move ahead with the c
 27 important measure for halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons. If countries like NK and Iran continued testing, the senators reasoned,
 28 orrific armaments. Call it pre-emptive pre-emption. The aim is to keep countries like NK, Iran, Libya and Syria from trading in arms that co
 29 measures. The best way to defend against possible attack is to prevent countries like NK, Iran and Iraq from getting these missiles in the f
 30 ludicrous. The USA only intended to guard against nukes from smaller countries like NK and Iran, she said. But Russian President Vladimir

NYT_75.txt
 CNNEE_5.txt
 NYT_83.txt
 NYT_83.txt
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 NYT_18.txt
 NYT_12.txt
 NYT_13.txt
 NYT_22.txt
 CNNEE_1-1.txt
 NYT_14.txt
 NYT_17.txt
 NYT_15.txt
 NYT_15.txt
 NYT_18.txt
 NYT_14.txt
 NYT_14.txt
 NYT_18.txt
 NYT_17.txt
 NYT_12.txt
 NYT_43.txt
 NYT_2.txt
 NWE_10.txt

Concordance 2. A snapshot of a concordance of 'countr* like NK' where patterns featuring North Korea and Iran and mention of threat and attack are shown to predominate in *NYT*

N

Concordance

File

1 d the networks stretching across four continents offering its wares to countries like NK and Iran. Working with our British colleagues, we p	CNNEE_24.txt
2 the network stretching across fourth continents, offering its wares to countries like NK and Iran. Working with our British colleagues, we p	CNNEE_25.txt
3 ve been lobbed against him. That he proliferated nuclear technology to countries like NK, Libya and Iran. Let's take a listen to a little of	CNNEE 24.txt
4 w regulations intended to restrict the export of missile technology to countries like NK, Iraq, Iran, Libya and Syria, which the USA has acc	NYT_29.txt
5 o get China to take steps to prevent the sale of missile technology to countries like NK, Iran and Iraq. China's balking a little bit, wanti	CNNEE_6.txt
6 erse Beijing's penchant for selling missiles and missile technology to countries like NK and Pakistan. 'His response is trade with them, an	NYT 15.txt
7 e that Chinese companies are selling dangerous weapons technologies to countries like NK and Iran. So look for Mr. Bush to raise that issue	CNNEE_6.txt
8 hoping to convince the Chinese to stop selling missile technologies to countries like NK and Iran. Aides hinted there was a possibility a de	CNNEE 6.txt
9 done with the \$60 billion we'll waste if we aren't willing to talk to countries like NK. If the Bush team wants to prove it's still living	NYT 18.txt
10 ce. Will we ever know just how much information this scientist sold to countries like NK? Is he spilling information? QURAISHI: Well, it's u	CNNEE_24.txt
11 cans have a vested interest in how much nuclear technology was sold to countries like NK, for instance. Will we ever know just how much info	CNNEE_24.txt
12 ty," regime change has become a substitute for an actual policy toward countries like NK and Iran, with which we have serious security probl	NWE 12.txt
13 President George W. Bush. During his first term, talks with unfriendly countries like NK and Iran were usually rejected out of hand in the h	NYT_90.txt
14 en China, but to shoot down the handful of missiles that unpredictable countries like NK or Iran might soon be able to launch against the US	NYT_11.txt
15 ay of protecting themselves against nuclear threats from unpredictable countries like NK, Iraq and Iran. Russia and China fear that permitti	NYT_21.txt
16 limited defensive systems to blunt emerging threats from unpredictable countries like NK, Iran and Iraq. But to arrive at that desirable res	NYT_20.txt
17 eant to shield against a handful of missiles launched by unpredictable countries like NK. Since NK successfully tested a long-range missile	NYT_5.txt
18 SA spends on intelligence gathering about mysterious and unpredictable countries like NK, it took just 20 hours on the ground in Pyongyang b	NYT_90.txt
19 s grown in America for a limited missile defense against unpredictable countries like NK, Iraq or Iran. The Bush administration wants to mov	NYT_20.txt
20 ty so that he can quickly build a missile shield against unpredictable countries like NK. He has offered Russia incentives to accept this co	NYT_20.txt

Concordance 3. A snapshot of concordances of 'countr* like NK' demonstrating different patterning in *NYT* and *CNN*

5.3.2 ‘State* like NK’

In terms of the cluster ‘state* like NK’, there are relatively smaller numbers of occurrences compared with ‘countr* like NK’: it returns 76 concordance lines in total. ‘State* like’ is in many cases followed by one of the regional states of the USA, as in ‘state* like Ohio’, ‘state* like Michigan’ and ‘state* like Iowa’. Apart from these cases, there are some instances where the word ‘state’ refers to a ‘country’, including ‘state* like NK’. Again, Iran, Iraq and North Korea tend to appear in the vicinity of each other: see Concordance 4.

N	Concordance	File
1	If it works, it could intercept a limited attack from a state like NK. Mr. Bush's decision marked a major turn	NYT_33.txt
2	op a missile defense system primarily to defend against states like NK. They have said China is not an intende	NYT_23.txt
3	elop missile defense system primarily to defend against states like NK, and that China is not intended target	NYT_23.txt
4	sile shield built to protect the USA from any attack by states like NK and Iran. It's set for launch sometime	CNNEE_66.txt
5	ssile shield built to protect the USA from an attack by states like NK and Iran. And it's set for launch time,	CNNEE_66.txt
6	ir view is that when dealing with a heavily armed crazy state like NK -- which will probably never give up som	NYT_32.txt
7	, it argued that the USA should never allow a desperate state like NK to crank up a plutonium production line	NYT_36.txt
8	his switch is intended to thwart perceived threats from states like NK or Iraq, or groups that acquire the abi	NYT_22.txt
9	est, could protect the USA and Europe from threats from states like NK, dispensing with the need for the admin	NYT_14.txt
10	t the threat of a limited ballistic missile attack from states like NK, Iran and Iraq. It was not immediately	NYT_18.txt
11	ystem, if it works, could intercept limited attack from state like NK; Congress must still approve \$1.5 billio	NYT_33.txt
12	nded to counter threats posed by smaller, missile-armed states like NK. Mr. Putin then stops in Blagoveshchens	NYT_14.txt
13	e found this year because of concern over rogue nuclear states like NK; holds that events of past two years--p	NYT_59.txt
14	e found this year because of concern over rogue nuclear states like NK. Fears of a new nuclear arms race had k	NYT_59.txt
15	he defended Russia's continuing involvement with rogue states like NK, Iraq and Iran in distinctly lukewarm t	NWE_15.txt
16	nded by Under Secretary of State John Bolton that rogue states like NK should take Saddam's lesson to heart, o	NYT_41.txt
17	tary of State John R. Bolton, said this week that rogue states like NK should take a lesson from the events in	NYT_41.txt
18	defense system, because everyone recognized that rogue states like NK and Iran posed a threat to Europe, to R	CNNEE_57.txt
19	world today is not from Moscow but from so-called rogue states like NK, Iran and Iraq which are not party to t	CNNEE_3.txt
20	defense network with the notion that a so-called rogue state like NK could one day lob a nuclear weapon towar	NYT_21.txt
21	s intended only to counter threats from small 'rogue' states like NK, said the official, Sha Zukang, in an i	NYT_12.txt
22	s. While Mr. Bush has tended to focus narrowly on rogue states like NK and Iran, Mr. Kerry wisely favors a mor	NYT_55.txt
23	e intended to protect against the missiles of 'rogue' states like NK. The Europeans question the depth of th	NYT_12.txt
24	ncerned about a potential new missile threat from rogue states like NK, Libya, Iraq and Iran--which, according	NWE_16.txt
25	he possibility of a ballistic missile attack from rogue states like NK, Iran or Iraq no longer a distant threa	NYT_5.txt
26	threat of a small number of missiles launched by rogue states like NK, Iraq and Iran, all of whom have shown	NYT_12.txt
27	se it of being nuclear scofflaw whose actions aid rogue states like NK and Iran; Brazil has resisted allowing	NYT_56.txt
28	rts of being a nuclear scofflaw whose actions aid rogue states like NK and Iran? Ever since it began observing	NYT_56.txt
29	se, which proponents say would defend against 'rogue' states like NK and Iran, has called the treaty into qu	NYT_12.txt
30	s to deploy against ballistic missile attack by a rogue state like NK. The radar's job, figure out which is th	CNNEE_28.txt
31	o deploy against a ballistic missile attack buy a rogue state like NK. The radars job is to figure out which i	CNNEE_28.txt
32	's possible that bin Laden may have gone to a terrorist state like NK or Cuba. But he says that sort of thinki	CNNEE_5.txt
33	t week that the threat of a missile strike from a rogue state like NK, Iraq or Iran justified building a limit	NYT_5.txt
34	proliferation, and should not be sold arms, and a rogue state like NK... EIDINGER: Like Israel? (CROSSTALK) GO	CNNEE_13.txt
35	ystem. In the long run, if some of the most threatening states like NK or Pakistan actually did begin to open	NWE_1.txt
36	ns to terrorist groups and anti-American, unpredictable states like NK. Mr. Bolton praised Libya in particular	NYT_52.txt

Concordance 4. A snapshot of the concordance lines of 'state* like NK'

One of the very strong and repetitive patterns found in the concordance lines is ‘states like these and their terrorist allies constitute an axis of evil’. This appeared in the State of the Union address delivered by the then President of the US, George W Bush, in January 2002. Bush referred to Iran, Iraq and North Korea as an ‘axis of evil’, and this statement soon gained huge currency across the world.

As can be seen from the file names in the screenshot shown in Concordance 5 below, most of the concordance lines are from *CNN*. Being an all-day news report channel, *CNN* constantly updates news items, which often feature quotes from a number of interviews, resulting in several repetitions. The concordance lines of ‘state* like these and their terrorist...’ are not repetitions resulting from an error in including the same articles more than once in the corpus. The ‘excluding duplicates’ function of the Factiva tool, which recognises the exact same articles and excludes them before returning the result, was activated when the *CNN* corpus was built. Therefore, as can be seen from the result below, the lines come from different files, which, on close examination, seem to have been generated in different contexts.

These repetitions are worth pointing out because any news programme does not merely repeat the same interviews. The selection of a specific line from the whole interview, in this case from the speech delivered by Bush, takes place within a specific context or argument, and may involve a certain level of modification of the textual material. Extensive repetition of key expressions such as “terrorist allies constitute an axis of evil” serves to label and construct a specific group of countries as the ‘enemy’ and set the stage for constructing national mythology, a ‘good war’ for ‘our’ just defence – the defence of a constructed ‘us’. Indeed, Fairclough (1989: 54) acknowledges the hidden power of media discourse specifically in connection with repetition: “a single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth”.

N	Concordance	File
1	EO CLIP) GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE USA: And states like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_6.txt
2	n address, an unmistakable signal. GEORGE W. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_29.txt
3	ed his legacy on doing something about them. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_60.txt
4	ed his legacy on doing something about them. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_60.txt
5	Iraq in his 2002 State of the Union address. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_29.txt
6	show. (COMMERCIAL BREAK) (BEGIN VIDEO CLIP) BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_24.txt
7	dent, Mr. Bush often uses biblical language. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_18.txt
8	ed his legacy on doing something about them. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_60.txt
9	of evil." Listen to this: (BEGIN VIDEO CLIP) BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_24.txt
10	esident Bush said this -- (BEGIN VIDEO CLIP) BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_44.txt
11	cover Iraq, Iran and NK. (BEGIN VIDEO CLIP) BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_5.txt
12	And in the struggle against terrorism. G.W. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_6.txt
13	when he said these words. (BEGIN VIDEO CLIP) BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_53.txt
14	RRESPONDENT (voice-over): It was tough talk. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_5.txt
15	of the speech right now. (BEGIN VIDEO CLIP) BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_5.txt
16	tough talk in the State of the Union speech. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_6.txt
17	t last month's State of the Union. GEORGE W. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_6.txt
18	ate of the Union address. (BEGIN VIDEO CLIP) BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_14.txt
19	llites. Secondly, they wanted some benefits. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_14.txt
20	ed his legacy on doing something about them. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_60.txt
21	famous words to describe Iran, Iraq and NK. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_13.txt
22	with NK and Iraq, as sponsors of terrorism. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_10.txt
23	s of the year. And the biggest bloopers too. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_12.txt
24	ine seen through a prism of right and wrong. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_15.txt
25	n to that line right now. (BEGIN VIDEO CLIP) BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_15.txt
26	ed his legacy on doing something about them. BUSH: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_60.txt
27	s of mass destruction while starving its citizens. States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_6.txt
28	of mass destruction, while starving its citizens. States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_19.txt
29	of mass destruction, while starving its citizens. States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_16.txt
30	s of mass destruction while starving its citizens. States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_39.txt
31	s of mass destruction while starving its citizens. States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_36.txt
32	s of mass destruction while starving its citizens. States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_64.txt
33	s of mass destruction while starving its citizens. States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_60.txt
34	ts hostility toward America and to support terror. States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_5.txt
35	VIDEO CLIP) GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE USA: States like these and their terrorist allies cons	CNNEE_9.txt

Concordance 5. A snapshot of the concordance lines of 'states like these and their terrorist...' in *CNN*

However, as Baker (2010: 124) points out, “repetition is not only requisite of a powerful discourse – the articulation of a new discourse, produced by a powerful speaker or writer may also be extremely influential”, such as a speech delivered by Bush, the then president of the US, one of the most powerful, household names in the world at the time. Moreover, *CNN*, being an all-day news report service TV programme, is accessed by large numbers of people around the world, thus exercising considerable influence on the circulation and reception of this repeated expression, which is then picked up and translated by other media around the world.

The ‘axis of evil’ rhetoric employed by the Bush administration also functions as a means of indirect structuring of mental models for the recipient. Van Dijk (1998: 273) argues that “a specific negative opinion may be emphasised by *a catchy metaphor from a negative conceptual domain*, [...] by comparisons of the same type, or by hyperboles describing their negative characteristics” (emphasis added). Indeed, the lexical item ‘evil’ was not randomly chosen but was deliberately used in this specific context. Jackson (2005: 44) provides a detailed account of this matter.

This appellation is actually an ingenious new hybrid construction that discursively combines the meta-narratives of World War II, where the Allies fought the Axis powers (Germany, Japan and Italy), and the cold war struggle against the Soviet Union – which Reagan famously referred to as the ‘evil empire’. Here, two great historical ‘evils’ are combined into one powerful new enemy. This implies not only the vast threat posed by terrorism (it is like facism and communism combined), but also that the United States has a historic role to play in protecting the world from this menace.

Apart from the pattern drawn from Bush’s interview, concordance lines of ‘state* like NK’ tend to show a negative prosody by featuring a number of more adjectives that have negative connotations than is the case with ‘countr* like NK’. These include ‘unpredictable’, ‘threaten’, ‘dangerous’, ‘starving’, ‘bankrupt’, ‘desperate’, ‘erratic’, and ‘hostile’. There is also one instance of each of ‘terrorist state*’ and ‘crazy state* like NK’. 50% of total concordance lines (38 concordance lines out of 76) feature the adjective ‘rogue’, i.e. ‘rogue state*’.

Out of these 38 concordance lines featuring ‘rogue state*’, 25 instances are found in *NYT*, accounting for nearly 66% of the total occurrences of ‘rogue* state like

NK'. Ten concordance lines (26%) are found in *CNN* and three occurrences (0.8%) are found in *Newsweek*. Hence, the use of such negative adjectives is a particular feature of *NYT* coverage. With only three concordance lines, *Newsweek* appears to make relatively limited use of the adjective 'rogue'. However, this use appears more significant when seen in relation to the total size of the corpus, since the *Newsweek* corpus (1,707,376 tokens) is much smaller than *NYT* corpus (7,363,431 tokens).

Out of 38 instances of 'rogue state* like NK', interestingly, fourteen concordance lines, accounting for 37% of total occurrences, feature 'Iran'. Again, these are most frequently found in *NYT*, with nine times out of fourteen (accounting for 64% of total concordance lines), followed by three occurrences from *CNN* (22%) and two from *Newsweek* (14%), as shown in Concordance 6. Thus, *NYT* seems to use considerably more negative language and to associate North Korea with Iran than *CNN* and *Newsweek*, constructing an image of both countries as 'rogue'.

5.3.3 'Nation* like NK'

Thirdly, the output of a concordance search of 'nation* like NK' shows almost the same trend as similar cases discussed earlier. Iran and Iraq are the two countries most frequently associated with North Korea. The 'nation* like NK' query returns 78 concordance lines. 44 concordance lines, accounting for 56%, feature North Korea and Iran together, as Shown in Concordances 6 and 7.

Out of these 44 instances, 34 concordance lines (77%) show the same negative features identified in the analysis of 'state* like NK'. 'Rogue', 'unpredictable' and 'dangerous' are the adjectives which describe North Korea and Iran. For instance, 'missiles fired by rogue nations like NK or Iran', 'ballistic missile threats from rogue nations like NK and Iran' and 'nuclear blackmail from unpredictable nations like NK, Iraq or Iran'. There are also two instances of 'WMD-producing nations like NK, like Iran' (in *CNN*).

N	Concordance	File
1	he possibility of a ballistic missile attack from rogue states like NK, Iran or Iraq no longer a distant threa	NYT_5.txt
2	se it of being nuclear scofflaw whose actions aid rogue states like NK and Iran; Brazil has resisted allowing	NYT_56.txt
3	t week that the threat of a missile strike from a rogue state like NK, Iraq or Iran justified building a limit	NYT_5.txt
4	rts of being a nuclear scofflaw whose actions aid rogue states like NK and Iran? Ever since it began observing	NYT_56.txt
5	s. While Mr. Bush has tended to focus narrowly on rogue states like NK and Iran, Mr. Kerry wisely favors a mor	NYT_55.txt
6	defense system, because everyone recognized that rogue states like NK and Iran posed a threat to Europe, to R	CNNEE_57.txt
7	world today is not from Moscow but from so-called rogue states like NK, Iran and Iraq which are not party to t	CNNEE_4.txt
8	world today is not from Moscow but from so-called rogue states like NK, Iran and Iraq which are not party to t	CNNEE_3.txt
9	threat of a small number of missiles launched by rogue states like NK, Iraq and Iran, all of whom have shown	NYT_12.txt
10	se, which proponents say would defend against 'rogue' states like NK and Iran, has called the treaty into qu	NYT_12.txt
11	n says is necessary to defend the USA against 'rogue' states like NK and Iran. National missile defense syst	NYT_12.txt
12	ian leader that the ballistic missile threat from rogue states like NK, Iran and Iraq warrants an adjustment t	NYT_12.txt
13	he defended Russia's continuing involvement with rogue states like NK, Iraq and Iran in distinctly lukewarm t	NWE_15.txt
14	ncerned about a potential new missile threat from rogue states like NK, Libya, Iraq and Iran--which, according	NWE_16.txt

Concordance 6. A full set of concordance lines of 'rogue state* like NK' which feature 'Iran'

N	Concordance	File
1	end the country against very limited attacks from small nations like NK or Iran, but that would not be extensi	NYT_21.txt
2	and interceptors to shoot down missiles fired by rogue nations like NK or Iran, or in accidental launchings f	NYT_5.txt
3	system is a limited defense against a small attack from nations like NK or Iran and that the small number of i	NYT_77.txt
4	poke of the need for countries to band together against nations like NK or Iran, trying to game the system. He	CNNEE_78.txt
5	intelligence community as we approach the WMD-producing nations like NK, like Iran, like Libya. We basically o	CNNEE_25.txt
6	come vulnerable to nuclear blackmail from unpredictable nations like NK, Iraq or Iran. The impulse to develop	NYT_20.txt
7	otect itself against the threat of missile attacks from nations like NK, Iraq, Iran and Libya, according to a	NYT_12.txt
8	ure threat of nuclear missile attack from unpredictable nations like NK, Iraq and Iran. American intelligence	NYT_17.txt
9	ense against intercontinental rockets launched by small nations like NK, Iran or Iraq would create more global	NYT_10.txt
10	ds from rogue countries thought to pose biggest threat; nations like NK, Iran and Iraq would fire wobbling, ru	NYT_22.txt
11	world in which not just the USA and Russia, but smaller nations like NK, Iran and Iraq had achieved or were de	NYT_9.txt
12	of limited missile attack that could someday come from nations like NK, Iran and Iraq. But aiming for a more	NYT_18.txt
13	loyment of a missile defense against a future threat by nations like NK, Iran and Iraq, and vice president and	CNNEE_1-1.txt
14	s about how to defend against a missile threat posed by nations like NK, Iran and Iraq, and the seriousness of	NYT_13.txt
15	government, the USA would put Zimbabwe in a league with nations like NK and Iran -- a significant toughening o	NYT_81.txt
16	to say -- as his aides repeated this past week -- that nations like NK and Iran should take heed that the USA	NYT_40.txt

Concordance 7. A snapshot of patterns associated with 'nation* like NK' with Iran in immediate vicinity (left of the search item)

As in the analysis of ‘countr* like NK’, a number of discursive patterns are found where various adjectives and prepositions appear to the left of ‘nation* like NK and/or/, Iran’ to describe North Korea and Iran, as shown below (Table 6). These adjectives include ‘rogue’ and ‘unpredictable’. Prepositions such as ‘by’ and ‘from’ imply possible attacks from or by North Korea and Iran: e.g. ‘new threats posed by nations like NK and Iran’, ‘to counter prospective dangers from nations like NK and Iran’, and ‘a potential nuclear threat from nations like NK and Iran’.

focused	on	terrorism	and	nation* like	NK or Iran NK, Iran and/or NK and Iran
missile/new	threat	posed	by		
	future	threat			
	small/missile	attack*	from		
	prospective	dangers			
	nuclear/missile	threat*			
missile	fired	by	rogue		
	strikes	by			
	attacks/missiles	from			
	blackmail/attack	from	unpredictable		

Table 6. Patterns associated with ‘nation* like NK’ with Iran in immediate vicinity (left of the search item)

Interestingly, ‘missile attack from’, ‘missile threat from’, and ‘missile threat posed by’ are the same three recurrent patterns that are already identified in the analysis of ‘countr* like NK and/or/, Iran’. Alongside concordance lines including ‘future threat by’, ‘prospective dangers from’, and ‘attack that could someday come from nations like NK, Iran and Iraq’, these common patterns reveal that all three US news outlets consider North Korea and Iran’s possible attack as a reality. This recalls the argument made by Izadi and Saghaye-Biria in 2007. Izadi and Saghaye-Biria studied the web-news headlines of three different US newspapers – *NYT*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post* – and argued that editorials of the three US newspapers “portray the Iranian nuclear weapons program as a reality and the prospect of the nuclear bomb as a more-or-less certain prospect” (2007: 156). They further suggested that

[t]heir treatment of Iran's case is similar to Dunmire's (1997) study on how *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* news reports, on August 3-7, 1990, made the invasion of Saudi Arabia by Iraq – something that never happened – seem as though it had actually taken place. Dunmire calls this discursive manoeuvre a “projected event”: “a state of affairs that an individual or group claims will occur at some point in the near future” (1997: 221).

In terms of institution-specific patterning, Concordance 8 below suggests that the discursive patterns identified in Table 6 with respect to strong associations with negative adjectives such as ‘rogue nation* like NK and/or/, Iran’, mostly feature in *NYT* articles. Out of 34 concordance lines featuring a negative semantic prosody (see 3.1.2), 27 occurrences (79%) appear in *NYT* (7,363,431 tokens), while only seven instances are from *CNN* (59,929,368 tokens). In other words, out of the 76 instances of ‘nation* like NK’, 27 concordance lines that feature North Korea and Iran together and that have a negative semantic prosody are from *NYT*. *NYT* clearly constructs North Korea and Iran as rogue countries and a threat to the free world.

N	Concordance	File
1	. At a time when the nation is focused on terrorism and nations like NK and Iran, Norman Merker, 60, a pharmac	NYT_71.txt
2	the USA a limited defense against missiles launched by nations like NK -- and eventually, Iraq and Iran. Whil	NYT_33.txt
3	sals showed that Russia understood new threats posed by nations like NK and Iran. But the administration also	NYT_12.txt
4	s about how to defend against a missile threat posed by nations like NK, Iran and Iraq, and the seriousness of	NYT_13.txt
5	loyment of a missile defense against a future threat by nations like NK, Iran and Iraq. And Vice President and	CNNEE_1-1.txt
6	loyment of a missile defense against a future threat by nations like NK, Iran and Iraq, and vice president and	CNNEE_1-1.txt
7	loyment of a missile defense against a future threat by nations like NK, Iran and Iraq, and vice president and	CNNEE_1-1.txt
8	loyment of a missile defense against a future threat by nations like NK, Iran and Iraq. Vice president and can	CNNEE_1-1.txt
9	the physics of this thing, though, to begin with. Even nations like NK and India and Pakistan and Iran, most	CNNEE_80.txt
10	to protect itself against threat of missile attack from nations like NK, Iraq, Iran and Libya, according to dr	NYT_12.txt
11	system is a limited defense against a small attack from nations like NK or Iran and that the small number of i	NYT_77.txt
12	otect itself against the threat of missile attacks from nations like NK, Iraq, Iran and Libya, according to a	NYT_12.txt
13	em that is designed to counter prospective dangers from nations like NK and Iran that might eventually be able	NYT_69.txt
14	ead, it is designed to counter prospective dangers from nations like NK and Iran. President Bush made the prog	NYT_67.txt
15	l about the extent of the threat posed by missiles from nations like NK and Iran. They are concerned about the	NYT_20.txt
16	ONDON, Dec. 4 -- Citing a potential nuclear threat from nations like NK and Iran, Prime Minister Tony Blair ur	NYT_72.txt
17	nuclear barrage, but to thwart limited strikes by rogue nations like NK or Iran. Defense Secretary William S.	NYT_9.txt
18	and interceptors to shoot down missiles fired by rogue nations like NK or Iran, or in accidental launchings f	NYT_5.txt
19	and interceptors to shoot down missiles fired by rogue nations like NK or Iran, or in accidental launchings f	NYT_5.txt
20	ngside it, and that the pact would only encourage rogue nations like NK and Iran to continue to pursue nuclear	NYT_66.txt
21	d a system against ballistic missile threats from rogue nations like NK and Iran as soon as ''technologically	NYT_5.txt
22	ile project is aimed at stopping attacks from ''rogue'' nations like NK, Iran or Iraq and should not worry Chi	NYT_20.txt
23	opposition to missile defense after learning that rogue nations like NK and Iran will soon have potential to h	NYT_5.txt
24	wn as ''Star Wars'' in 1983. The fear now is that rogue nations like NK or Iran, with little or no warning, co	NYT_5.txt
25	ds from rogue countries thought to pose biggest threat; nations like NK, Iran and Iraq would fire wobbling, ru	NYT_22.txt
26	come vulnerable to nuclear blackmail from unpredictable nations like NK, Iraq or Iran. The impulse to develop	NYT_20.txt
27	ure threat of nuclear missile attack from unpredictable nations like NK, Iraq and Iran. American intelligence	NYT_17.txt
28	intelligence community as we approach the WMD-producing nations like NK, like Iran, like Libya. We basically o	CNNEE_25.txt
29	intelligence community as we approach the WMD-producing nations like NK, like Iran, like Libya. We basically o	CNNEE_25.txt

Concordance 8. A snapshot of a concordance of 'nation* like NK' where patterns featuring North Korea and Iran as a threat and rogue nations are shown to predominate in *NYT*

Among other recurrent patterns identified in *NYT*, ‘rogue nation* like NK and/or/, Iran’ is found to be strong. Out of 27 concordance lines featuring a negative semantic prosody in *NYT*, eight concordance lines (30%) repeat the expression ‘rogue nation* like NK and/or/, Iran’. This repetitive use of the word ‘rogue’ was already found in the analysis of ‘state* like NK and/or/, Iran’ (see above). This result again coincides with the finding of Izadi and Saghaye-Biria (2007: 150), who demonstrated that the three elite US newspapers – *NYT*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post* - have “labelled Iran a rogue nation whose word can never be trusted”. The discursive use of ‘rogue’ in describing North Korea and Iran in news media discourse can be discussed in the context of the discursive construction of national identity. A number of CDA scholars, including De Cillia et al. (1999: 155-157), argue that discourses may serve to construct national identities, and that discourses of national identity “do not emerge from nowhere and do not operate in a vacuum” but are “produced, reproduced and spread by actors in concrete (institutionalised) contexts”. According to Martin (1995: 13), “the identity narrative channels political emotions so that they can fuel efforts to modify a balance of power”.

At the same time, news reporting is considered, or at least expected, to be ‘neutral’, even where it includes editorials where opinions may be explicitly expressed. In this context, adjectives such as ‘rogue’ should not, in principle, be used to describe specific nations repeatedly. Carruthers (2000: 24) argues, media plays a vital role in “the projection of enemy images, a vital pre-requisite to war”. Keen (1986: 10) similarly observes that “in the beginning we create the enemy. Before the weapon comes the image. We think others to death and then invent the battle-axe or the ballistic missiles with which to actually kill them. Propaganda precedes technology”.

Indeed, the recurrent use of the adjective ‘rogue’ can be analysed in relation to the polarisation briefly discussed in the previous section, since the in-group and out-group binary distinction is linguistically realised through the use of pronouns and various linguistic devices to *demonise the other*. Izadi and Saghaye-Biria (2007: 157) argue that the newspaper editorials of *NYT*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post* describe the prospect of the Iranian nuclear bomb as a more-or-less certain prospect; however, the problem lies not in Iran making an atomic bomb but in the fact that the Iranians have too much knowledge and access to nuclear technology

that only ‘we’, i.e. ‘the US’, can be trusted to acquire. The clear boundary markers between ‘in-group/us/self’ and ‘out-group/them/others’ are established through the construction of identity, a practice that involves the representation of what is good for us (positive self-presentation) and what is not good for us (negative other-presentation). Hernández (2008: 229) argue that the discursive construction of this ‘self’ and ‘the other’ binary has “become especially accentuated in the case of conflicts, or in the face of threatening forces, which is when people more especially need to defend themselves by reaffirming who they are”. Jackson (2005: 59), too, argues that

one of the most noticeable and ubiquitous features of the language of counter-terrorism is its invariable appeal to identity: terrorists are endlessly demonised and vilified as being evil, barbaric and inhuman, while America and its coalition partners are described as heroic, decent and peaceful – the defenders of freedom.

Ultimately, the ‘good us and bad others’ argument, in this case ‘good Americans, rogue North Korea and Iran’, sets the stage for the construction of a national myth of a ‘good war’ for the defence of ‘good us’: a defensive war to secure justice and to defend freedom.

The use of specific adjectives such as ‘rogue’ that have negative prosodies can also be discussed in the context of what Li (2007: 3) calls ‘the hidden power in discourse’. Li, who analyses web-news headlines, argues that “unequal power relations have been established in the mind of the power-holders, including the readership and the headline producers” (ibid.: 6). Although his data is limited to the headlines of web-news articles, his argument may be applied to the analysis presented in the current research. The use of a number of adjectives that have negative connotations is a choice made by text producers and reviewers working at a particular news media institution, which means, these producers hold the power to represent other countries. Their powerful position assigns them a legitimate role to depict North Korea and Iran in such negative terms. As Li (ibid.: 4-5) points out, the result is that a dangerous assumption is easily taken for granted and nobody intervenes, thus enabling power holders to “impose their own ideology onto the readers”. In this sense, the ideologically hidden power of discourse is “unidirectional and predetermined”, since ideology works initially by disguising itself, then becoming “naturalised and automatised”, until, finally, it enjoys the status of being considered “common sense” (ibid.).

This kind of hidden linguistic power-play in discourse manifests itself in the choice of specific words, grammatical forms, and meta-texts, such as visual images. Gradually, the ‘taken-for-granted’ assumptions evoked through these choices become a convention and “colour the perception of both the mass media and the readers” (Li 2007: 6). Hence, the negative images of North Korea and Iran, as constructed by the power holders, in this case the US media institutions, strengthen the assumption that North Korea and Iran are unpredictable, secretive, unfriendly, hostile, rogue and terrorist countries.

Indeed, although reporters may set out to produce reliable news texts, “their sources, their organisations and the broader structures in which they are embedded ‘manufacture’ news and in so doing, ‘invent reality’” (Carruthers 2000: 17). As Herman and Chomsky (1988), who worked extensively on the functioning of the mass media, argue, there is no free news media - mass media serves a specific purpose, which is achieved through a system of what they called ‘brainwashing under freedom’. Furthermore, news media are largely controlled by the state in which news is produced. Carruthers (2000: 16) offers one example:

In the most heavily televised war to date, that in the Persian Gulf in 1991, much news relayed by the US networks and press was gathered from regular ‘newsbeats’ – the ‘golden triangle’ of Pentagon, White House and State Department – rather than from the frontline in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait (Cook 1994).

In conclusion, the repetitions and discursive patterns identified in the English corpus and analysed in this chapter are not the result of coincidence, but are carefully constructed by US media institutions in the immediate sense, and by the US administration in the wider sense, in order to pursue political ends of the political elite.

In this section, the countries which appeared on the collocate list of ‘North Korea’ were closely examined. The analysis of collocate lists and concordance lines revealed that North Korea and Iran are closely associated in the reporting of three US news outlets (*CNN*, *Newsweek* and *NYT*). The collocate list also revealed that the US media divides the world into certain sets of countries based on their pro or anti-political leanings towards the US.

Further analysis was undertaken in order to examine specific ways in which North Korea and Iran are projected in US media. This revealed some intriguing patterns in shaping discourses about the two countries. The analysis of the concordance lines confirms that US news media classify countries into certain groups, and, as evidenced from patterns such as ‘rogue countr*/state*/nation* like NK and/or/, Iran’, North Korea and Iran are constructed as ‘rogue’ countries. The patterns featuring a negative semantic prosody are more prevalent in *NYT* coverage, although other recurrent patterns are found across the entire English corpus.

5.4 Five Kims

Another word – ‘Kim’ – is worth examining more closely because it is ranked high in the collocate list of ‘NK’ (11th). Furthermore, five people who play major roles in the context of North Korea have ‘Kim’ as their last name⁸⁷ – Kim Il Sung, the founder of North Korea, Kim Jong⁸⁸ Il, the late leader of North Korea, Kim Jong Un and Kim Jong Nam, the sons of Kim Jong Il, and Kim Dae Jung, the former President of South Korea.⁸⁹ The fact that at least five individuals featured in the data share the same surname means that generating and analysing a collocate list of ‘Kim’ would simply introduce an unnecessary level of noise since it would be impossible to establish how each collocate relates to the individual ‘Kims’.

⁸⁷ Kim Young Sam, the 14th President of South Korea, also has ‘Kim’ as his surname. However, his five-year Presidency ended in February 2008, and, since the corpus built for this study covers the period between 1998 and 2010, the number of texts is too small to conduct an in-depth analysis of Kim Young Sam. Kim Young-Sam and Kim Dae Jung, who served as Presidents during this period, are the only two presidents who have ‘Kim’ as their family name.

⁸⁸ Due to the phonological ambiguity of transcription, the Korean character ‘Jong’ may be romanised as ‘Jung’ or ‘Jeong’. Although this thesis follows the Korean romanisation whereby ‘Jong’ may be transcribed as ‘Jeong’ or ‘Jung’, only ‘Kim Jong Il’, not ‘Kim Jeong Il’, will be used throughout the thesis, because; (1) the latter is more widely used in the media – indeed, no concordance line of ‘Kim Jeong Il’ was found; (2) due to lack of space, and because this research does not involve an analysis of Kim Jung(-)Il/Kim Jong(-)Il/Kim Jeong (-)Il’. However, this research will also investigate concordance lines of other cases, thus, ‘Kim Jong Il’ will also refer to Kim Jong Il/Kim Jong-II/Kim Jeong Il/Kim Jeong-II/Kim Jung Il/Kim Jung-II. The same rule applies to Kim Jong Un (/Kim Jong-Un/Kim Jeong Un/Kim Jeong-Un/Kim Jung Un/Kim Jung-Un), Kim Jong Nam (/Kim Jong-Nam/Kim Jeong Nam/Kim Jeong-Nam/Kim Jung Nam/Kim Jung-Nam) and Kim Dae Jung (/Kim Dae-Jung/Kim Dae Joong/Kim Dae-Joong).

⁸⁹ In most cases, Korean names contain three individual characters. The surname, consisting of one character, comes first, followed by the given name, which has two characters. In order to avoid confusion where the first character of the given name might be mistaken for a middle name by English speakers, when their name is romanised, some Koreans use a hyphen (-) between the two characters. Consequently, this study considers both spellings. Thus, the analysis of Kim Il Sung covers both ‘Kim Il Sung’ and ‘Kim Il-Sung’.

However, what would be interesting is to examine whether the patterns associated with each person are different in the three US news media outlets – *NYT*, *Newsweek* and *CNN*. Hence, in this section differences in the way each person is presented in the US media outlets will be discussed, based on a close examination of concordance lines and what distinctive patterns associated with each different ‘Kim’ they reveal, without reference to any collocate list.

The concordance lines were generated with each individual’s full name as a search word. To ensure consistency, the same steps are followed in the analysis of these concordances: the default setting for the concordance functions was maintained, and the ‘auto remove duplicate’ option was not activated. A number of recurrent, but distinctive, patterns were found associated with each ‘Kim’. For example, whereas Kim Dae Jung is more frequently referred to as ‘President’, Kim Il Sung is more often referred to as ‘the founder’ and Kim Jong Il only as ‘the North Korean leader’, ‘Commander’, ‘Successor’, and ‘Dear Leader’.

5.4.1 Kim Il Sung (founder of North Korea and father of Kim Jong Il)

Instances of ‘Kim’ which refer to Kim Il Sung were analysed first - a total of 761 concordance lines. The words most frequently associated with Kim Il Sung include ‘father’ (173 instances), leader’ (95), ‘the late’ (65), ‘president’ (58), ‘founder’ (38) and ‘dictator’ (20). Analysis of these lines reveals that Kim Il Sung is mostly referred to as the ‘father’ of Kim Jong Il, the late leader of North Korea; he is also described as the ‘founder’ and ‘the late leader’ of North Korea.

Item	Number of concordance lines	% of total concordance lines	Kim Il Sung (Kim Il- Sung)
father	173	23%	
leader	95	12%	
the late	65	9%	
President	58	8%	
founder	38	5%	
dictator	20	3%	

Table 7. Patterns associated with ‘Kim Il Sung’

Kim Il Sung is also known by his title, ‘Great Leader’, which is commonly used by North Koreans when referring to him. ‘President’ and ‘dictator’ also appear before ‘Kim Il Sung’, too. In terms of institution-specific patterns, no concordance line of ‘President’ was found in *Newsweek*, where ‘dictator’ appears more frequently. Out of a total of 58 occurrences, 35 concordance lines featuring ‘President’ are from *NYT*, 23 from *CNN* and none from *Newsweek*.⁹⁰ Out of twenty concordance lines of ‘dictator’, eleven are from the *NYT*, seven from *Newsweek*, and two are from *CNN*, as summarised in Table 8. On the whole then, the portrayal of Kim Il sung is more negative in *Newsweek*.

	Instances		
	<i>CNN</i>	<i>Newsweek</i>	<i>NYT</i>
dictator	2 (3%)	7 (12%)	11 (20%)
President	23 (40%)	0 (0%)	35 (60%)

Table 8. The different uses of ‘dictator’ and ‘President’, referring to Kim Il Sung, across all news outlets in the study

5.4.2 Kim Jong Nam and Kim Jong Un (sons of Kim Jong Il)

The corpus features 82 concordance lines for Kim Jong Nam and 378 for Kim Jong Un. Both are sons of Kim Jong Il, and are always referred to as the ‘heir apparent’ although there are more concordance lines for ‘Kim Jong Un’ than ‘Kim Jong Nam’. Although both sons are referred to as heirs apparent, a brief glance at filenames reveals that Kim Jong Nam was more frequently referred to as the ‘heir apparent’ in 2001, while Kim Jong Un was more frequently called the ‘heir apparent’ in 2010.⁹¹ In fact, Kim Jong Nam had been considered the heir apparent until 2001, when he attempted an illegal entry into Japan. Since he was removed from the line of succession in 2009, according to a number of reports, Kim Jong Nam has lived between Beijing and Macau (and is still there at the time of writing). Since 2009, several attempts have been made by the North Korean government to pave the way for a dynastic power transfer from Kim Jong

⁹⁰ Because the term ‘President’ might refer to another person, each concordance line was examined manually to establish its relevance to the analysis.

⁹¹ Each sub-corpus consists of a number of separate files saved according to the year in which the news reports are produced. For instance, CNNE_4 consists of news reports published during 2001, while CNNE_83 consists of texts published in 2010. Although the file name itself does not show the exact year in which the texts are produced, since texts are stored by order of the year, the filename – together with the metadata stored about the corpus – can be used to establish the date of individual concordance lines at a glance.

Il to Kim Jong Un. In 2010, these efforts were clearly signalled by the mention of his name in public state media (Foster 2010).

N

Concordance

File

1 ry ill, and very little is known about his heir apparent, Kim Jong-un. Observers point to the turmoil at the top as	CNNEE_82.txt
2 t. And that is Kim Jong-Il and his son, the heir apparent Kim Jong-un, who are in attendance tonight. T.J., back to	CNNEE_83.txt
3 perhaps to bolster the credentials of the heir apparent, Kim Jong-un, the son and grandson of the only two leaders	NYT_101.txt
4 tended by Mr. Kim and his youngest son and heir apparent, Kim Jong-un, marked the 65th anniversary of the founding	NYT_99.txt
5 itary ranking and had his youngest son and heir apparent, Kim Jong-un, made a member of the Central Committee of th	NYT_99.txt
6 ased images and video of Kim's his son and heir apparent, Kim Jong-un, looking rather chubby-faced and dour. The Le	NYT_99.txt
7 grown frail since then. His third son and heir apparent, Kim Jong-un, lacks military credentials (although he rece	NWE_1.txt
8 the balcony. Kim Jong-Il and his son, the heir apparent, Kim Jong-Un. JOERGEN MELSKENS, VISITOR FROM DENMARK: I th	CNNEE_84.txt
9 the balcony, Kim Jong-Il and his son, the heir apparent, Kim Jong-Un. JOERGEN MELSKENS, ACTOR/VISITING FROM DENMAR	CNNEE_83.txt
10 m ailing leader Kim Jong-Il to his son, an heir apparent, Kim Jong-Un, during the three-day celebration. New York M	CNNEE_83.txt
11 ty is celebrating the accession of its new heir apparent. Kim Jong-un is expected to succeed his ailing father. Unt	CNNEE_83.txt
12 ircumstance of the parades, we look at the heir apparent, Kim Jong-un, and we think he's in his 20s and we think he	CNNEE_84.txt
13 the balcony, Kim Jong-Il and his son, the heir apparent, Kim Jong-un. Alina Cho, CNN, Pyongyang, NK. (END VIDEOTAP	CNNEE_83.txt
14 the balcony, Kim Jong-Il and his son, the heir apparent, Kim Jong-Un Alina Cho, CNN, Pyongyang, NK. (END VIDEOTAPE	CNNEE_83.txt
15 n the balcony, Kim Jong-Il and his son the heir apparent, Kim Jong-Un. Alina Cho, CNN, Pyongyang, NK. (END VIDEOTAP	CNNEE_83.txt
16 vy, he's reportedly put his eldest son and heir apparent, Kim Jong-Nam, in charge of computerizing the North. Some	CNNEE_4.txt
17 vy, he's reportedly put his eldest son and heir apparent, Kim Jong-Nam, in charge of computerizing the North. Some	CNNEE_3.txt

Concordance 9. A snapshot of concordance lines of 'Kim Jong Nam and Kim Jong Un' which feature 'heir apparent'

5.4.3 Kim Jong Il (late leader of North Korea and the son of Kim Il Sung)

Kim Jong Il was the official leader of North Korea from 1994 until his death on 19 December 2011. He succeeded Kim Il Sung, his father and the founder of North Korea, following Kim Il Sung's death. Kim Jong Il had unfavourable relations with the US, ostensibly because of his determination to develop a nuclear weapons programme. An examination of concordances of 'Kim Jong Il' reveals a number of repeated patterns. Of these, the more interesting patterns feature the collocates 'leader', 'dictator' and 'President'. Out of 7,446 concordance lines of 'Kim Jong Il', 'leader' occurs 1,995 times, 'dictator' 180, and 'President' 120.⁹²

(a) *Patterns associated with 'leader Kim Jong Il'*

Using 'leader Kim Jong Il' as a search phrase generated 1,995 concordance lines. The following emerged as the more frequent collocates (Table 9).

Item	Number of concordance lines	leader	Kim Jong Il
NKn	459		
NK's	230		
dear	131		
its	99		
reclusive	54		
great	28		

Table 9. Patterns associated with 'leader Kim Jong Il'

A large number of concordance lines referring to Kim Jong Il contain the expression 'Dear Leader', and to a lesser extent, 'Great Leader': a total of 159 out of 1,995 concordance lines. In fact, 'Dear Leader', 'Great Leader', 'Our Father' and 'the General' are the official titles of Kim Jong Il. However, as shown in the previous analysis of Kim Il Sung, 'Great Leader' is also used to refer to Kim Il Sung, the founder of North Korea, whereas 'Dear Leader' is more exclusively used to refer to Kim Jong Il, the late leader of North Korea.

⁹² These numbers were arrived at by using the 'sort' function in Microsoft Excel, which sorted all concordance lines that contain each word, e.g. 'President'. However, 'President' can also be used to refer to another person who also appears in the concordance line under investigation. Consequently, all concordance lines were manually examined before the analysis was undertaken. The same applies to 'leader' and 'dictator'.

A close look at the concordance lines reveals that these expressions are used as titles. In most cases, 'Great Leader' and 'Dear Leader' are capitalised, implying that this expression is not 'ours', but 'theirs' – *they call him* 'the Great Leader'. These expressions also tend to appear in quotation marks: e.g. '... "dear leader," Kim Jong IL...'. Sometimes, brackets are used in addition to quotation marks to emphasise the fact that the news outlet has 'borrowed' the expression; for instance, "... military personnel – with their ["Great Leader" Kim Il Sung] buttons on ...". These expressions sometimes also appear in lower case and without quotation marks, i.e. 'great leader'; however, in such cases, they are usually drawn from either interviews or 'voice-over' texts, as in the following concordances: lines from 13 to 18. This distinctive practice of news actor labelling has important implications, for Kuo and Nakamura (2005: 405) argue, "reference to news actors in a news event functions not only to characterize and identify the referent's social role or position, but also to reveal the journalist's evaluation of and attitudes toward the actors".

N

Concordance

File

1 n at the center of it all is the one NKns call their Dear Leader. Kim Jong-Il cuts a rather strange figure, to our CNNEE_50.txt
 2 hank 'the Great Leader Kim Il-Sung and his son, the Dear Leader Kim Jong-Il.' Written by Robert Egan and Kurt Pit NYT_94.txt
 3 rist and further inspired because 'I could feel the Dear Leader Kim Jong-Il was looking after me.' Ri Kum Suk, a NYT_46.txt
 4 evil,' along with Iraq and Iran. 'The plan of the Dear Leader Kim Jong-Il is that Mr. Clinton should end the rhe NYT_26.txt
 5 in part it's the result of the -- what they call the dear leader Kim Jong-Il getting ready for succession, handing CNNEE_88.txt
 6 o Motherland Without You," written in tribute to the Dear Leader Kim Jong-il, complete with English lyrics: Halftim NYT_96.txt
 7 round now on Kim Jong-Il, known to his people as the Dear Leader. Kim Jong-Il became the de facto leader of NK in 1 CNNEE_64.txt
 8 late 1990s, the cult of personality surrounding the Dear Leader Kim Jong-il and, not least, a gulag currently fill NYT_98.txt
 9 man who makes sure it stays that way. The secretive dear leader Kim Jong-Il. (BEGIN VIDEOTAPE) GARY TUCHMAN, CNN C CNNEE_49.txt
 10 Jong-Il. CHINOY: The USA secretary of state and NK's dear leader Kim Jong-Il, the highest level encounter between A CNNEE_39.txt
 11 ears ago, SKn President Kim Dae-jung met the North's Dear Leader, Kim Jong-Il, and established the "sunshine" policy NWE_2.txt
 12 eason President Bush is not talking about taking out Dear Leader Kim Jong-Il. If we tried, the Dear Leader would bo NYT_28.txt
 13 ntrance says: "Give up your life for the sake of our dear leader Kim Jong-Il." Human Rights Watch estimates that th CNNEE_45.txt
 14 ntrance says: "Give up your life for the sake of our dear leader Kim Jong-Il." Human Rights Watch estimates that th CNNEE_46.txt
 15 ntrance says: "Give up your life for the sake of our dear leader Kim Jong-Il." Human Rights Watch estimates that th CNNEE_49.txt
 16 ntrance says: "Give up your life for the sake of our dear leader Kim Jong-Il." Human Rights Watch estimates that th CNNEE_40.txt
 17 ntrance says: "Give up your life for the sake of our dear leader Kim Jong-Il." Human Rights Watch estimates that th CNNEE_44.txt
 18 ntrance says: "Give up your life for the sake of our dear leader Kim Jong-Il." Human Rights Watch estimates that th CNNEE_41.txt
 19 all the people wait for our results, especially our dear leader Kim Jong-Il. He gives much care to athletes taking NYT_8.txt
 20 ically waving banners, happy citizens or the ship of Dear Leader Kim Jong-Il forging its way through stormy seas. T NWE_10.txt
 21 he great leader, the great Kim Il Son, the father of dear leader Kim Jong-Il. A commercial photographer is on hand, CNNEE_40.txt
 22 spend his days with another egomaniacal narcissist, Dear Leader Kim Jong-Il, and get a real taste of what a countr NYT_17.txt
 23 gest national holiday is the birthday of its leader, Dear Leader Kim Jong-il. And it was today. In the NK capital, CNNEE_55.txt
 24 al that's made with NK is ultimately a deal with its dear leader Kim Jong-il. So who is he? A closer look ahead on CNNEE_55.txt
 25 . When he died in 1994, his son, Kim Jong-il, became Dear Leader. Kim Jong-il, 67, is believed to have suffered a s NYT_88.txt
 26 must hand over triplets for the state to raise, and Dear Leader Kim Jong-Il rules less as a Communist than as a tr NYT_68.txt
 27 ill one million people, including 100,000 Americans. Dear Leader Kim Jong-Il may also feel that the focus on Iraq g NYT_31.txt
 28 ily positive about engagement with the south. 'The Great Leader Kim Jong-Il warmly greeted President Kim Dae-Jung NYT_13.txt
 29 ed to serve the great President Kim Il-sung and the great leader Kim Jong-il.... Now we also have the honor of serv NYT_99.txt
 30 ul socialist state under the wise leadership of the Great Leader Kim Jong-Il.' Although NK has almost no credibili NYT_3.txt
 31 arried live by SK's four television networks. 'Our Great Leader Kim Jong-Il allowed us to study, and we are doing NYT_26.txt
 32 ma visited the zone. Her report: A huge portrait of great Leader Kim Jong-Il greets us at the border inspection are NWE_16.txt
 33 a worse place than NK to be in the IT business. Let Great Leader Kim Jong-Il enthuse all he wants about the prospec NWE_15.txt
 34 yongyang, NK, a choreographed show of affection for great leader Kim Jong-Il on his 63rd birthday. The diplomatic d CNNEE_34.txt

Concordance 10. A snapshot of extended concordance lines which feature 'dear/great leader Kim'

In many instances, ‘Dear Leader’ and ‘Great Leader’ (Concordance 12 below) appear to be used sarcastically. For instance, in ‘NK’s reclusive “Great Leader,” Kim Jong Il...’, the disjuncture between ‘reclusive’ and ‘Great Leader’ results in the creation of contradictory images. Similarly, lines such as ‘...egomaniacal narcissist, Dear Leader Kim Jong Il...’, ‘...the North’s fairly loopy dear leader, Kim Jong Il...’ signal sarcasm on the part of the reporter/news source. A similar ironic effect is evident in other discursive patterns, such as ‘secretive leader’ and ‘unpredictable leader’.⁹³ It seems, therefore, that the way in which Kim Jong Il is painted by the US media is neither positive nor neutral, but mainly negative. Indeed, the data features even more damning expressions, such as ‘the devil Kim Jong Il’ (line 5) and ‘the crazy Kim Jong Il’ (line 4), as shown in Concordance 11.

⁹³ More detailed analysis is given in the following chapter (Chapter Six).

N	Concordance	File
1	reat. It's clearly a threat, but not as big a threat as Kim Jong-il would like others to believe -- Lou. DOBBS	CNNEE_44.txt
2	in, for example, emerges as a villain almost as evil as Kim Jong-Il. Sean Penn and Danny Glover take up arms t	NYT_54.txt
3	suggested that the USA and China gang up on the crazed Kim Jong-Il to force a regime change. Even as the cons	NYT_42.txt
4	. Will China help take out the threat that is the crazy Kim Jong-Il? (COMMERCIAL BREAK) (BEGIN VIDEO CLIP) BEC	CNNEE_50.txt
5	spread the Gospel. ''NK, which is occupied by the devil Kim Jong-Il, is the biggest target of our missionary w	NYT_56.txt
6	eave office without limiting power of volatile dictator Kim Jong-Il, who boasts of having nuclear arsenal; rej	NYT_68.txt
7	ctable government led by a very unpredictable dictator, Kim Jong-Il. That scares a lot of people. But what do	CNNEE_33.txt
8	rview with Kim Jong-Nam, the eldest son of NKn disaster Kim Jong-Il. In April, Kim Jong-Il announced another s	CNNEE_72.txt
9	tion for themselves. They are ruled by this crazy fool, Kim Jong-il, who's sort of a cross between Caligula an	CNNEE_44.txt
10	was only slightly more visible than NK's famous hermit, Kim Jong-Il, when the Korean leader toured China's cra	NYT_22.txt
11	he divided peninsula, giving NK's unpredictable leader, Kim Jong-Il, enough face and financial incentive to fo	NYT_20.txt
12	eal, it seems, is with NK and its unpredictable leader, Kim Jong-il. CHRISTOPHER HILL, USA ASSISTANT SECRETARY	CNNEE_57.txt
13	ing more dialogue with NK and its unpredictable leader, Kim Jong-Il? ALVAREZ: Well, I think the options that f	CNNEE_21.txt
14	he world's most closed cultures and its strange leader, Kim Jong-Il. Video voyeurs, the explosive growth of we	CNNEE_45.txt
15	would be permitted to meet the nation's shadowy leader, Kim Jong-Il, to offer an American proposal to lift eco	NYT_6.txt
16	what it called recent footage of the secretive leader. Kim Jong-il reportedly suffered a stroke this past Aug	CNNEE_69.txt
17	area. And there is new video of NK's reclusive leader, Kim Jong-Il. He looked in pretty good health as he wen	CNNEE_77.txt
18	idn't care.'' In the last month, NK's reclusive leader, Kim Jong-Il, has made historic overtures to the outsid	NYT_13.txt
19	n missile defense. Now comes NK's ever-eccentric leader Kim Jong-Il. Bush officials hope Putin will encourage	NWE_15.txt
20	ence -- without provoking the country's erratic leader, Kim Jong-il, to launch new attacks. ''There have to be	NYT_96.txt
21	is so especially dangerous is that NK's erratic leader, Kim Jong-il, is in a power struggle to ensure that his	NYT_95.txt
22	what he knows about the reclusive and eccentric leader, Kim Jong-Il. This hour, his unique insight into the NK	CNNEE_80.txt
23	mmit in Pyongyang last June with NK's eccentric leader, Kim Jong-Il. Last week the opening extended all the wa	NWE_16.txt
24	ssiles and Oscars last week with NK's eccentric leader, Kim Jong-Il, a less-ballyhooed delegation from one of	NYT_16.txt
25	e this week, Evan Thomas profiles NK's eccentric leader Kim Jong-Il, a man who may seem like a buffoon out of	NWE_15.txt
26	can imagine what the North's fairly loopy dear leader, Kim Jong-Il, will do next. Whatever, we should probabl	CNNEE_12.txt
27	s days with another egomaniacal narcissist, Dear Leader Kim Jong-Il, and get a real taste of what a country th	NYT_17.txt

Concordance 11. A snapshot of concordance lines of 'Kim Jong Il' which particularly feature negative expressions

N	Concordance	File
1	people breathing. Then, suddenly, in walked Albright and Kim Jong-Il, the Mao-suited "Great Leader" of this com	NWE_16.txt
2	ent power within a family dynasty, NK formally anointed Kim Jong-Il as its "'Great Leader.'" Page 16. Iran War	NYT_3.txt
3	facing the statements by saying, "'Great leader Comrade Kim Jong-Il pointed out as follows.'" Paik Hak Sun, th	NYT_39.txt
4	ook at the great leader -- that's what they call him -- Kim Jong-Il. First, just about 22 minutes past the hou	CNNEE_36.txt
5	g's "Sunshine Policy." The more promises "Great Leader" Kim Jong-Il has broken, the higher Lee's popularity ha	NWE_15.txt
6	ing its own breaking point. Not only has "Great Leader" Kim Jong-Il failed to deliver promised road and rail l	NWE_15.txt
7	ist state under the wise leadership of the Great Leader Kim Jong-Il.'" Although NK has almost no credibility a	NYT_3.txt
8	reme commander," meaning NK's reclusive "Great Leader," Kim Jong-Il. The subtext, in case you missed it, is a	NWE_14.txt
9	a famous victory for the regime of NK's "Great Leader," Kim Jong-Il, whose father, Kim Il-Sung, ordered the se	NWE_14.txt
10	ve by SK's four television networks. "'Our Great Leader Kim Jong-Il allowed us to study, and we are doing very	NYT_26.txt
11	cessed seafood unaccompanied by tales of "Great Leader" Kim Jong-Il's boundless glories. Has NK changed its tu	NWE_13.txt
12	sistance. His obvious intention: to warn "Great Leader" Kim Jong-Il not to declare NK a nuclear power. Two day	NWE_14.txt
13	nce experts who track the whereabouts of "Great Leader" Kim Jong-Il say NK's shadowy strongman hasn't appeared	NWE_14.txt
14	ive about engagement with the south. "'The Great Leader Kim Jong-Il warmly greeted President Kim Dae-Jung at t	NYT_13.txt
15	d the zone. Her report: A huge portrait of great Leader Kim Jong-Il greets us at the border inspection area as	NWE_16.txt
16	iting its noodles and all good things to "Great Leader" Kim Jong-Il. Noodles, yes, but Northern propaganda is	NWE_16.txt
17	talks with the regime of NK's reclusive "Great Leader," Kim Jong-Il, though Kim himself refused to meet with P	NWE_16.txt
18	lace than NK to be in the IT business. Let Great Leader Kim Jong-Il enthuse all he wants about the prospects f	NWE_15.txt
19	NK, a choreographed show of affection for great leader Kim Jong-Il on his 63rd birthday. The diplomatic dance	CNNEE_34.txt
20	ve the great President Kim Il-sung and the great leader Kim Jong-il.... Now we also have the honor of serving	NYT_99.txt
21	ery powerful colors. And why? Because the great leader, Kim Jong-Il, said we are in paradise. So the color mus	CNNEE_23.txt
22	ithin a family dynasty, as it formally anointed Marshal Kim Jong-Il as its "'Great Leader'" and chairman of an	NYT_3.txt
23	t power within a family dynasty, as it anointed Marshal Kim Jong-Il as its "'Great Leader'" and head of an exp	NYT_3.txt
24	tonium rods.) Let us, then, drop Dear Leader in mocking Kim Jong-Il and instead call him Great Leader, with a	NYT_37.txt
25	w, is somewhat problematic, at least in the case of NK. Kim Jong-Il, their great leader, their dear leader, is	CNNEE_15.txt
26	, of the "Great Leader," as Kim is known to his people. Kim Jong-Il is a movie fan. He once said that if he ha	NWE_15.txt
27	ance, wine and pancakes -- received a surprise visitor: Kim Jong-Il, known in his country as Great Leader. Bri	NYT_26.txt
28	t-elect said he was eager to hold a summit meeting with Kim Jong-Il, NK's former Dear Leader and present Great	NYT_36.txt

Concordance 12. A full set of the concordance lines of 'leader Kim' which feature 'Great'

(b) Patterns associated with ‘dictator Kim Jong Il’

‘Dictator’ is another word used to refer to Kim Jong Il. Out of 7,446 concordance lines, 180 lines of ‘Dictator Kim Jong Il’ were found. The pattern is found across the entire corpus, but *CNN* features ‘dictator Kim Jong Il’ more frequently than other news outlets. Out of 180 concordance lines of ‘Dictator Kim Jong Il’, 94 are from *CNN*, 46 are from *Newsweek*, and forty are from the *NYT*. If we take the total size of the *Newsweek* corpus (1,707,376 tokens) and the *NYT* corpus (7,363,431 tokens) into consideration, the prevalence of this pattern in *Newsweek* becomes evident.⁹⁴ That is *Newsweek* returns more concordance lines of the phrase than *NYT* despite its relatively small number of tokens compared with *NYT*.

‘dictator’	News outlets	Number of concordance lines
	<i>CNN</i>	94
	<i>Newsweek</i>	46
	<i>NYT</i>	40

Table 10. ‘Dictator’, referring to Kim Jong Il, as used by each news outlet in the study

⁹⁴ The total size of the *CNN* corpus is 59,929,368 tokens.

N	Concordance	File
1	n Monday when CNN reported that officials close to NK's dictator Kim Jong-Il had expressed optimism that a dip	NYT_8.txt
2	R Myers Op-Ed article argues that letting North Korea's dictator Kim Jong-il get away with aggression will onl	NYT_101.txt
3	CHETRY: There's also been a sighting of NK's reclusive dictator Kim Jong-Il. NK's state media releasing this	CNNEE_69.txt
4	an't we? (END VIDEOTAPE) PHILLIPS: Well, NK's reclusive dictator Kim Jong-il may be on one of his extremely ra	CNNEE_41.txt
5	e regime had detonated a nuclear device. NK's reclusive dictator Kim Jong-Il had warned the world of a test, b	CNNEE_49.txt
6	im the Nobel Peace Prize and helped legitimize Northern dictator Kim Jong-Il as a viable partner for talks. Th	NWE_14.txt
7	to the Far East city of Vladivostok for talks with NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il, who recently arrived on his priv	NWE_15.txt
8	red across the 38th parallel last week to meet with NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il. The visit, the tycoon's second t	NWE_16.txt
9	certain lines in a joint declaration he signed with NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il at a summit meeting in Pyongyang	NWE_15.txt
10	olated nation has just escalated. Over the weekend, NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il, who really does have weapons of	CNNEE_36.txt
11	yang has not yet opened it to the public. Why wait? NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il has said that the three great foo	NWE_13.txt
12	president there at the end, of course, referring to NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il. Mr. Bush declaring the dictator	CNNEE_45.txt
13	ll to come, the man behind this missile crisis, the NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il, one of the most mysterious leade	CNNEE_44.txt
14	morrow. Seoul, SK. A protester burns a photo of the NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il. Northern Thailand. Flash floods	CNNEE_49.txt
15	round the world saving everyone from terrorism. The NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il is the principal villain, peddlin	NYT_54.txt
16	s not want to be drawn in to a tit-for-tat with the NKn dictator Kim Jong-il. Instead, he wants to let lower l	CNNEE_44.txt
17	al Wendy Sherman intones that perhaps, by 2000, the NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il had really and truly decided to '	NYT_45.txt
18	heinous rogue nations in the world, propping up the NKn dictator Kim Jong-il, embracing the anti-USA rhetoric	CNNEE_42.txt
19	e nation's largest celebration ever in front of the NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il and his son, who the USA believes	CNNEE_83.txt
20	USA and Japan have shared a common assessment that NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il's wife has died of illness,' ' Cho	NYT_54.txt
21	e only ones piling into Pyongyang these days. Since NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il began a program of pseudo-reforms	NWE_9.txt
22	All Rights Reserved. American and SKn officials say NKn dictator Kim Jong-il appears to have designated his yo	NYT_88.txt
23	se President Hu Jintao, spoke of the need for rogue NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il to "hear a common voice." So now,	NWE_13.txt
24	White House inches closer to loosening sanctions on NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il in exchange for giving up his nuc	CNNEE_62.txt
25	elcoming SKn industrialists to invest in the North. NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il remains a diplomatic recluse, but	NWE_16.txt
26	makes a canny comparison between Jim Traficant and NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il. You'll see why in a minute. (COM	CNNEE_13.txt
27	itz Report: NK's Latest Deadly Weapon Moments after NKn dictator Kim Jong-Il used his weekly radio address to	NWE_12.txt
28	oes forward, would further isolate NK and its communist dictator Kim Jong-Il. Meanwhile, President Bush is aga	CNNEE_43.txt
29	unches are the latest challenge to the USA by communist dictator Kim Jong-il. The launch is a part of NK's agg	CNNEE_44.txt
30	ce of their next leader, Kim Jong-Un, son of the ailing dictator Kim Jong-Il. For all the small changes we've	CNNEE_84.txt

Concordance 13. A snapshot of concordance lines of 'Kim Jong Il' which feature 'dictator'

(c) Patterns associated with ‘President Kim Jong Il’

Out of 7,446 concordance lines of ‘Kim Jong Il’, he is referred to as the ‘President’ (including ‘President’ and ‘Pres’, the shorter form of ‘President’) in 120 instances (2%). Of these 120 instances, 55 concordance lines are from *CNN*, 57 from *NYT*, and only eight from *Newsweek*.

The use of ‘President’	News outlets	Number of concordance lines
	<i>NYT</i>	57
	<i>CNN</i>	55
	<i>Newsweek</i>	8

Table 11. Frequency of ‘President’, referring to Kim Jong Il, across all the news outlets in the study

Table 12 reveals *Newsweek*’s sparing use of ‘president’ in referring to Kim Jong Il. This contrasts with the findings of the previous analysis of ‘dictator Kim Jong Il’, which featured in *CNN* and *Newsweek* more frequently. *NYT*, on the other hand, shows more instances of ‘President’ than ‘Dictator’.

	Number of instances		
	<i>CNN</i>	<i>Newsweek</i>	<i>NYT</i>
dictator	94 (52%)	46 (26%)	40 (22%)
President	55 (46%)	8 (7%)	57 (47%)

Table 12. Comparison of each news outlet’s use of ‘dictator’ and ‘President’, referring to Kim Jong Il

N

Concordance

File

2 onday, President Clinton flew to NK, met with President Kim Jong-Il for more than an hour, followed by a two-h
 3 ls question whether the NK military, on whom President Kim Jong-Il depends to exercise power in the Stalinist
 4 about the ''brutal dictatorship'' of NK under President Kim Jong-Il. ''I recognize that I violated the law,''
 5 o be suffering any deprivation in training. ''President Kim Jong-Il pays special attention to the team and sup
 6 officials as the civilian official closest to President Kim Jong-Il, the son of the North's late founder, Kim
 7 nded that morning with an explicit warning to President Kim Jong-il that ''transfer of nuclear weapons or mate
 8 is view, nothing perhaps is more important to President Kim Jong-Il's rule than furthering a view of the outsi
 9 n NK's response to a proposal, in a letter to President Kim Jong-Il from President Clinton, that it abandon it
 10 the next hour. The USA stands by its offer to President Kim Jong-Il. Envoy Christopher Hill says one-on-one ta
 11 ORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE USA: I said to President Kim Jong-il as to whether not we're able to sign a pea
 12 ORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE USA: I said to President Kim Jong-il as to whether or not we're able to sign a
 13 today to celebrate the re-election of their president, Kim Jong-Il. Yesterday, the reclusive leader appeared
 14 that they harbored ''increasing doubts'' that President Kim Jong-Il's government was ready to give up its nucl
 15 d intelligence officials said, were some that President Kim Jong-il and other leaders used to buy the loyalty
 16 ies, arms traders and the leaders surrounding President Kim Jong-il. ''This was the first thing we ever did th
 17 d. When he did have that summit with the SKn president, Kim Jong-il -- Kim Dae- jung five years ago, it opened
 18 a lot of people are speculating is that NK's President, Kim Jong-Il, will supposedly make his son his predeces
 19 Bush has toned down his comments about NK's president, Kim Jong-Il, whom he called a ''tyrant'' in the spring
 20 hing right now here in the CNN NEWSROOM. NK's President Kim Jong-Il says he's open to multinational talks on h
 21 n for another 40 minutes. NGUYEN: Well, NK's president, Kim Jong-Il, makes a rare public appearance. I want yo
 22 rever that may be, to make that happen. NK's President, Kim Jong-Il has indicated he will see any such activit
 23 rever that may be, to make that happen. NK's president, Kim Jong-Il, has indicated he will see any such activi
 24 ing at some of the candidates. Tonight, NK's president, Kim Jong-Il. (BEGIN VIDEOTAPE) UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE (vo
 25 dictators,'' Mr. Bush said, speaking of NK's president, Kim Jong-Il, and Iran's mullahs. He said he would cont
 26): Only days after President Bush warned NK's President Kim Jong-Il against nuclear blackmail, Secretary of St
 27): Only days after President Bush warned NK's President Kim Jong-Il against nuclear blackmail, Secretary of St
 28 who is controlling the country, after reports President Kim Jong-il suffered a stroke. Document NYTF0000200809
 29 turning from a summit in NK. He and reclusive president Kim Jong-il reaching a wide ranging reconciliation dea
 30 turning from a summit in NK. He and reclusive President Kim Jong-il reaching a wide-ranging reconciliation dea

CNNEE_75.txt
 NYT_9.txt
 NYT_46.txt
 NYT_7.txt
 NYT_7.txt
 NYT_75.txt
 NYT_8.txt
 NYT_6.txt
 CNNEE_45.txt
 CNNEE_59.txt
 CNNEE_59.txt
 CNNEE_69.txt
 NYT_61.txt
 NYT_75.txt
 NYT_75.txt
 CNNEE_38.txt
 CNNEE_83.txt
 NYT_62.txt
 CNNEE_76.txt
 CNNEE_80.txt
 CNNEE_73.txt
 CNNEE_73.txt
 CNNEE_53.txt
 NYT_54.txt
 CNNEE_19.txt
 CNNEE_19.txt
 NYT_83.txt
 CNNEE_59.txt
 CNNEE_59.txt

Concordance 14. A snapshot of concordance lines of 'President/Pres Kim Jong Il'

5.4.4 Kim Dae Jung (the former President of South Korea)

Kim Dae Jung was the President of South Korea between 1998 and 2003. His foreign policy, especially towards North Korea, was known as the ‘sunshine policy’, the name originating from an Aesop fable – *The North Wind and the Sun*. This policy, which was the mainstay of national security during his term of office, was aimed at achieving peace on the Korean peninsula through reconciliation and cooperation by easing North-South tensions. Although some critics questioned its efficacy, portraying it as a one-sided love affair, it indeed enabled both sides to commence the Inter-Korea Summit Talks of 2000. As a result of the sunshine policy, between 1998 and 2008 (until a South Korean woman was shot by a North Korean soldier), South Koreans were allowed to visit the Geumgangsan tourist region in North Korea; a series of meetings between divided families were held starting in 2000; and Kim Dae Jung won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000.

The corpus features a total of 1,273 concordance lines of ‘Kim Dae Jung’. A close examination was also manually carried out prior to the analysis, since some concordance lines feature Kim Jong Il and Kim Dae Jung together, where the former is referred to as a ‘leader’ and the latter as the ‘President’, e.g. ‘...SKn Pres Kim Dae Jung warns NKn leader...’. The most common collocates of ‘Kim Dae Jung’ are ‘President’ and ‘Pres’. Kim Dae Jung is referred to as ‘President’ 801 times out of 1,273, and as ‘Pres’, the short form of ‘President’, 79 times. Hence, Kim Dae Jung is described as President a total of 880 times, accounting for 69% of all occurrences. By contrast, there are only 25 concordance lines of ‘leader Kim Dae Jung’. While Kim Jong Il is described as ‘dictator’ and ‘leader’, the late South Korean president Kim Dae Jung is more frequently referred to as the ‘south Korean President’, or the ‘former south Korean President’, as shown in Concordance 15 and Concordance 16.

N	Concordance	File
1	f the ''sunshine policy'' initiated by former President Kim Dae-jung, who dropped the stance of utter hostilit	NYT_71.txt
2	nd last week Roh pardoned six aides to former president Kim Dae-Jung who were convicted of funneling some \$500	NWE_13.txt
3	e 1990's to the ''sunshine policy'' of former President Kim Dae-jung, who won a Nobel Peace Prize for his work	NYT_70.txt
4	ompany SEOUL, SK, April 5 -- When the former president, Kim Dae-Jung, was last seen in public, it was a chilly	NYT_41.txt
5	began even before Roh took power. When former president Kim Dae-Jung took office five years ago amid the Asian	NWE_14.txt
6	enced Park Jie Won, chief of staff for former President Kim Dae-Jung, to 12 years in prison for bribing NK bef	NYT_48.txt
7	ad relations between NK and the USA, '' former President Kim Dae-jung, the architect of the engagement policy,	NYT_70.txt
8	They've done just that: under Roh and former president Kim Dae-Jung, the government has distanced itself from	NWE_11.txt
9	changes on the Korean Peninsula. Since former president Kim Dae-Jung started the so-called Sunshine Policy of	NWE_12.txt
10	changes on the Korean Peninsula. Since former president Kim Dae-Jung started the so-called Sunshine Policy of	NWE_12.txt
11	he Sunshine Policy. That's the term of former President Kim Dae-jung's program of reconciliation, engagement a	CNNEE_19.txt
12	he Sunshine Policy, that's the term of former President Kim Dae-Jung's program of reconciliation, engagement a	CNNEE_20.txt
13	ey began taking shape especially under former President Kim Dae-Jung's policy of rapprochement with the North,	NYT_44.txt
14	gruntled MDP lawmakers remain loyal to former president Kim Dae-Jung, Roh's erstwhile mentor. Kim was moderate	NWE_14.txt
15	oy and test its missiles. Today, SK's former president, Kim Dae-Jung, postponed a planned meeting with NKn lea	CNNEE_43.txt
16	Seoul on Friday to pay its respects to former President Kim Dae-jung of SK. Mr. Kim, a champion of inter-Korea	NYT_90.txt
17	m.'' [Because of the current tensions, former President Kim Dae-Jung of SK, who orchestrated an unprecedented	NYT_67.txt
18	SK held a state funeral on Sunday for former President Kim Dae-jung, NKn delegates wrapped up their visit to	NYT_90.txt
19	on and Lim Dong Won, top aides to the former president, Kim Dae-Jung, left, who spearheaded a drive for reconc	NYT_44.txt
20	the architect of the Sunshine Policy, former president Kim Dae-Jung, heads to Pyongyang for a much-heralded t	NWE_11.txt
21	se. A3 Inquiry in SK Many top aides of former President Kim Dae-Jung have been legally barred from leaving SK,	NYT_41.txt
22	two liberal predecessors, Mr. Roh and former President Kim Dae-jung. During his election campaign, Mr. Lee cr	NYT_87.txt
23	under the ''sunshine policy'' of SK's former president, Kim Dae-Jung. Before, merely playing a NKn song in the	NYT_51.txt
24	into circumstances of meeting between former President Kim Dae-Jung and NK's Kim Jong II in spite of pressure	NYT_40.txt
25	itical and economic capital in NK. The former president Kim Dae-Jung always proceed a policy that's known as t	CNNEE_46.txt

Concordance 15. A snapshot of concordance lines of 'Kim Dae Jung' which include 'former President'

N	Concordance	File
1	Col. 1 English c. 2002 New York Times Company SKn Pres Kim Dae-Jung wins Japanese support for stronger policy	NYT_27.txt
2	Col. 3 English c. 2003 New York Times Company SKn Pres Kim Dae-Jung, whose term ends Feb 25, apologizes to hi	NYT_38.txt
3	on is more pressure; says US should learn from SKn Pres Kim Dae-Jung, who pioneered 'sunshine policy,' offerin	NYT_24.txt
4	e intentions and complicated challenges facing SKn Pres Kim Dae-Jung, who has been trying to coax North from co	NYT_18.txt
5	Col. 5 English c. 2002 New York Times Company SKn Pres Kim Dae-Jung warns NKn leader, Kim Jong-Il, that USA i	NYT_26.txt
6	h, despite USA warnings; is scrambling to urge SKn Pres Kim Dae-Jung to resist growing political pressure in S	NYT_7.txt
7	rst in opposition parties and then in party of SKn Pres Kim Dae-Jung, signals Kim's once formidable powers are	NYT_23.txt
8	cle, which erroneously attributed to Pres Bush SKn Pres Kim Dae-Jung's comment calling NK's reactivating of id	NYT_33.txt
9	h c. 2000 New York Times Company Excerpts from SKn Pres Kim Dae-Jung's acceptance speech for his Nobel Peace P	NYT_17.txt
10	Col. 1 English c. 2001 New York Times Company SKn Pres Kim Dae-Jung returns from first meeting with Pres Geor	NYT_19.txt
11	Col. 5 English (c) 1998 New York Times Company SKn Pres Kim Dae-Jung proposes joint investigation with NK into	NYT_2.txt
12	p convince NKn leader Kim Jong-Il to meet with SKn Pres Kim Dae-Jung in June 2000; Chung Mong Hon, who is lead	NYT_37.txt
13	rsuade its leader, Kim Jong-Il, to play host to SK Pres Kim Dae-Jung in June 2000 (S) Document nyta00002002122	NYT_29.txt
14	ol. 1 English (c) 2001 New York Times Company SK's Pres Kim Dae-Jung struggles to rebuild government after mas	NYT_22.txt
15	ol. 1 English (c) 1999 New York Times Company SK's Pres Kim Dae-Jung reshuffles Cabinet, replacing 11 of 18 mi	NYT_6.txt
16	visits China this month, news conference with SK's Pres Kim Dae-Jung; holds appearing at site of deadly 1989 c	NYT_2.txt
17	000020010804dwac0007i News; International SKn President Kim Dae-jung Wins Nobel Peace Prize Sohn Jie-ae, Mike	CNNEE_2.txt
18	ze ceremony in Oslo later this month when SKn president Kim Dae-jung will be awarded this year's peace prize.	CNNEE_2.txt
19	ed moratorium on ballistic-missile tests. SKn President Kim Dae-Jung, whose "sunshine policy" toward the North	NWE_15.txt
20	're just repeating there, of course, that SKn president Kim Dae-jung, who was the favorite, has won the Nobel	CNNEE_2.txt
21	th at home and abroad. When Bush rebuffed SKn President Kim Dae-Jung, who had recently won the Nobel Peace Pri	NWE_15.txt
22	set the stage for a possible summit with SKn President Kim Dae-jung, who has proposed such a meeting. The Kor	CNNEE_1.txt
23	on their plans for missile defense. The SKn president, Kim Dae-Jung, who will meet with Mr. Bush on Wednesday	NYT_18.txt
24	ntial elections in December. The current SKn president, Kim Dae-Jung, who has staked his reputation on engagem	NYT_31.txt
25	s with NK -- to the embarrassment of the SKn president, Kim Dae-Jung, who was visiting Washington at the time.	NYT_19.txt
26	has damaged chances for that. He met with SKn President Kim Dae-Jung who has long pursued a so-called Sunshine	CNNEE_6.txt
27	The breakthrough was a sweet victory for SKn President Kim Dae-Jung, who has reached out to the North with a	NWE_16.txt
28	s made public to the press that - of the SKn president, Kim Dae-jung, was expected to make or send to NK befor	CNNEE_1-1.txt
29	ner of this year's Nobel prize for peace. SKn President Kim Dae-Jung was given the award Sunday in Oslo, Norwa	CNNEE_2.txt
30	Peace Prize last Friday, a former winner, SKn President Kim Dae-Jung, was feeling more like a loser. Earlier i	NWE_15.txt

Concordance 16. A snapshot of concordance lines of 'Kim Dae Jung' which feature 'President' (Pres)

Considering the total number of concordance lines of both ‘President’ and ‘leader’, it is clear that the three news outlets prefer to use ‘President’ (880 times) for Kim Dae Jung, rather than ‘leader’ (25 times).

The use of ‘President’	News outlets	Number of concordance lines	% of total occurrences
	<i>NYT</i>	571	65%
	<i>CNN</i>	236	27%
	<i>Newsweek</i>	73	8%

Table 13. The use of ‘President’, referring to Kim Dae Jung, across all news outlets in the study

The use of ‘leader’	News outlets	Number of concordance lines	% of total occurrences
	<i>CNN</i>	9	36%
	<i>Newsweek</i>	3	12%
	<i>NYT</i>	13	52%

Table 14. The use of ‘leader’, referring to Kim Dae Jung, across the all news outlets in the study

This contrasts with the findings of the analysis of Kim Jong Il. Ignoring concordance lines of his titles, ‘Great/Dear Leader’, returns 1,995 concordance lines of ‘leader Kim Jong Il’, accounting for 25% of the total occurrences, whilst only 120 concordance lines feature ‘President Kim Jong Il’, accounting for only 2%. ‘Leader’ is occasionally used to refer to Kim Dae Jung, but this use is very limited, featuring in only 25 concordance lines out of 12,733 (2%) of total occurrences.

	Kim Dae Jung	Kim Jong Il
leader	2% (25 occurrences out of 1,273)	27% (1,995 occurrences out of 7,446)
President	69% (880 occurrences out of 1,273)	2% (120 occurrences out of 7,446)

Table 15. The use of ‘leader’ and ‘President’, referring to Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Il

5.5 Concluding Remarks

This first analytical chapter offered an in-depth analysis of some patterns that are prevalent in the English corpus. The lexical item – ‘North Korea’ – and the full names of each individual ‘Kim’ were used as search words to generate collocate lists and

concordance lines in order to examine news discourses on North Korea and how the country and its leaders are presented in the US media. The analysis attempted to ensure that the different discourses on each ‘Kim’ – Kim Jong Il, the late leader of North Korea, Kim Il Sung, the founder of North Korea and the father of Kim Jong Il, Kim Jung Un and Kim Jung Nam, the sons of Kim Jong Il, and Kim Dae Jung, the former president of South Korea – are clearly distinguished from each other.

The analysis of collocate lists and concordance lines revealed that North Korea and Iran are closely associated in the reporting of three US news outlets (*CNN*, *Newsweek* and *NYT*), and that the US media divides the world into certain sets of countries based on their political leanings towards the US. Further analysis was undertaken in order to examine specific ways in which North Korea and Iran are projected in the US media outlets. This revealed some intriguing patterns in shaping discourses about the two countries. The analysis of the concordance lines confirms that US news media classify countries into certain groups, and, as evidenced from patterns such as ‘rogue countr*/state*/nation* like NK and/or/, Iran’, North Korea and Iran are constructed as ‘rogue’, dangerous countries and a source of threat to the ‘international community’. Patterns featuring a negative semantic prosody are more prevalent in *NYT* coverage, although other recurrent patterns with a negative import are found across the entire English corpus.

The analysis of ‘Kim’ reveals that the different discourses on each ‘Kim’ can be clearly distinguished from each other. The most frequent pattern was found to be ‘father Kim Il Sung’. Titles with very different connotations, such as ‘President Kim Il Sung’ and ‘Dictator Kim Il Sung’ also feature prominently: 58 concordance lines out of 761, accounting for 8% of total occurrences, and twenty instances out of 761, accounting for 3%, respectively.

Both ‘Great leader’ and ‘Dear leader’ are used to refer to Kim Jong Il, but they appear in quotation marks to indicate that they are borrowed. In addition, they are used in a sarcastic way, as evidenced by their occurrence in the vicinity of words that undermine their otherwise positive meaning – words such as ‘reclusive’, ‘loopy’ and ‘secretive’ (more detailed analysis will be given in Chapter Six). Like Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il is referred to as ‘dictator’ (180 times) and ‘President’ (120 times). However,

‘leader’ (1,995) is more frequently used than these two expressions. Meanwhile, ‘President’ is overwhelmingly used in referring to Kim Dae Jung (as opposed to Kim Jong Il): in the concordance lines of ‘Kim Dae Jung’, 69% feature ‘President’ and 2% ‘leader’; however, in the case of ‘Kim Jong Il’, only 2% of concordance lines feature ‘President’ and 27% feature ‘leader’. This suggests that the US media consider Kim Dae Jung to be the ‘President’, i.e. the *official* leader of a country, while, at the same time, they attempt to undermine Kim Jong Il by not bestowing on him the official title of ‘President’.

In terms of institution-specific patterns, *CNN* and the *NYT* seem to draw on similar patterns in reporting on North Korea. *CNN* uses negative terms, such as ‘dictator’, more sparingly when referring to Kim Il Sung and features 23 concordance lines of ‘President Kim Il Sung’, as opposed to only two lines of ‘dictator Kim Il Sung’. However, little difference was found in *CNN*’s use of ‘President’ and ‘dictator’ when referring to Kim Jong Il, i.e. 46% and 52% respectively. *NYT* showed a clear distinction in the use of ‘President’ and ‘dictator’ in both cases of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il. As to Kim Il Sung, it featured ‘President Kim Il Sung’ 35 times (60% of total occurrences) and only eleven concordance lines (20%) of ‘dictator Kim Il Sung’. For ‘Kim Jong Il’, it featured the use of ‘President Kim Jong Il’ 57 times (47%) and ‘dictator Kim Jong Il’ 40 times (22%).

The analysis of ‘Kim’ also revealed that *Newsweek* maintained a negative attitude towards the two late North Korean leaders, Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, by more frequent use of the term ‘Dictator’ than that of ‘President’. It referred to Kim Il Sung as a ‘dictator’ in seven out of twenty concordance lines, nearly 35% of total occurrences, whereas it did not use ‘President’ at all. Kim Jong Il is also described by *Newsweek* as ‘dictator’ 46 times, accounting for 26% of all occurrences, but as ‘President’ in only eight out of 120 concordance lines, accounting for 7% of all occurrences.

The next analytical chapter will offer an analysis of the translational corpus, which consists of texts originally written in English and their translations into Korean. The aim is to answer the research questions that relate to the English ST sub-corpus: (ii) what does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discourses on

North Korea elaborated in the subset of English texts selected as source texts for translation into Korean by *CNN Hangeul News* and *Newsweek Hangukpan*, (iv) to what extent are patterns identified in the English corpus, English ST sub-corpus and Korean TT sub-corpus institution-specific?, and (v) what does a CDA-informed analysis of concordance lines reveal about semantic prosodies and semantic preferences in the English corpus, English ST sub-corpus and Korean TT sub-corpus?

Chapter Six

Data Analysis II: the translational corpus

(English source texts)

This chapter presents an analysis of the first part of the translational corpus built for this study, which consists of the English source text (ST) sub-corpus and the Korean target text (TT) sub-corpus, as shown in Figure 8. The English ST sub-corpus, the focus of analysis in this chapter, consists of texts originally produced in English between 1998 and 2010 for *Newsweek* and between 2008 and 2010 for *CNN* that have been translated into Korean. The Korean TT sub-corpus comprises the translations of the English STs: these translations were published in *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News*. The aim in this chapter and Chapter Seven is to answer those aspects of the following research questions that relate to the translational corpus:

- (ii) What does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discourses on North Korea elaborated in the subset of English texts selected as source texts for translation into Korean by *CNN Hangeul News* and *Newsweek Hangukpan*?
- (iii) What does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discourses on North Korea elaborated in a corpus of the Korean translations published in *CNN Hangeul News* and *Newsweek Hangukpan*?
- (iv) To what extent are patterns identified in the English corpus, English ST sub-corpus and Korean TT sub-corpus institution-specific?
- (v) What does a CDA-informed analysis of concordance lines reveal about semantic prosodies and semantic preferences in the English corpus, English ST sub-corpus and Korean TT sub-corpus?
- (vi) What does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discursive shifts in the translated Korean texts?

This chapter also examines the extent to which the patterns that will be identified through the analysis of the English ST sub-corpus are different from those of the English corpus already identified in the previous chapter.

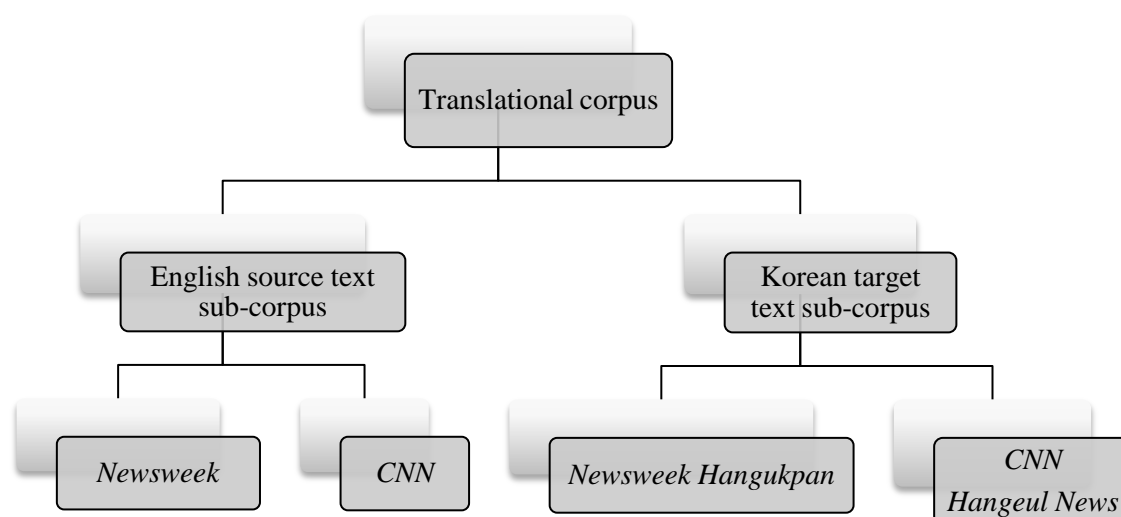


Figure 8. Translational corpus structure

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses of specific lexical items, including ‘North Korea’ and ‘Kim’, will be presented and discussed in depth on the basis of close examination of collocational profiles and expanded concordance lines. Attention will be given where relevant to semantic prosodies as an extension of examining collocational profiles. The English ST sub-corpus consists of 366,862 tokens and 20,995 types; the Korean TT sub-corpus consists of 260,282 tokens and 65,504 types.

The English ST sub-corpus overlaps with but is not a straightforward subset of the English corpus examined in Chapter Five. This requires some explanation. First of all, the translational corpus was developed by building a Korean TT sub-corpus first, and then the corresponding English STs were traced at each news outlet’s website to build the ST sub-corpus. In other words, the articles which constitute the English ST sub-corpus were not extracted from the English corpus but were identified separately once the Korean TTs were collected, primarily because of the way *CNN Hangeul News* provides access to its translations. *CNN Hangeul News* offers each Korean translation alongside its English ST, not by providing a link to the original news webpage but by setting up another webpage of their own where the original English STs are maintained.

Figure 9 below is a screenshot of *CNN Hangeul News* showing a Korean translation. There is a small button in the top right-hand corner of the figure

(highlighted with a square), which can be clicked to access the English ST of the article. Figure 10 shows the linked webpage, and, again, a link to the Korean TT is indicated by the small button in the top right-hand corner of the image. As can be seen from these figures, the webpage containing the English ST is not the corresponding webpage of *CNN*, but is a separately constructed page maintained by *CNN Hangeul News*. It would not have been productive to spend a great deal of time trying to locate the corresponding English STs in the English corpus or the *CNN* archives, given their ready availability through *CNN Hangeul News* links. I thus decided to build a *CNN* translational sub-corpus by taking the *CNN Hangeul News* website, rather than the *CNN (International)* website accessed through the Factiva program, as my point of reference, especially since many of the texts that constitute the English corpus were not selected as STs by the Korean publishers under examination.



Figure 9. A screenshot from *CNN Hangeul News*, where a Korean translation is provided



Figure 10. A screenshot of *CNN Hangeul News*, where an English ST is provided (The English ST of the Korean translation in Figure 9)

Second, for *Newsweek Hangukpan*, it was not possible to trace some English STs due to technical problems. The *Newsweek Hangukpan* website does not offer a service that enables the user to trace back the English ST; consequently, all articles had

to be revisited and checked to establish whether the text had been translated or not (more detailed explanations are given in Chapter Four). However, some of the texts that constitute the English ST sub-corpus could not be retrieved through Factiva, the program used to identify relevant texts to include in the English corpus, and could not be found at the *Newsweek* official website. In reply to a personal email communication (25 November 2011), *Newsweek* stated: “due to our digital version of the magazine being launched in 2012, there will be a limit to accessing the archives on our website”.⁹⁵ What they seem to mean by this is that, although access is available to all Korean translations via *Newsweek Hangukpan*, the STs are not always available for pre-2012 issues of the magazine. I therefore decided not to include the Korean translations where access to a ST proved difficult, which means that the inclusion of English STs is determined by the availability of their corresponding Korean translations, and vice versa.

It would have been possible to go back to the English corpus and include all the STs retrieved in the second step. However, this was not felt to be necessary, since the analysis in this chapter focuses on the discussion of shifts in the Korean translation. Arguably, these shifts begin with the selection of texts to be translated. The analysis of the STs in this chapter is thus part of the analysis of the Korean TTs, and is not intended to compare the English ST sub-corpus with the English corpus as an end in itself. With the partial overlap between the two acknowledged, then, the main point to note is that the English ST sub-corpus is not treated as a sub-set of the English corpus analysed in the previous chapter.

To sum up, the English ST sub-corpus consists of all texts featuring in *Newsweek* and *CNN* that include the words ‘North Korea’, published during the period either between 2008 and 2010 (*CNN Hangeul News*) or between 1998 and 2010 (*Newsweek Hangukpan*), which have Korean translations published in *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News*, with the exception of STs which could not be retrieved, as explained above. All accessible news reports published during the relevant periods that have Korean translations featuring ‘North Korea’ are thus included in the current corpus, regardless of their topics – i.e. political and sports reports, editorials and readers’ letters. The *Newsweek* sub-corpus consists of 302 articles, with a total size of

⁹⁵ The relevant part of the email communication can be found in appendix I.

313,997 tokens and 20,108 types. In terms of the *CNN Hangeul News* corpus, because of limited access to that database as mentioned in Chapter Four, and as explained above, the corpus contains 171 articles, covering the period from October 2008 to December 2010, with a total size of 52,865 tokens and 5,701 types.

For the sake of consistency, the same steps as appear in the analysis of the English corpus in Chapter Five are followed in the analysis of the collocate list and concordance lines. WordSmith Tools, already used in the analysis of the English corpus in Chapter Five, is also employed here in order to generate a collocate list and concordances, and, as in the analysis of the English corpus in Chapter Five, the lexical item – ‘North Korea’ – and the full surname of the leaders of North Korea and South Korea were used as search words. These items have been selected on the grounds that the current research attempts to examine news discourse on North Korea, and how the country and its leaders are represented in the US media, in order to establish the extent to which patterns and collocational profiles identified in the analysis of the English ST sub-corpus overlap with or deviate from those identified in the analysis of the English corpus, as a prelude to discussing potential shifts in the Korean translations and their significance.

6.1 Collocates of ‘North Korea’

A collocate list and concordance lines were generated with ‘NK’ (North Korea) as a search word. The default settings for the collocate list and concordance functions – namely, the ‘stop at sentence break’ function which limits the search for collocates within the sentence boundary and five as the minimum frequency – were maintained. This returned 2,237 concordance lines. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the software program (WordSmith 5.0) breaks down multi-unit lexical items and presents them separately in the word and collocate lists; thus, in order to determine the relationship score, all instances of ‘North Korea’ were manually replaced with ‘NK’ in the collocate list, as described in the previous chapter. ‘United States’/‘U.S.’ and ‘United Nations’/‘U.N’ were also replaced with ‘USA’ and ‘UN’ respectively. Furthermore, ‘DPRK’ (Democratic People’s Republic of Korea) was also manually changed to ‘NK’, and ‘Republic of Korea’ into ‘SK’.

The same process was carried out as in the previous chapter in order to reduce the collocate list to a manageable size. The function words that were removed from the collocate list in the previous chapter were also removed for the purposes of the current analysis; these included 48 function words, including articles, prepositions, relative pronouns and demonstratives. The same statistical technique (DC: Dice-Coefficient) was used in order to produce a relational score that trims the list down by showing stronger collocates at the top and weaker ones at the bottom of the list.

All these processes returned 553 collocates, ordered according to the strength of the collocation. The top three hundred items on the collocate list were selected for analysis, in order to be consistent with the analysis in Chapter Five. Although the top three hundred items appearing on the collocate list may be categorised into a number of groups semantically, as they were in the analysis of the English corpus, this study specifically focuses on the ‘countries and cities’ set because of the following reasons. First, the choice is consistent with the CDA framework adopted in this study, which is particularly concerned with how groups and individuals are constructed by and described in the media. Second, it is important to maintain consistency with the examination of the collocational profiles of the English corpus, where countries and cities were also selected for examination. And third, this consistency would allow me to investigate the extent to which the collocational profiles of the English ST sub-corpus differ from those of the English corpus, as a preliminary step to comparing the Korean TT and English ST sub-corpora.

Table 16 lists countries and cities that appear in the top three hundred collocate list of both the English ST sub-corpus and the English corpus, ordered according to the relation score. In terms of the English ST sub-corpus, the table displays a number of different countries, including Iran and Iraq. Note that ‘Pyongyang’ is relocated to appear directly under ‘NK’ for ease of reference and analysis, and to maintain consistency with the procedures adopted in Chapter Five. The same applies to ‘Washington’ and ‘American’ (USA); ‘Seoul’, ‘SKN’ and ‘Yeonpyeong’ (SK); ‘Chinese’ and ‘Beijing’ (China); and ‘Japanese’ (Japan), respectively.

The collocate list of the English ST sub-corpus reveals that North Korea strongly collocates with ‘USA’, ‘SK’ (South Korea), ‘China’ and ‘Iran’. As in the previous

analysis of the English corpus, the items appearing in the collocate list can be broken down into two sets: one consisting of countries that may reasonably be expected to appear as strong collocates of North Korea and the other consisting of countries that would not normally be expected to appear as strong collocates of North Korea. This latter group is not connected to North Korea historically, geographically, culturally or politically.

To summarise the situation as explained in Chapter Five: the appearance of 'USA' as the second most significant collocate of North Korea is to be expected given that the data consists of US TV programmes, newspapers and magazines which would naturally present events from the perspective of the US. China is frequently associated with North Korea because, along with South Korea and Japan, it is the main East Asian diplomatic player involved in negotiations with North Korea. Geographically, too, China is situated very close to and shares a border with North Korea. The appearance of 'South Korea' in a prominent position on the collocate list is no surprise, in that it is South Korea, more so than the US and China, that is most directly affected by any developments in North Korea, since South Korea is heavily influenced by events in North Korea geographically, politically and economically. And given the long history of conflict between North Korea and Japan (e.g. North Korea's kidnapping of a number of Japanese citizens between 1977 and 1983), Japan's appearance in a relatively high position on the collocate list is also to be expected, as is the appearance of Russia given its close geographical and political relations with North Korea. By contrast, the other set of countries – Iran, Iraq, Libya and Pakistan – have little in common with North Korea compared to the first set. There is no history of close ties nor of conflict or political disagreement between North Korea and either Iraq, Iran Libya or Pakistan. One common point that these countries share is that each country has a history of conflict to a lesser or greater extent with the US.

N	English Corpus			English ST sub-corpus		
	Word	Relation	Total	Word	Relation	Total
1	NK PYONGYANG	1.015 0.014	86,350 629	NK PYONGYANG YONGBYON	0.999 0.017 0.006	2,234 27 7
2	IRAN	0.084	5,464	USA WASHINGTON AMERICAN	0.061 0.019 0.015	120 27 19
3	USA AMERICAN WASHINGTON	0.039 0.013 0.007	5,066 1,007 440	SK SEOUL SKN YEONPYEONG	0.059 0.029 0.023 0.008	87 38 32 9
4	CHINA CHINESE BEIJING	0.038 0.007 0.007	2,309 366 319	CHINA CHINESE BEIJING	0.057 0.009 0.010	95 12 13
5	IRAQ	0.031	2,849	IRAN	0.051	66
6	SK SKN SEOUL	0.030 0.009 0.008	1,550 442 387	JAPAN JAPANESE	0.025 0.008	34 10
7	JAPAN JAPANESE	0.020 0.006	1,007 293	IRAQ	0.023	32
8	LIBYA	0.014	613	RUSSIA	0.014	18
9	SYRIA	0.013	607	KOREAN	0.009	12
10	RUSSIA	0.011	554	LIBYA	0.008	9
11	CUBA	0.009	401	PAKISTAN	0.008	9
12	PAKISTAN	0.007	367			

Table 16. Countries and cities appearing in the top three hundred collocate list in the English corpus and the English ST sub-corpus, ordered by relation score

The collocational profile of the English ST sub-corpus is largely similar to that of the English corpus. However, there are a number of differences in terms of the order of collocates. In terms of the first set of countries, which have closer relationships with North Korea, whether positive or negative, some appear higher on the collocate list, and some new items that did not appear on the collocate list of the English corpus are introduced. In terms of the second set of countries and cities, some appear lower down the list, and some countries whose relationship with the US is tense but which have no direct link with North Korea do not appear on the collocate list of the English ST sub-corpus, although they occupied a prominent position on the collocate list of the English corpus. I begin with a closer examination of the second set.

Of the countries that have less direct relationships with North Korea, ‘Iran’ occupies second position, just after North Korea, on the collocate list of the English corpus. However, ‘USA’, ‘South Korea’ and ‘China’ occupy higher positions on the collocate list of the English ST sub-corpus, demoting ‘Iran’ to fifth place. Iraq and Libya, too, appear lower on the English ST sub-corpus collocate list compared to the English corpus. Iraq appeared in fifth place, between China and South Korea, in the English corpus; however, as can be seen in Table 16, Iraq’s position drops to seventh place, below both China and South Korea, in the English ST sub-corpus. And whereas it occupied a higher position than Japan in the English corpus collocate list, it now appears in a lower position than Japan. Similarly, Libya, which had appeared above Russia in the previous analysis, now appears below Russia. Finally, Syria and Cuba, originally appearing in tenth and twelfth position on the 300 collocate list of the English corpus, do not appear at all among the 300 collocates of the English ST sub-corpus.

Turning now to the first set of countries, ‘Korean’, which can refer to both South and North Korean, does not appear on the collocate list of the English corpus analysed in the previous chapter. However, it does appear on the list of the English ST sub-corpus. Moreover, ‘Yeonpyeong’, the name of an island in South Korea, appears in the collocate list of the English ST sub-corpus, but not in the top 300 collocate list of the English corpus. This, and other aspects of the distribution of items belonging to this set of countries, merit explanation.

The fact that USA, South Korea and China collocate more strongly with North Korea than other countries, especially Iran, in the English ST-sub corpus, and that ‘Yeonpyeong’ appears high up on the collocate list reflects what the South Korean media consider to be important. The prominent position of the USA, South Korea and China is to be expected, and it is no surprise to see more news reporting on these countries being selected and translated into Korean by *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News* than news involving other countries such as Iran, Iraq, Libya and Pakistan, considering their historical and political relations with North Korea, and that South Korea is inextricably linked to North Korea in every respect. It is also worth mentioning here that, although *Newsweek Hangukpan* is the sister magazine of *Newsweek* and *CNN Hangeul News* is the broadcasting arm of *CNN*, as mentioned in Chapter Four under ‘data’, the choice of text to be translated is entirely up to these sister

companies. *Newsweek Hangukpan* is even free to include a considerable number of original Korean reports. The selection and prioritisation of news reports for translation are made independently by both *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News*. Thus, news about countries that have more direct relations with both North Korea and South Korea, such as China and the US, must have been placed at the forefront of the items to be translated. As a result, Iran is demoted to fifth place on the collocate list, behind the US, South Korea and China.

The frequency of ‘Yeonpyeong’, which consists of two South Korean Islands, is the most striking difference between the two corpora but is consistent with the positioning of *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News*. Yeonpyeong Islands lie 12 kilometres from the Northern Limit Line (NLL), a conflict inter-Korea maritime demarcation line in the West Sea of the Korean Peninsula between North and South Korea. The NLL, established by the UN Command in 1953 at the close of the Korean War, is not recognised by North Korea and is hence the scene of numerous clashes. In the latest attack, which took place in November 2010, a barrage of artillery shells and rockets was fired on the ‘big’ Yeonpyeong Island by the North and led to a number of deaths amongst South Korean civilians living on the island, as well as an army sergeant and a private. The attack also caused a widespread fire on the island, and, according to the Ongjin Country Office in Incheon (The Dong-A Ilbo 2010), “around 70% of Yeonpyeong’s forests and fields were burned, with twenty-one houses and warehouses and eight public buildings destroyed or badly damaged”.

North Korea’s attack on Yeonpyeong Island fuelled widespread speculation around the world about the ‘actual’ reason behind the provocation. South Korean news media outlets produced a large number of reports on the bombardment, and some international media speculated that the attack was “linked with the North’s opaque internal politics” (BBC News Asia 2011), arguing that it was carried out as an attempt to boost the reputation of the largely unknown Kim Jong Un, the son of Kim Jong Il, by the then North Korean leader Kim Jong Il, in order to transfer power to him. Needless to say, the political and financial impact on South Korea was considerable because it was the first time the North had targeted the South’s territory since the Korean War in 1950. Consequently, several Asian currencies weakened against the US dollar, the Asian stock market fell (Lui 2010), and the national defence budget had to be increased (Choi 2010).

Also, according to reports from the Military Manpower Administration (MMA), the number of people volunteering for military service doubled (Yang 2010). A number of foreign countries reacted to North Korea's provocation, including not only adjacent Asian countries, such as China, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Singapore and Vietnam, but also others, including Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Greece, India, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, Russia, Slovenia, Sweden, the UK and the US, most condemning the attack in the strongest terms.

To sum up, the attack on the Yeonpyeong Island in November 2010 received worldwide press attention, not only because, as explained earlier, it was the first attack on a civilian area since the Korean War, but also because it was a crucial moment for North Korea – the transition period when the father-to-son handover of control from Kim Jong Il to Kim Jong Un was carried out. Consequently, the appearance of Yeonpyeong in a prominent position on the collocate list is not surprising, since reporting an artillery bombardment by North Korea would have been considered more important than other news for both South Korean news outlets and the regional offices of the global news agencies based in South Korea at that time.

Yongbyon – a county in a North Korean province – does not appear as high on the collocate list as Yeonpyeong, but its appearance still reflects what the South Korean media consider as newsworthy. The Yongbyon Nuclear Scientific Research Centre is a major nuclear complex, and it is reported that the centre operated as an atomic reactor and nuclear fuel manufacturing plant (Globalsecurity website⁹⁶, 2012) until the Six Party Talks held in 2007, when an agreement was reached that North Korea would shut down the facility. An International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) report (2007), written by the Director General, shows that a number of visits were carried out in order to monitor and verify the shutdown and sealing of the facility. However, the IAEA inspectors have not visited the centre since 2009, which is when North Korea withdrew from the Six Party Talks. Because Yongbyon is situated at the centre of an area of nuclear conflict, it has been a major focus of the IAEA, and also of the US, since it has the potential to produce weapon grade nuclear fuel. Consequently, the appearance of 'Yongbyon' in a relatively high position on the collocate list is not surprising.

⁹⁶ <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/world/dprk/yongbyon.htm> [last accessed 30 May 2012].

The differences between the English ST sub-corpus and the English corpus discussed so far, based on Table 16, can be summarised as follows: in the collocate list of the English ST sub-corpus, (i) Iran appears further down the list, below South Korea and China; (ii) Iraq and Libya appear in lower position, below South Korea and China, and even below Japan, while Libya appears in a lower position than Russia; (iii) Syria and Cuba, which were also strongly associated with North Korea in the English corpus, do not appear at all; (iv) ‘Korean’, which did not appear on the collocate list of the English corpus, seems more strongly associated with North Korea in the English ST sub-corpus, where it appears above Libya and Pakistan. These differences reflect what Korean media institutions, in this case *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News*, value most.

It is well known that not all news is translated. Advances in technology allow journalists and other media-based practitioners to produce and disseminate work beyond their own geographical boundaries more easily and frequently than they did before. In this context, translators and interpreters play an important role in distributing and circulating news worldwide. Furthermore, as discussed in some studies, such as Bielsa and Bassnett’s (2009), news agency bureaus or regional offices typically employ “global and local journalists, producing news in different languages for different newswires [which] write news reports in their own language and translate news reports from the other wires so as to make them available to the local market” (ibid.: 58). In order to achieve maximum effectiveness and greater speed in distributing news, the journalistic translation process requires a two-fold task, firstly of editing and, secondly, translating. Despite continued attempts, by both individuals and institutions, to produce translations of news items at great speed, the volume of material available for translation far outstrips the resources available. News translation thus always involves extensive processes of selection. Different media institutions have their own views, their own sets of criteria, political or sociological orientation and ‘voice’, all of which heavily influence the choice of STs to be translated. With this in mind, the following section will examine the extent to which the relationships constructed by the US media and identified in the analysis of the English corpus are consistent with those constructed by the English ST sub-corpus. This will be done by analysing concordance lines obtained by using ‘NK’ as a search word.

6.2 Concordance lines of ‘North Korea’

This section will offer an in-depth analysis of concordance lines of ‘North Korea’. Using ‘NK’ as a search word, 2,237 concordance lines were retrieved, allowing me to identify a number of potentially interesting patterns. ‘NK’s’ (404 occurrences), ‘in NK’ (176), ‘that NK’ (127), ‘of NK’ (112), ‘with NK’ (93) and ‘and NK’ (92) proved to be among the most common. A brief examination of two of these, ‘of NK’ and ‘in NK’, did not reveal any strong, recurrent patterns. More generally, the relatively small size of the English ST sub-corpus meant that most of these recurrent patterns did not occur with particularly high frequency, compared to the English corpus. For instance, in the English corpus, ‘like NK’ was very well represented (692 instances) and featured three recurrent patterns (‘countr* like North Korea’, ‘nation* like North Korea’ and ‘state* like North Korea’), which were separately investigated in detail in the previous chapter. However, in the English ST sub-corpus, the most recurrent pattern was found to be ‘NK’s’ (with a total of 404 instances). Bearing in mind the limitations imposed by the relatively small size of the English ST sub-corpus, the analysis will focus on the four most promising patterns – ‘and NK’, ‘with NK’, ‘that NK’ and ‘NK’s’.

‘NK’s’ (404 instances) is worth investigating because the nouns occurring to the right of the cluster are likely to ascribe certain qualities or possessions to North Korea, or reveal a focus on some aspect of the country, as in ‘NK’s collapse’, ‘NK’s economy’ and ‘NK’s currency’, which suggests that news coverage was centred on North Korea’s political collapse and the state of its economy. The cluster ‘that NK’ (127 instances) is also worth analysing because ‘that’ is often part of a reporting structure, and the occurrence of the cluster after reporting verbs such as ‘report’ or ‘say’ will tell us something about how North Korea is discussed or talked about in the news. Nevertheless, the analysis will not be exclusively focused on reporting verbs. The analysis of the concordance lines of ‘with NK’ (93 instances) might reveal ‘what was going on’ or ‘what was being processed’ since the preposition ‘with’ is often preceded by a noun or verb, as in ‘*trade* with NK’, and ‘*talks* with NK’, that refers to a pattern of activity involving North Korea. Finally, ‘and NK’ (92 instances) is worth analysing in some detail because a quick glance at the concordance lines reveals that a number of countries appear in the vicinity of North Korea: for instance, ‘Iran, Libya and NK’ and ‘the USA and NK’.

6.2.1 'NK's'

A total of 404 concordance lines of 'NK's' were found, out of 2,237 instances of 'NK'. Interesting patterns that emerged in the analysis included the association of 'North Korea's' with 'Hermit Kingdom' (8 instances), 'Kim Jong Il' (8), 'reclusive' (6), 'military' (5), and 'shelling' (4). North Korea is often called a 'Hermit Kingdom' because of its closed society and its isolation. The adjective 'reclusive' was particularly found to be associated with Kim Jong Il, and 'shelling' was associated with 'the South Korean Island'. A more systematic analysis is presented below.

The analysis begins with the left pane of 'NK's', which features some interesting patterns of semantic preference. For instance, (phrasal) verbs such as 'condemn', 'constrain', 'control', 'dismantle', 'deter', 'halt', 'rein in', 'shut down' and 'tolerate' form a coherent semantic group that has something to do with ways of dealing with North Korean issues (Concordance 17; some instances feature related nouns, such as 'the shutdown of much of NK's industry', line 18, which reveal the same pattern of semantic preference).

Concordance lines featured in Concordance 17 reveal that the actors involved in dealing with North Korean issues, i.e. the parties who 'deter', 'dismantle', 'shut down', and 'tolerate', are predominantly South Korea and the US, except for five instances: 11 and 14 (Pyeong Yang, the capital of North Korea); 18 (China); and 19 ('he' refers back to Chang Song Taek, the brother-in-law of Kim Jong Il). The entities that 'condemn', 'shut down' and 'dismantle' include the UN (United Nations), KEDO (Korean peninsula Energy Development Organisation), South Korea, China, Russia, the US and the G8. It is important here to point out that the US is involved in all three organisations mentioned above - UN, KEDO and G8.

G8 (Group of Eight – see lines 3, 4 and 5 of Concordance 17) consists of eight countries: Germany, Russia, the US, the UK, Italy, Japan, Canada and France. It is a forum of governments that exercise a powerful hold on the world's economy. KEDO (line 10) is an organisation founded by the US, South Korea and Japan in order to deal with North Korea's nuclear power plant development and its construction of a light-water reactor nuclear power plant. KEDO now also includes Australia and the countries of the European Union, which joined the organisation after its foundation in 1995.

Membership of the council of KEDO, however, continues to be restricted to the US, Japan and South Korea. The United Nations Security Council (lines 6, 7 and 8) is an organ of the UN consisting of ten non-permanent members and five permanent members: China, France, Russia, the UK and the US.

N Concordance File

1 ons to the stability of the peninsula," he said. Russia's Interfax news agency said Russia condemned **NK's** artillery shelling, pointing out that "those who initiated the attack on a SKn island in the n (CNN)

2 g for kicking them out, along with UN nuclear inspectors. This is after the United Nations condemned **NK's** recent missile launch. Four USA experts monitoring NK's Yongbyon nuclear plant were preparing (CNN)

3 e sinking, which left 46 people dead, but Pyongyang denies the claim. Last week G8 leaders condemned **NK's** communist government for its alleged role in the sinking of the ship. "Such an incident is a c (CNN)

4 l statement issued Saturday. In it, they singled out Iran and NK for criticism. G8 leaders condemned **NK's** communist government for its alleged role in the March 26 sinking of the SKn navy ship Cheonan (CNN)

5 ersistently antagonizing" it. In a final statement issued Saturday, Group of Eight leaders condemned **NK's** government for its alleged role in the March 26 sinking of the Cheonan, which killed 46 sailor (CNN)

6 , NK, China, SK, Japan and Russia. Dialogue halted last year after the UN Security Council condemned **NK's** launch of a long-range rocket, saying it violated a resolution banning ballistic missile testi (CNN)

7 , NK, China, SK, Japan and Russia. Dialogue halted last year after the UN Security Council condemned **NK's** launch of a long-range rocket, saying it violated a resolution banning ballistic missile testi (CNN)

8 sters, a department spokesman said, as the UN Security Council debates a tough resolution condemning **NK's** latest missile and nuclear tests. "I think it's very clear that we are all on the same page wi (CNN)

9 ngest package of sanctions in effect against any country in the world today. The aim is to constrain **NK's** ability to pursue its missile and nuclear programs by taking away the revenue that it has deri (Newsweek)

10 another missile over Japanese territory? KEDO is the most realistic and effective framework to deter **NK's** nuclear development. To sustain it, we need NK to eliminate suspicion about its nuclear program (Newsweek)

11 e for a foreign-policy triumph. Thus it is scrambling for a deal with Pyongyang that would dismantle **NK's** nuclear program in exchange for its removal from the State Departments' list of terrorist stat (Newsweek)

12 look that way. The saga goes back to the deal USA and NK negotiators reached in 1994, shutting down **NK's** nuclear facilities. Tempers flared in 2002 when the USA accused NK of maintaining a secret wea (Newsweek)

13 to survive. The sanctions struck a feeble economy from many sides. The USA led actions to shut down **NK's** missile trade, and put the squeeze on its illicit smuggling and counterfeiting revenue. The bl (Newsweek)

14 se as Britain, Germany, SK and China. Pyongyang's announcement a few weeks ago that it had shut down **NK's** sole nuclear plant in order to comply with an aid-for-weapons deal has only increased the buzz (Newsweek)

15 al posturing, the Bush administration followed the Clinton administration in trading goodies to halt **NK's** illicit weapons programs. Under a multistage agreement reached in February 2007 in the Six-Par (Newsweek)

16 weakness of the hawkish wing of the ruling LDP. There are still many good reasons to try to rein in **NK's** nuclear program, and its attempts to build missiles that could deliver those weapons to the US (Newsweek)

17 . This is after the United Nations condemned NK's recent missile launch. Four USA experts monitoring **NK's** Yongbyon nuclear plant were preparing to depart the country in the next several days after NK (CNN)

18 ually shut down. China could potentially cut off fuel supplies, resulting in the shutdown of much of **NK's** industry. A suspension of SKn food aid could contribute to another famine. Pyongyang suspended (Newsweek)

19 haps because he had grown too close to son No. 1—but has been rehabilitated and now controls much of **NK's** gold trade. As long as the Dear Leader is alive, his generals will salute their new "Brilliant (Newsweek)

20 ng a newly aggressive military posture after the sinking of a SKn warship. "We have always tolerated **NK's** brutality, time and again," Lee said. "We did so because we have always had a genuine longing (CNN)

21 the rhetoric of confrontation--and the reality of accommodation. Bush will talk about not tolerating **NK's** nuclear bombs, but he will tolerate them. He will insist that Iran will not be "allowed" to go (Newsweek)

Concordance 17. A snapshot of the left pane of 'NK's' showing ways of handling North Korean issues

The countries that have the most powerful hold on North Korea, then, are the current 'world powers', most notably the US. Focusing further on the US, we can also identify the presence of this 'super power' in the form of two of its former presidents – 'Clinton' (line 15) and 'Bush' (line 15 and 21) – they call for a 'halt' to North Korea's illicit weapons programme refuse to 'tolerate' North Korean bombs. The analysis thus reveals an imbalance of power – with North Korea projected as the weak party and the US in particular as the powerful party in a position to 'condemn', 'deter', and 'shut down' North Korea's nuclear programme.

Secondly, still focusing on the left pane of the concordance, we can identify items such as ‘affirm’, ‘data’, ‘defend’, ‘evidence’, ‘experts’, ‘investigate’, ‘investigation’, ‘reports’, ‘speculation is rampant’, and ‘fact’, which can be grouped semantically to reveal a tendency to set the reporting within a judicial or semi-judicial context in which North Korea has to be investigated and the facts regarding its ‘illegal’ activities established (Concordance 18).

N Concordance

1 declaration of "no hostile intent" between Washington and Pyongyang and affirmed
NK's moratorium on missile testing. Most important, Albright announced that she

2 to any agreement of the six-party talks," KCNA said. The statement also defended
NK's recent launch of a rocket and blasted a UN Security Council declaration th

3 in Washington to get cracking, even if there's no real evidence yet that either
NK's missiles--or American antimissiles--would work. Terrorism may be a more im

4 it had "checked all of its sources," before calling a halt to the investigation.
NK's first appearance at the World Cup finals since 1966 began with some promis

5 United Nations condemned NK's recent missile launch. Four USA experts monitoring
NK's Yongbyon nuclear plant were preparing to depart the country in the next se

6 s. The problem for Japan's leader is that the USA briefed him on its evidence of
NK's covert uranium-enrichment program prior to his trip to Pyongyang. In other

7 n is developing nukes revealed only under pressure that it had ironclad proof of
NK's nuclear program. The White House revealed it had learned over the summer t

8 week, Robert Einhorn, Albright's nonproliferation expert, is to resume talks on
NK's missile program that USA officials say are critical to deciding whether Cl

9 the Kingdom George Wehrfritz Mar 9, 2003 7:00 PM EST For the experts who ponder
NK's future, reading tea leaves is part of the job description. But soap bubble

10 ize the Korean peninsula. These events come amid intense speculation surrounding
NK's leadership, given that the state will be holding only its third-ever Worke

11 ther key negotiator in the six-nation nuclear talks. Speculation is rampant that
NK's political leaders are working to set the stage for a possible handover of

12 players and coach (CNN) -- Football's ruling body is investigating reports that
NK's national team and head coach were humiliated by government officials follo

13 mit Kingdom. As simple as it may seem, seasoned negotiators and experts say that
NK's Foreign Ministry statements are the most reliable source of information wh

14 indeterminate future. Yet the Bank of Korea recently released data showing that
NK's economy grew for the fourth straight year in 2002, a run economists in Seo

15 a, the USA, SK and Japan. (Story continued below...) Seismic evidence shows that
NK's official pronouncement that it has enhanced the power of its nuclear bombs

16 d to fight tyranny were demons in thin disguise. A NEWSWEEK investigation traces
NK's nuclear demons back to their origins, and the story shows that, tragically

Concordance 18. A snapshot of the concordance lines of ‘NK’s’ which feature judicial language in the left pane

A third pattern involves the choice of items such as ‘threat’, ‘sponsor terrorism’, ‘nuclear power’, ‘nuclear’, ‘nukes’, ‘concern’ and ‘alarm’, all of which relate to sources and types of threat ascribed to North Korea and reveal a pattern of negative semantic prosody.

N Concordance

1 Pyongyang must start identifying and dismantling its nuclear programs. China and **NK's** other neighbors are now parties to the arrangement and have agreed to stri

2 lks will accomplish anything. Many analysts are skeptical, noting that nukes are **NK's** only strategic asset and hence cherished by Kim as regime-survival tool. T

3 d Hoagland. He reported that the Chinese envoy there was "genuinely concerned by **NK's** recent nuclear missile tests," and saw its nuclear activity a 'threat to t

4 h with veto power. Japan joined the discussions as the nation most threatened by **NK's** actions.

5 The N Word Why Japan won't go nuclear. **NK's** recent nuclear test has spawned many nightmare scenarios, including the pos

6 nuclear program, possibly to produce plutonium for nuclear weapons. The idea of **NK's** peddling plutonium is scary enough. Just as unnerving is evidence, confirm

7 d news. Its Asia experts expect Pyongyang may proclaim itself a nuclear power on **NK's** 55th anniversary, Sept. 9. Defense analysts in the USA and elsewhere say N

8 t Asia. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, in China on May 25, noted "great alarm" over **NK's** "clear violation" of Security Council Resolution 1718, prohibiting NK from

9 y-afternoon Security Council meeting saw more unified statements of concern over **NK's** actions. For its part, Japan reacted with alarm. Calls are mounting in Tok

10 ar plants after the USA removed it from a list of states that sponsor terrorism. **NK's** foreign ministry said it welcomed the US move and would give international

11 July 17, 2006 Japan: Countering the Threat **NK's** test missiles landed with a harmless splash in the Sea of Japan. But they s

12 y and the South's. It's not known if the greater awareness yet poses a threat to **NK's** dictator, Kim Jong Il. But it's certainly giving more NKns reason to nurse

Concordance 19. A snapshot of concordance lines of ‘NK’s’ which feature items relating to threat in the left pane

Moving on to the right pane of the search item, this features ‘state*’ and ‘state-run*’ as prominent collocates, including patterns such as ‘NK’s state television network’, ‘NK’s state news agency’, ‘NK’s state-run news agency’, ‘NK’s state-run media’ and ‘NK’s state-run KCNA’⁹⁷. The repeated reference to North Korea’s state-run news outlets reveals that the US media rely largely on North Korean media for collecting information about that country. This may be partly owing to the fact that only

⁹⁷ The Korean Central News Agency, the state news agency of North Korea.

a limited number of reporters are ever allowed to enter the country, and that they cannot go beyond Pyongyang, the capital, which is reportedly like a surreal theme park or a model city where a mixture of fabrication and manipulation is staged for the benefit of foreigners (Cheon 2002; Macintyre 2005; and Demik 2010). Also, because foreign reporters are accompanied and monitored by North Korean staff, the reliance on North Korea's state-run media is unavoidable. The North Korean government (or regime) is indeed reported to have full control not only of the national state-run media but also of foreign media outlets:⁹⁸ as Cheon (2002) argues, only Russian and Chinese correspondents are allowed to stay inside North Korea, and South Korean media outlets rely very heavily on indirect channels when reporting what happens in North Korea. These channels include North Korean state-run media and North Korean defectors.

Apart from the above documented practices of reporting, the recurrent appearances of 'North Korea's state-run news agency' and similar patterns also reveal an attempt to question the credibility of information and the source itself. The repetition of 'North Korea's state-run news agency' plays a similar role to that of the quotation marks and capital letters used in clusters such as 'Dear Leader Kim Jong Il' and 'Great Leader Kim Il Sung': in Chapter Five it was suggested that quotation marks and capital letters were used to undermine the source. Similarly, 'state-run*' may imply that the source is unreliable.

Secondly, the right pane of 'NK's' also features a number of war-related items, like the left pane. These include 'nuclear ambitions', 'nuclear arms', 'nuclear bombs', 'nuclear facilities', 'nuclear program', 'nuclear test', 'NK's missile' and 'nuclear weapons'. According to Barkho (2011: 300), media institutions "essentially lexicalize, over-lexicalize, re-lexicalize, or regularize both the social and the discursive worlds of the events they want to describe"; here, the negative framing of North Korea is reinstated through the recurrent use of war-related lexis.

⁹⁸ In fact, all the media in North Korea are fully controlled by the ruling party, and no private press exists in the country (Liston-Smith 2006).

1 tion hearing for secretary of state, Hillary Clinton said she will seek "to end" **NK's**
nuclear-weapons program and stop its nukes from proliferating. But she als

2 r tale, ending in a genuine breakthrough in the international confrontation over **NK's**
nuclear-weapons program? It is starting to look that way. The saga goes ba

3 rontation--and the reality of accommodation. Bush will talk about not tolerating **NK's**
nuclear bombs, but he will tolerate them. He will insist that Iran will no

4 aga goes back to the deal USA and NKn negotiators reached in 1994, shutting down **NK's**
nuclear facilities. Tempers flared in 2002 when the USA accused NK of main

5 kish wing of the ruling LDP. There are still many good reasons to try to rein in **NK's**
nuclear program, and its attempts to build missiles that could deliver tho

6 o discuss "normalizing" relations between the two countries. High on the agenda: **NK's**
nuclear program and the case of the missing abductees. (At the talks, Pyon

7 d said, is determined to prevent the flow of goods that could be used to support **NK's**
nuclear program, as well as entities supplying the North with nuclear tech

8 ons that it's taken." He noted the USA proposed additional sanctions targeted at **NK's**
nuclear program at a UN sanctions committee meeting on Wednesday. The comm

9 oh said that the USA and SK had "one or two minor issues" about how to deal with **NK's**
nuclear program, "but I'm certain we'll be able to work them out with dial

10 cy triumph. Thus it is scrambling for a deal with Pyongyang that would dismantle **NK's**
nuclear program in exchange for its removal from the State Departments' li

11 as been heavily involved in the Six-Party Talks, a diplomatic attempt to contain **NK's**
nuclear program. Last week Minister Ban sat down with newsweek's Lally Wey

12 rial waters. "I think that will continue to be a source of problems," Park said. **NK's**
nuclear program might also be discussed, he said. There also was talk abou

13 routinely." The new nuclear facility violates UN Security Council resolutions on **NK's**
nuclear program, Mullen said, adding that NK is "a country that routinely

14 regime collapse and the refugee flows that could follow. Their aim is to contain **NK's**
nuclear program, not to force regime change or even reform, and analysts w

15 d to coordinate the interests [of different nations] in resolving such issues as **NK's**
nuclear program. Of all candidate countries, SK is the only OECD member. O

16 , which had some flaws and blind spots. We don't just need to cap but to reverse **NK's**
nuclear program. Ronald Reagan said of Gorbachev's Russia, "Trust but veri

17 th's hardest enemies today, gave Pyongyang the man deemed the "first father" of **NK's**
nuclear program, the late scientist and inventor Lee Sung Ki, who earned a

18 lso serves to drive wedges among the five parties seeking to negotiate an end to **NK's**
nuclear program: the USA, Japan, China, SK and Russia. It's no secret that

19 n is developing nukes revealed only under pressure that it had ironclad proof of **NK's**
nuclear program. The White House revealed it had learned over the summer t

20 k a major new hurdle as both Seoul and global policymakers struggle to deal with **NK's**
nuclear program. The Cheonan sinking took 46 lives, making it one of SK's

21 d of its nuclear program down the road. "Many in the State Department think that **NK's**
nuclear program--while potentially destabilizing--is not a front-burner issu

22 When American experts were finally allowed in to inspect Yongbyon, the center of **NK's**
nuclear programs, that year, they could hardly believe their eyes. Inside,

23 nother nuclear test. Albright said further testing could "significantly advance
[**NK's**] nuclear weapons craft." Over the past several months, NK has also tested

24 sions in the Korean peninsula," the diplomats said. While Kim's statements about **NK's** nuclear weapons programs have been frightening enough, the diplomats said,

25 raq was tipping closer to civil war, Iran was getting more brazen by the day and **NK's** missiles were roiling East Asia. The president, meanwhile, was preoccupied

26 n missile launch, the Pentagon remains prepared. "We continue to closely monitor **NK's** missile activity," said Pentagon press secretary Geoff Morrell. "Although

27 owing Washington's relations with Pyongyang. The accord has soothed jitters over **NK's** missile adventures--and could signal the North's readiness to start disman

28 3 Korean War--chatted in the Oval Office for 45 minutes. They exchanged views on **NK's** missile program and America's peacekeeping role on the Korea Peninsula. Jo

29 week, Robert Einhorn, Albright's nonproliferation expert, is to resume talks on **NK's** missile program that USA officials say are critical to deciding whether Cl

30 ng Il regime and eventually force its collapse. My conversations made clear that **NK's** missile tests in July and its threat last week to conduct a nuclear test e

31 foreign-policy challenges facing the Bush administration is to accurately assess **NK's** missile threat--along with Kim Jong Il's unprecedented peace moves, such a

32 ctions struck a feeble economy from many sides. The USA led actions to shut down **NK's** missile trade, and put the squeeze on its illicit smuggling and counterfei

33 s report. They appear to be designed for nuclear power production, "not to boost **NK's** military capability," Hecker says. "Nevertheless, the uranium enrichment f

34 out from a gunshot wound," says Osamu Eya, a Japanese journalist specializing in **NK's** military. "He held it in with his own hands and completed the journey back

35 ands of USA and SKn troops staged an annual war-games exercise last week, he put **NK's** military on alert. The real pea under his mattress, though, could be four

36 le test. NKns are listening--but to the voices of war or peace? No one can tell. **NK's** military still heavily outnumbers the South's, but it's vintage Soviet ars

37 the international community should respond. Also Thursday, the general staff of **NK's** military -- the Korean People's Army, or KPA -- said it was enacting new m

38 play. The handoff of an enhanced nuclear capability, less than two months after **NK's** long-range missile traveled 2,000 miles, seals Kim's legacy from a NKn per

Concordance 20. A snapshot of the concordance lines of 'NK's' (right pane) which feature war-related items

6.2.2 'that NK'

Out of 2,237 instances of 'NK', 127 concordance lines of 'that NK' were found. A quick glance at the left pane of the search item reveals the proliferation of reporting verbs. Concordance lines featuring reporting verbs are considered worth analysing in detail because they facilitate an examination of what is being discussed and how it is being framed in relation to North Korea, not because of any intrinsic interest in reporting verbs or their syntactic patterning.

The reporting verbs featuring in the left pane of 'that NK' include: 'acknowledge', 'add', 'agree', 'allege', 'announce', 'argue', 'assert', 'assess', 'assume', 'believe', 'conclude', 'confirm', 'decide', 'demand', 'ensure', 'indicate', 'insist',

‘mutter’, ‘remark’, ‘report’, ‘say’, ‘show’, ‘suggest’, ‘think’, ‘tell’ and ‘warn’. In terms of semantic preference, one semantic grouping that includes ‘warn’, ‘demand’, and ‘insist’ is worth analysing in depth because these are verbs that construct a particular power structure in which one party is framed as the weaker party and required by a superior power to act in a particular way (Concordance 21; see also the analysis of ‘NK’s’ above).

N Concordance

- 1 for and entirely appropriate." "Specifically, we endorse President Lee's **demand that** **NK** immediately apologize and punish those responsible for the attack, and,
- 2 aunch was "in contravention" to a 2006 Security Council resolution that **demand that** **NK** not launch any ballistic missiles. It also calls for NK and other natio
- 3 usly for a statement by the president of the Security Council which also **demands that** **NK** make no more launches. The Security Council has been discussing the mat
- 4 am financed by the USA, Japan and SK. But now the Clinton administration **demands that** **NK** allow inspectors access to an underground facility that analysts suspec
- 5 rge W. Bush has given Kim ample reason to worry. The president has long **insisted that** **NK** scrap its nukes before Washington makes concrete offers of aid or other
- 6 opress, Japan's semiofficial NK monitoring service, says that if the USA **insists that** **NK** abandon and dismantle both the plutonium and uranium-enrichment program
- 7 upped the political risk. On Nov. 3, the ratings agency Standard & Poor's **warned that** **NK's** economy "cannot be sustained in its current state" and "is highly lik
- 8 onnection and said it is the victim of an international conspiracy. Gates **warned that** **NK** might engage in other similar "provocations." The USA and SK will remai
- 9 tire world. The United Nations' chief arms inspector, Mohamed El Baradei, **warned that** **NK** was headed for a showdown with the United Nations: "If we do not see si
- 10 parts that Japan could be forced to join the Nuclear Club. They are also **warning that** **NK** may threaten the Beijing Olympics in 2008. The fear? That Kim might res

Concordance 21. Concordance lines of ‘that NK’ featuring ‘demand*’, ‘insist*’ and ‘warn*’ in the left pane

The actors constructed as powerful enough to be in the position to ‘demand’, ‘insist’ and ‘warn’ are: (South Korean) President Lee (line 1); (United Nations) Security Council (lines 2 and 3); Clinton administration (line 4); George W. Bush, the former President of the US (line 5)⁹⁹; the US (line 6); the ratings agency Standard & Poor’s (line 7); Robert Gates, the US Secretary of Defence (line 8)¹⁰⁰; United Nations’ Chief

⁹⁹ The extended concordance line of line 5 is as follows: “George W. Bush has given Kim ample reason to worry. The president has long insisted that NK scrap its nukes before Washington makes concrete offers of aid or other inducements”.

¹⁰⁰ The extended concordance of line 8 is as follows: “The announcement came as Clinton and Secretary of Defense Robert Gates visited SK, part of a rare high-level meeting with members of the government of

arms inspector Mohamed El Baradei (line 9); officials close to the former Vice President Dick Cheney (line 10)¹⁰¹. Most of these items are transparent in meaning and implication. ‘Standard & Poor’s’ in line 7 is a US-based financial services company which also conducts a number of industry surveys. Much of the rest revolves directly around the US, whether the items concerned are US presidents or officials or institutions such as the UN Security Council, of which the US is a permanent and powerful member. Accordingly, the US plays a large part in ‘demanding’, ‘insisting’ and ‘warning’ North Korea. Interestingly, there is no instance of North Korea ‘demanding’ anything.¹⁰²

Another semantic group found in the left pane of ‘that NK’ includes verbs, nouns and adjectives that associate North Korea with suspicious behaviour and that imply a need to collect evidence against it. This group includes ‘evidence’, ‘investigate’, ‘suspicion’, ‘revelations’, ‘report’, and ‘proof’, which construct North Korea as a defendant in a judicial process (Concordance 22); see also analysis of ‘NK’s’ above.

‘Evidence’ appears relatively more frequently than other items in this list (as it does in the analysis of ‘NK’s’ above). Five concordance lines were found for the cluster ‘evidence that NK’ (lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6), and one for ‘evidence shows that NK’s’ (line 11).

From these judicial vocabularies including ‘proof’ and ‘suspicion’, it can be assumed that the necessary and sufficient condition for using ‘evidence’ is that there have to be ‘witnesses’ or ‘concrete objects’; ‘proof’ implies that there is sufficient reason; and the use of ‘suspicion’ give grounds to believe that there is ‘distrust’, ‘mistrust’, and ‘doubt’ in the minds of the court or jury. In this case, the defendant in the ‘judicial process’ is North Korea.

the key Asian ally ... NK has denied any connection and said it is the victim of an international conspiracy. Gates warned that NK might engage in other similar “provocations”.”

¹⁰¹ The extended concordance of line 10 is as follows: “officials close to Vice President Dick Cheney are warning their Chinese counterparts that Japan could be forced to join the Nuclear Club. They are also warning that NK may threaten the Beijing Olympics in 2008”.

¹⁰² The extended concordance of line 1 reveals that ‘President Lee’ refers to South Korean President Lee Myung-bak: “SKn President Lee Myung-bak announced Monday his country is suspending trade with NK, closing its waters to the North’s ships and adopting a newly aggressive military posture after the sinking of a SKn warship [.....] Specifically, we endorse President Lee’s demand that NK immediately apologize and punish those responsible for the attack [...]”.

N Concordance

1 s for the inquiry. Instead the statement "expresses deep concern" over the investigators' conclusion **that NK** was to blame, calling for "appropriate and peaceful measures to be taken against those resp

2 eninsula. But Steinberg said the USA doesn't believe talks would be productive without some evidence **that NK** is ready to end its behavior and take part in a serious dialogue. "We need a clear indicati

3 e recent huffing and puffing from Pyongyang, USA officials say they've seen little physical evidence **that NK** might actually be preparing to go to war. Just hours after Seoul blamed the North for the M

4 the nuclear quandary will end up. Kim has not tested a weapon yet. But there is increasing evidence **that NK** has played a central part in the global proliferation ring surrounding Pakistani nuclear sc

5 e in order to attract more funding. Above all, says one famine expert, no one wants to hear evidence **that NK** is practicing famine "triage," deliberately starving unproductive regions and workers, lest

6 s standoff, the USA special envoy on NK policy said Wednesday in Tokyo. "We are looking for evidence **that NK** now regards the possibility of negotiations seriously. We are not interested in negotiation

7 "'positively evaluates'' the proposal, said SKn spokesman Park Ji Won, who called the letter "'proof **that NK** is changing.'" Change can't come fast enough. Another winter of famine is ravaging NK, but

8 ress the tensions on the Korean peninsula. But the USA has thus far refused, looking first for proof **that NK** is serious about not stoping military tensions and serious about stifling development of it

9 orts of punishment of NKn players and coach (CNN) -- Football's ruling body is investigating reports **that NK's** national team and head coach were humiliated by government officials following a disastro

10 her to the left than they've been in a generation--much to Pyongyang's advantage. Recent revelations **that NK** sold uranium to Libya didn't make headlines in SK, where the majority view today is that th

11 nation among Russia, China, the USA, SK and Japan. (Story continued below...) Seismic evidence shows **that NK's** official pronouncement that it has enhanced the power of its nuclear bombs since 2006 may

12 hich has yet to be made public, failed to detail the current weapons stockpile or address suspicions **that NK** maintains a secret parallel uranium-enrichment program. It also doesn't reveal anything abo

Concordance 22. Concordance lines of 'that NK' featuring items relating to a judicial process in the left pane

If this is so, then, who is the jury? After examining the extended concordance lines, the entity in the position to judge is found to be the UN Security Council (line 1¹⁰³); the US/US special envoy on North Korea (lines 2, 3, 6 and 8); a famine expert (line 5); a South Korean spokesman Park Ji Won (line 7); the governing body of FIFA

¹⁰³ The extended concordance of line 1 is as follows: "Instead the statement 'expresses deep concern' over the investigators' conclusion that NK was to blame, calling for 'appropriate and peaceful measures to be taken against those responsible.' But the Security Council also takes note of the fact that NK 'has stated it had nothing to do with the incident'".

(Fédération Internationale de Football Association) (line 9¹⁰⁴); and experts (line 12¹⁰⁵). No specific actor is indicated in lines 4, 10 and 11; in this case, it can be assumed that the body behind the voice is *Newsweek*. Therefore, in most cases, the US positions itself as the judge and jury, while North Korea is projected as the accused party.

Interestingly, as can be seen from Concordance 22 above, the US is projected as looking for evidence that North Korea is ready to return to the negotiation table, or that North Korea is taking the negotiation in earnest (line 6). At the same time, the reporting also reveals that the US is actively attempting to find evidence that North Korea is preparing for a war at some point, and goes as far as linking North Korea to a nuclear proliferation ring headed by a Pakistani nuclear scientist. The extended concordance of line 4 is as follows:

Kim has not tested a weapon yet. But there is increasing evidence that NK has played a central part in the global proliferation ring surrounding Pakistani nuclear scientist A. Q. Khan. The CIA and other USA intelligence agencies now believe NK was the source of 1.7 tons of uranium hexafluoride – a feeder stock for nuclear-bomb fuel – that was recovered from Libya last year after being flown into Tripoli on a Pakistani jet.

In the previous chapter, I mentioned that anti-American sentiments were fuelled in 2004 when the US carried out several drone attacks in Pakistan. The analysis of the English corpus also revealed that Pakistan, which does not have a close political, historical or geographical relationship with North Korea, did appear in the top three hundred collocate list.

Moving to the right pane of the concordance of ‘that NK’, it is worth noting that reporting verbs rarely appear in this position, with two exceptions – ‘agree’ (line 3) and ‘show’ (line 10), as shown in Concordance 23. In the case of line 10, ‘show’ is not used in such a way as to project North Korea as an active subject. In addition, there is no instance of North Korea ‘demanding’, ‘insisting’, or ‘warning’ (cf. the pattern described

¹⁰⁴ The extended concordance of line 9 is as follows: “Football’s ruling body is investigating reports that NK’s national team and head coach were humiliated by government officials following a disastrous showing at the 2010 World Cup in South Africa”.

¹⁰⁵ The extended concordance of line 12 is as follows: “Already, there are signs of NK dodging: experts say the inventory it provided, which has yet to be made public, failed to detail the current weapons stockpile or address suspicions that NK maintains a secret parallel uranium-enrichment program”.

for the left pane of ‘that NK’). This means that North Korea is projected as a more passive party that is the subject of commentary, warning, demanding, and so forth. It is constructed and framed by others who are concerned about its (illegal) behaviour. North Korea is not given much voice in these reports.

N Concordance

1ld the ABC's "This Week" that the new enrichment facility raised the possibility **that NK** would manufacture more nuclear weapons. "The assumption certainly is th

2oken loose on its own. Many analysts support the accidental-mine theory, arguing **that NK** would have little to gain from a deliberate attack at a time when it ma

3t will have to be fully verifiable. They fully understand that. But do you think **that NK** would ever agree to the sort of intrusive inspections that would be a n

4oposal that was recently relayed to the USA by Russian President Vladimir Putin: **that NK** would end its missile program if other countries agree to put the North

5the crisis at hand is not that Kim Jong Il has suddenly become more evil. It is **that NK** will, within months, become a plutonium factory. A nuclear NK will over

6ld 2006 nuclear test, which was greeted with international concern but suggested **that NK** still doesn't qualify as a full-fledged "nuclear weapon state." Artille

7A sources say, over the last five to seven years. PITFALLS: The plans all assume **that NK** starts a war by invading the South and more or less obliterating Seoul;

8, was still alive, Kim Jong Il was in charge of espionage operations. He decided **that NK's** spies needed to look, dress and act like capitalists in order to blen

9 they've been in a generation--much to Pyongyang's advantage. Recent revelations **that NK** sold uranium to Libya didn't make headlines in SK, where the majority v

10f force," he told Army troops at Fort Hood. In fact, one senior Bush aide argues **that NK** shows the danger of delaying confrontation with Iraq, proving "how conf

11gression." She also said the USA' "support for SK's defense is unequivocal" and **that NK** should "stop its belligerence and threatening behavior." ior."

Concordance 23. A snapshot of the right pane of the concordance lines of ‘that NK’

Examination of both right and left panes of ‘that NK’ thus reveals a specific configuration of international relations, one that places certain nations – particularly the US – as powerful and North Korea as a passive, voiceless object of commentary and warning. North Korea is given not much of voice in this scenario. Not only is the voice of the country itself silenced, but the North Korean people’s voice is also largely unheard. Even when reporting on the ‘famine’ in North Korea, the focus is not on the actual ‘people’ and the fact that they are starving to death – their individual narratives are nowhere to be heard; rather, the focus is on constructing and amplifying a barbaric image of North Korea as a country and a regime, as is evident in the following example (from the English ST sub-corpus under examination): “pets are nowhere to be seen.

Perhaps most have been eaten, for the fact is that North Korea is a famine state and, in many of its provinces, a vanishing state” (Hitchens 2001). Individual stories are not given space, and North Koreans are not afforded any voice. If anything, the people of North Korea are framed as uncivilised barbarians who eat their pets. Similarly, in another example, readers are told that “North Korea treats its people badly” (Caryl 2008); however, on looking more closely at the relevant concordance line, it becomes clear that this is a description of a film about North Korea, i.e. it is merely a synopsis of a cultural artefact rather than an actual report on the hardship experienced by the North Korean people.

Finally, it is worth noting that a total of 54 out of the 127 instances of ‘that NK’ feature negative semantic prosody in both the right and the left pane of the search item. War-related items are particularly prominent, and include ‘attack’ (e.g. lines 7 and 11), ‘military/army’ (e.g. lines 5 and 6), ‘missile’ (e.g. line 20), ‘nuclear’ (e.g. lines 1, 4, 8, 9 and 10), ‘threat’ (e.g. lines 2 and 3), ‘weapon’ (e.g. line 25) and ‘war’ (line 23): see Concordance 24. Other items that frame North Korea negatively include ‘counterfeit’ money and ‘secret’, as in the following examples:

Extract 1 from *Newsweek* October 2006¹⁰⁶

“The financial measures imposed on the NKn accounts in Banco Delta Asia were because of the suspicion of NKn illicit activities including **counterfeiting** [of USA currency]. It's wrong that NK has linked this issue to the Six-Party process”

Extract 2 from *Newsweek* June 2007¹⁰⁷

“Bush administration announced that NK had suddenly admitted, in negotiations, its pursuit of a hitherto **secret** parallel nuclear weapons program based on highly enriched uranium—leading Washington to break off talks in indignation”.

It is worth pointing out here that, among 54 instances that featured negative items, 24 came from *CNN*, while 30 were from *Newsweek*. This tendency appears more significant when seen in relation to the total size of each corpus, since the *CNN* ST sub-corpus (52,865 tokens) is much smaller than the *Newsweek* ST sub-corpus (313,997 tokens).

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2006/10/22/a-baptism-by-fire.html> [last accessed 28 May 2012].

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2007/06/03/secretive-kingdom.html> [last accessed 28 May 2012].

N Concordance

1 tes UN Security Council resolutions on NK's nuclear program, Mullen said, adding
that NK is "a country that routinely we are unable to believe that they would d

2 d the sinking of the Cheonan was a violation of the 1953 Armistice Agreement and
that NK is a threat to peace and stability on the peninsula. sula.

3 ggression." She also said the USA' "support for SK's defense is unequivocal" and
that NK should "stop its belligerence and threatening behavior." ior."

4 rth's first nuclear test last autumn.) In 2002 the Bush administration announced
that NK had suddenly admitted, in negotiations, its pursuit of a hitherto secre

5 joint exercises with the SKn military in response to that country's announcement
that NK was behind the recent sinking of one of its warships, the Pentagon said

6 f force," he told Army troops at Fort Hood. In fact, one senior Bush aide argues
that NK shows the danger of delaying confrontation with Iraq, proving "how conf

7 oken loose on its own. Many analysts support the accidental-mine theory, arguing
that NK would have little to gain from a deliberate attack at a time when it ma

8 al middle-of-the-night statement, strongly condemned the nuclear test, asserting
that NK was in "blatant defiance" of the UN Security Council. Through its May 2

9 ational Intelligence Dennis Blair said, "The USA Intelligence Community assesses
that NK probably conducted an underground nuclear explosion in the vicinity of

10 rogress, experts say WASHINGTON (CNN) -- The USA intelligence community believes
that NK tested a nuclear device last month with an explosive yield of several k

11 n military official. Seoul is working to adjust its security approach, believing
that NK might launch less conventional attacks -- including possible terrorist

12 rth Seoul, SK (CNN) -- SK's spy chief said Wednesday that there is a high chance
that NK will attack again following a strike last month that has led to renewed

13 already caught in the diplomatic crossfire. SK has been trying to convince China
that NK was the culprit. It wants to penalize the North at the United Nations S

14 erally, to be sure. Yet many southerners were no less turned off by Bush's claim
that NK, Iran and Iraq constitute an "Axis of Evil" bent on perpetuating global

15 im Jong Il regime and eventually force its collapse. My conversations made clear
that NK's missile tests in July and its threat last week to conduct a nuclear t

16 ica to be drawn into a major war decades hence. Bush officials privately concede
that NK appears only steps away from declaring itself a nuclear power. That in

17 he March 26 sinking. The SKn government said its probe of the incident concluded
that NK fired a torpedo responsible for sinking the vessel. Forty-six SKn sailo

18 learn that several years ago USA officials tipped off their Chinese counterparts
that NK was shipping ballistic missile components to Iran on commercial aircraf

19 for and entirely appropriate." "Specifically, we endorse President Lee's demand
that NK immediately apologize and punish those responsible for the attack, and,

20 aunch was "in contravention" to a 2006 Security Council resolution that demanded
that NK not launch any ballistic missiles. It also calls for NK and other nation

21 onium and getting NK to give up its stockpile of plutonium and weapons. Ensuring **that NK** does not continue to produce plutonium is critical. But it will not be

22 y will end up. Kim has not tested a weapon yet. But there is increasing evidence **that NK** has played a central part in the global proliferation ring surrounding

23 puffing from Pyongyang, USA officials say they've seen little physical evidence **that NK** might actually be preparing to go to war. Just hours after Seoul blamed

24 erg said the USA doesn't believe talks would be productive without some evidence **that NK** is ready to end its behavior and take part in a serious dialogue. "We n

25 itary told NEWSWEEK: "In the Sunshine environment we never talked about the fact **that NK's** programs to develop weapons of mass destruction were ongoing. Most sp

26 -last week the head of the USA Defense Intelligence Agency told a Senate hearing **that NK** had the "

Concordance 24. A snapshot of concordance lines of 'that NK' which feature war-related items

6.2.3 'with NK'

Out of 2,237 instances of 'NK', a total of 93 concordance lines of 'with NK' were found. The right pane of 'with NK' does not feature any particularly strong pattern, but examination of the left pane reveals some interesting collocations, among which 'deal with NK' is the most recurrent, featuring in 15 concordance lines (Concordance 25).

N	Concordance	(News outlet)
1	ering. In March last year the SKn company struck a deal with NK to open a mineral-water-bottling fac	(Newsweek)
2	before an audience of Iranian officials. But if a deal with NK made sense for Israel, why not with	(Newsweek)
3	ate Department negotiator with years of experience dealing with NK . "Even if the USA negotiates, the	(Newsweek)
4	dealing with clear and present dangers, as in his dealings with NK , but he does not seem interested	(Newsweek)
5	ss people and governments learn about the risks of dealing with NK , the USA campaign will have a "sn	(Newsweek)
6	nounced that it had told 10 government bodies that deal with NK to cease government-level payments.	(Newsweek)
7	as both Seoul and global policymakers struggle to deal with NK's nuclear program. The Cheonan sinki	(Newsweek)
8	has in effect asked all banks in the world not to deal with NK or to handle any transactions involv	(Newsweek)
9	if force or the threat of force were necessary--to deal with NK and Iran, for instance--George Bush	(Newsweek)
10	t's policies. Hard-liners think it is a mistake to deal with NK till there's proof Pyongyang is nuke	(Newsweek)
11	and SK had "one or two minor issues" about how to deal with NK's nuclear program, "but I'm certain	(Newsweek)

12 its achievements, Washington is divided on how to **deal with NK** long term. A battle rages in Washing (Newsweek)

13 While it appears divided and confused as to how to **deal with NK** in the short term, the Bush administ (Newsweek)

14 The next USA president will have to decide how to **deal with NK** in a larger sense, not just on the n (Newsweek)

15 h No one in Washington has ever known quite how to **deal with NK**. As a lonely Stalinist regime, Kim's (Newsweek)

Concordance 25. A full set of concordance lines of 'deal* with NK'

Other patterns are summarised in Table 17.

Patterns	Frequency	with NK
deal*	15 instances	
negotiat*	8 instances	
relation*	7 instances	
talk*	7 instances	
border	5 instances	
business	4 instances	
trade	4 instances	

Table 17. Patterns associated with 'with NK' with different nouns and verbs in the immediate vicinity (left of the search item)

Nouns and verbs which appear before 'with NK' signal the type of relation contracted with North Korea (talks, business, trade); 'deal', 'negotiate', and 'relation' are ways of dealing with North Korean issues; and 'border' can be used either in a geographical or a metaphorical sense. Analysis of the concordance lines of the items presented in Table 17 revealed distinctive patterns. Firstly, 'deal* with NK' tends to be associated with negative items, including 'dangers' (line 4), 'risks' (line 5), 'struggle' (line 7), 'nuclear' (lines 7 and 11), 'force or the threat of force' (line 9), and 'mistake' (line 10); see Concordance 25.

In terms of institution-specific patterns, only one concordance line – line 6 in the snapshot presented in Concordance 25 – comes from *CNN*. By contrast, ‘negotiat* with NK’ (Concordance 26) attracts positive collocates in its vicinity, e.g. ‘restart stalled negotiations with NK’ (line 4), ‘remains open to negotiations with NK’ and ‘encourage’ (line 5). All instances of ‘negotiat* with NK’ come from *Newsweek*.

N Concordance (News outlet)

1 agreed to conduct intensive bilateral **negotiations with NK** in Beijing prior to the six-party talks. (Newsweek)

2 on the administration's point man in **negotiations with NK**. The move not only ended a four-year alli (Newsweek)

3 Ariel Sharon in Israel. He broke off **negotiations with NK**. Unipolar realism survived its initial en (Newsweek)

4 inistration trying to restart stalled **negotiations with NK**, was never allowed to met him. The North' (Newsweek)

5 leaders that the door remains open to **negotiations with NK**, and he hopes to encourage Iranian reform (Newsweek)

6 administration said it would pick up **negotiations with NK** where the Clintonites had left off--an im (Newsweek)

7 eat from Iran seems less urgent. We're **negotiating with NK**. But one country has been all over the ne (Newsweek)

8 eady told CNN that while they will not "**negotiate**" with NK, they could well "talk." I suppose it all (Newsweek)

Concordance 26. A full set of concordance lines of ‘negotiat* with NK’

The next two collocates, ‘relation* with NK’ and ‘talk with NK’, reveal no predominant patterns, with both negative and positive nouns and adjectives equally common in the vicinity of each collocation (Concordance 27). Institution-wise, four concordance lines come from *CNN* whilst the other ten instances occur in *Newsweek*.

N Concordance (News outlet)

1dermine the Pyongyang regime, and a sincere effort to establish better **relations with NK**. His performance in last week's dangerous episode was consistent with t (Newsweek)

2esian prime minister said the nation has "long-standing collaboration" **relations with NK**. Pak is in Jakarta to attend a UN millennium development goals event sc (CNN)

3 sanctions, expanding ties and eventually establishing full diplomatic **relations with NK** in exchange for Pyongyang's commitment to halt its missile programs and (Newsweek)

4Swedish diplomats, acting on behalf of the USA—which has no diplomatic **relations with NK**—are aware of his condition. NK's prisons are, according to human-rights (Newsweek)

5wo days after former SKn President Roh Moo-Hyun, who'd sought improved **relations with NK** during his 2003-2008 tenure, committed suicide. Just before he left the (CNN)

6s that the current controversy conceals more fundamental issues in USA **relations with NK**: unlike the USA, Pyongyang has both a short- and long-term policy towar (Newsweek)

7heir ties need to be strong enough to pull China away from its past **relationship with NK**. It's also important to make Kim understand just how the USA views Pyon (Newsweek)

8s also eager to use carrots as well as sticks--for example, to hold direct **talks with NK**, putting new incentives "on the table," in order to keep its plutonium (Newsweek)

9on measures. Kim Sook -- SK's chief envoy to the international disarmament **talks with NK** -- said the move by the USA "completely reverses" the communist nation' (CNN)

10tating for a halt, or at least an interruption, in ongoing USA disarmament **talks with NK**. But House Foreign Affairs chairman Tom Lantos told NEWSWEEK that even (Newsweek)

11but also has the means to hurt you," says another USA official involved in **talks with NK**. "So what we're trying to do is reduce their desperation and their mean (Newsweek)

12led meetings between Wi Sung-lac, SK's representative to six-party nuclear **talks with NK**, and State Department officials. NK last year cut off the talks involve (CNN)

13nly days after America, China and other countries announced a new round of **talks with NK** a year ago. Bush's former senior director for Asia, Michael Green, told (Newsweek)

14, Britain, France and Germany, are holding with Iran, as well as six-party **talks with NK**, in which China, Japan, SK and Russia are the key players. Bush, meetin (Newsweek)

Concordance 27. A full set of concordance lines of 'relation* with NK' and 'talk* with NK'

The next strong collocates of North Korea – 'border with NK' – is typically associated with either 'China' or 'Chinese' (Concordance 28); 'border' is used here in the geographical sense. Only one concordance line comes from CNN (line 5).

N Concordance (News outlet)

1 are five ways they're changing the world. Exposing Secrets On the Chinese **border with NK**, human-rights activists have a mission. They aim to persuade the few NK (Newsweek)

2 Los Angeles, walked up to the frozen Tumen River which marks the Chinese **border with NK**. As he crossed the ice into the Hermit Kingdom Park shouted, "I am an A (Newsweek)

3 such encounters are par for the course along China's 1,416-kilometer-long **border with NK** these days. The Hermit Kingdom, it's now clear, is no longer hermetic. (Newsweek)

4 'Could You Take Us To SK?' Up near the Chinese **border with NK**, where thousands of refugees ford the Tumen River, I crossed my own line (Newsweek)

5 hina (CNN) -- A small aircraft crashed in northeastern China close to the **border with NK**, killing its pilot and fueling speculation Wednesday about its origin. (CNN)

Concordance 28. A full set of concordance lines of 'border with NK' featuring 'China' and 'Chinese'

Next, 'business with NK' attracts a negative semantic prosody of 'undesirability' or 'difficulty', with only one exception (line 1). All instances were found in *Newsweek*. The actors involved in doing 'business' with North Korea are mostly from South Korea (Concordance 29): The Hyundai and Daewoo Groups, the South Korean conglomerates (lines 1 and 3) and the South Korean Professor Lee (line 2). The extended concordance line 4¹⁰⁸ reveals that the actors who 'do not do business with North Korea' are 'other banks'. However, it is 'Bush's decision to sanction the Macau-based bank' that demonstrates the ripple effect caused by halting business with North Korea. Hence, business is going on between South Korea and North Korea even though South Korea is questioning the effectiveness of conducting business with the North.

N Concordance File (News outlet)

1 med demilitarized zone. Early this month Hyundai Group, which pioneered **business with NK** by initiating tours to Mount Kumgang, was granted the right to build a (Newsweek)

2 e bizarre business climate of the world's last Stalinist regime. "Doing **business with NK** is like doing business in a black hole," says Lee Dong Bok, a professor (Newsweek)

3 bosses or to wear down opposition. "Without patience, you can never do **business with NK**," says a Daewoo executive. "They make you wait, wait and wait until you (Newsweek)

4 has had a ripple effect by warning other banks and businesses not to do **business with NK** or companies or financial entities linked to NK. The NKns are "looking (Newsweek)

Concordance 29. A full set of concordance lines of 'business with NK'

¹⁰⁸ The extended concordance of line 4 is as follows: "In an interview with NEWSWEEK, the Treasury Department under secretary in charge of antiterrorism operations, Stuart Levey, said that Bush's decision to sanction the Macau-based bank that laundered money for Kim has had a ripple effect by warning other banks and businesses not to do business with NK or companies or financial entities linked to NK. The NKns are 'looking for other access points' to the world financial system, but 'they are having trouble finding new ones,' he said".

This becomes more clear in the analysis of the final cluster, ‘trade with NK’, which shows a strong collocation with ‘suspend*’. ‘Suspend trade with NK’ and ‘suspending trade with NK’ appear as a fixed expression in all four instances of ‘trade with NK’ (Concordance 30). The actors in all cases are South Korea and Lee: Lee (lines 2 and 3) refers to the President of South Korea. The extended concordance of line 4¹⁰⁹ reveals that the reason behind South Korea suspending its business relations with North Korea is North Korea’s sinking of a South Korean warship. Interestingly, all concordance lines were found in *CNN*.

N	Concordance	(News outlet)
1	<u>suspends</u> trade with NK	Seoul, SK (CNN) -- SKn President Lee Myung-bak announced Monday his coun (CNN)
2	ent, according to Yonhap. Lee has already announced that SK was <u>suspending</u> trade with NK , closing its waters to the North's ships and adopting a newly aggressive	(CNN)
3	ent, according to Yonhap. Lee has already announced that SK was <u>suspending</u> trade with NK , closing its waters to the North's ships and adopting a newly aggressive	(CNN)
4	-- SKn President Lee Myung-bak announced Monday his country is <u>suspending</u> trade with NK , closing its waters to the North's ships and adopting a newly aggressive	(CNN)

Concordance 30. A full set of concordance lines of ‘trade with NK’ with ‘suspend*’ in its vicinity

Examining two items – ‘business’ and ‘trade’ – associated with North Korea suggests that South Korea is carrying on business/trade with North Korea even though business is supposed to have been suspended due to the conflict between them, and that the US especially takes a tough stance toward North Korea. Furthermore, the asymmetry of power between the US and North Korea is exposed in line 4 (Concordance 29), which demonstrates that the US has considerable influence on other banks and companies conducting business with North Korea.

6.2.4 ‘and NK’

Out of 2,237 instances of ‘NK’, 92 concordance lines of ‘and NK’ were found. The left pane of ‘and NK’ features several countries, including Iran (27), followed by China (15), Iraq (11), USA (10), Japan (2), and Sri Lanka (1), and one organisation – the United Nations (7). Over 30% of all occurrences, 29 concordance lines, feature North Korea and Iran together. This pattern is accompanied by a strong negative prosody, as evident

¹⁰⁹ The extended concordance of line 4 is as follows: “SKn President Lee Myung-bak announced Monday his country is suspending trade with NK, closing its waters to the North's ships and adopting a newly aggressive military posture after the sinking of a SKn warship”.

in the following expressions that appear in the right pane (Concordance 31): 'stink of spin' (line 1); 'instability' and 'extremist' (line 2); 'nuclear club' (line 4); 'terrorist groups' (line 5); 'military hard ware' (line 6); 'cold-war-like' (line 11), 'sponsor terrorism' (line 13); 'rogue regimes with WMD' (line 14); and 'challenges' (line 15).

The analysis of 'and NK' reveals the same trend discussed in the previous chapter. The analysis of 'countr*/state*/nation* like NK' in the English corpus revealed that Iran and Iraq were the two countries most frequently associated with North Korea. Moreover, concordance lines featuring Iran and North Korea in particular also featured negative semantic prosody. Thus, both in the English corpus (Chapter Four) and the English ST sub-corpus analysed here, the association of the two countries is accompanied by a strong negative prosody.

N Concordance (News outlet)

1 ut as the weeks have passed, the repeated use of the term to describe Iran, Iraq **and NK** has begun to stink of spin. That's par for the course, too; political sp (Newsweek)

2 lear archipelago, has exported atomic secrets to rogue regimes like Iran, Libya, **and NK**. Add a dose of political instability and domestic extremist groups, and (Newsweek)

3 o abandoning their ambitions, but it concluded that a hard-core trio--Iran, Iraq **and NK**--were probably immune to any peaceful pressures. That, more than any oth (Newsweek)

4 ting it to the target as easy as sending a FedEx package, Allison says. And Iran and NK continue to move steadily toward membership in the nuclear club. Allison (Newsweek)

5 pies inside programs is a daunting challenge, especially in regimes such as Iran and NK and in terrorist groups. Looking back on Iraq and NK, we see plainly thav (Newsweek)

6 e service) recounted how his agency uncovered sham companies set up by both Iran and NK to buy military hardware such as "measuring devices, high precision ampl (Newsweek)

7 ually needs to talk to Kim. The president's first-term approach toward both Iran and NK, USA officials say, was to avoid "legitimizing" them. He sought to treat (Newsweek)

8 eaty ratification, the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty, and then, of course, Iran and NK. If we have positive results on half or more of them, I think we will be (Newsweek)

9 st by softening Beijing's stand on touchy international issues like Darfur, Iran and NK. By contrast, the neocons - or "neocomms," as they should be known, sinc (Newsweek)

10 Relations with both the remaining pair of nations in Bush's "Axis of Evil," Iran and NK, seemed worse than ever last week. (Iran's president warned that any USA (Newsweek)

11 many fronts: Israeli-Palestinian talks, out-of-control nuclear programs in Iran and NK, and an emerging cold-war-like confrontation with Russia. (That's without (Newsweek)

12 n detectors in fake rocks and roadside mile markers. But this won't work in Iran and NK. Since nobody knows where to look for the plants in these countries, get (Newsweek)

13 President Bush's "axis of evil," a construction he used to describe Iraq, Iran, **and NK** as states that sponsor terrorism in his 2002 State of the Union address. (Newsweek)

14 his State of the Union when he identified the Axis of Evil to include Iraq, Iran and NK--rogue regimes with WMD--then at West Point in May, when he announced th (Newsweek)

15 action since the Great Depression. Add to that Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran and NK, and you get an extraordinary set of challenges. And yet, by most measure (Newsweek)

16 ng up his servants in a Geneva hotel. Switzerland's efforts to mediate with Iran and NK have been scorned by other powers. The country still boasts clever multi (Newsweek)

Concordance 31. A snapshot of concordance lines of 'and NK' which feature 'Iran'.

It is interesting to compare the above pattern with the description of other countries associated with North Korea. Concordance 32 shows that China is mentioned almost always in order to explain the 'border between' the country and North Korea (lines from 1 to 4). Switzerland is described as a 'mediator' (line 5); Japan is mentioned as a country with an issue to resolve with North Korea (line 20); Congo and Sri-Lanka are mentioned in the context of 'human rights abuses' alongside North Korea (line 21); Nigeria is only mentioned in relation to a World Cup football match (line 23); the US is mentioned mainly in the context of a deepening mistrust between it and North Korea (lines from 24 to 30). All this contrasts strikingly with the association of North Korea and Iran, which are constructed as 'rogue regimes' (lines from 5 to 19 and 22), as explained above.

In terms of institution-specific patterns, negative associations mostly feature in *Newsweek*, whilst only one concordance line featuring a negative semantic prosody comes from *CNN*. This may be partly due to the relatively small size of the *CNN* ST sub-corpus. However, size is not the only factor which influences this finding given that, as we already saw in the analysis of 'that NK' in this section, and as we will see in the analysis of 'Kim Jong Un' in the next section, there are some cases where the *CNN* ST sub-corpus features stronger patterns than the *Newsweek* ST sub-corpus.

N Concordance (News outlet)

1 Leader Kim Jong Il greets us at the border inspection area as we cross the Tumen River between China and NK. It hails the 57-year-old heir to Kim Il Sung as the sun of the 21st century! Brilliant pink (Newsweek)

2 therners beat back Kim Il Sung's invasion all the way to the Yalu River, on the border between China and NK. "See you soon!" Roger wrote in his last letter home, dated November 1950. But the tide soon (Newsweek)

3 Il boat is maneuvering down a narrow tributary of the Yalu River that marks the border between China and NK. The sightseers in the craft are in search of an unusual quarry. "Look, there they are," say (Newsweek)

4 Tumen River is not much of a barrier. The meandering waterway, which forms the border between China and NK, can be swum in the spring, waded in the fall, walked across during the long winter freeze. (Newsweek)

5 July 2008 for beating up his servants in a Geneva hotel. Switzerland's efforts to mediate with Iran **and NK** have been scorned by other powers. The country still boasts clever multilingual diplomats an (Newsweek)

6 s in its worst contraction since the Great Depression. Add to that Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran **and NK**, and you get an extraordinary set of challenges. And yet, by most measures, President Obama' (Newsweek)

7 h's speeches, first his State of the Union when he identified the Axis of Evil to include Iraq, Iran **and NK**--rogue regimes with WMD--then at West Point in May, when he announced that the United States (Newsweek)

8 te so notoriously as President Bush's "axis of evil," a construction he used to describe Iraq, Iran, **and NK** as states that sponsor terrorism in his 2002 State of the Union address. It was noticed imme (Newsweek)

9 tly placing radiation detectors in fake rocks and roadside mile markers. But this won't work in Iran **and NK**. Since nobody knows where to look for the plants in these countries, getting detectors withi (Newsweek)

10 ates she faces on so many fronts: Israeli-Palestinian talks, out-of-control nuclear programs in Iran **and NK**, and an emerging cold-war-like confrontation with Russia. (That's without even bringing up t (Newsweek)

11 is, what will work? Relations with both the remaining pair of nations in Bush's "Axis of Evil," Iran **and NK**, seemed worse than ever last week. (Iran's president warned that any USA attack would be met (Newsweek)

12 tensions with the West by softening Beijing's stand on touchy international issues like Darfur, Iran **and NK**. By contrast, the neocons - or "neocomms," as they should be known, since they represent a n (Newsweek)

13 Nuclear-Test-Ban treaty ratification, the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty, and then, of course, Iran **and NK**. If we have positive results on half or more of them, I think we will be on track. If we go (Newsweek)

14 the idea that he actually needs to talk to Kim. The president's first-term approach toward both Iran **and NK**, USA officials say, was to avoid "legitimizing" them. He sought to treat them as Ronald Reag (Newsweek)

15 Russia's intelligence service) recounted how his agency uncovered sham companies set up by both Iran **and NK** to buy military hardware such as "measuring devices, high precision amplifiers, pressure ind (Newsweek)

16 s in Iran. Placing spies inside programs is a daunting challenge, especially in regimes such as Iran **and NK** and in terrorist groups. Looking back on Iraq and NK, we see plainly that information given (Newsweek)

17 n't be hard, and getting it to the target as easy as sending a FedEx package, Allison says. And Iran **and NK** continue to move steadily toward membership in the nuclear club. Allison goes beyond the usu (Newsweek)

18 might be coerced into abandoning their ambitions, but it concluded that a hard-core trio--Iran, Iraq **and NK**--were probably immune to any peaceful pressures. That, more than any other review by the adm (Newsweek)

19 political masters. But as the weeks have passed, the repeated use of the term to describe Iran, Iraq **and NK** has begun to stink of spin. That's par for the course, too; political speeches usually have (Newsweek)

20 ot responding in good faith. I believe that unless there is normalization of relations between Japan **and NK** by resolving the issue, NK will not be able to create their own future. You've had success s (Newsweek)

21 ue. Recently, Brazil abstained on UN resolutions condemning human-rights abuses in Congo, Sri Lanka, **and NK**. It also balked on Sudan, first passing on a vote to give rights inspectors a wider brief, o (Newsweek)

22 patriarch of its nuclear archipelago, has exported atomic secrets to rogue regimes like Iran, Libya, **and NK**. Add a dose of political instability and domestic extremist groups, and the possibility of a (Newsweek)

23 tamped of fans erupted outside a South African stadium Sunday before a warmup match between Nigeria **and NK** leading up to the World Cup, police and the local organizing committee said. There were no f (CNN)

24 bandon all nuclear weapons and existing nuclear programs." In return, Washington agreed that the USA **and NK** would "respect each other's sovereignty, exist peacefully together and take steps to normali (Newsweek)

25 K and Japan? There is suspicion. And it has to be eliminated. How? Inspections. We know that the USA **and NK** are talking about them, and that there may be some progress. The USA, Japan and [South] Kore (Newsweek)

26 ntested ground can, over time, become common ground." After nearly half a century of enmity, the USA **and NK** are trying to mend their relationship. No deal was forged during Jo's three-day visit--but a (Newsweek)

27 ly intent. They have to get over their cliches and slogans and get down to business. How can the USA **and NK** build up trust? They complained to me in our meetings about two things: the NK Human Rights (Newsweek)

28 may soon be clogged with erstwhile envoys like Shin. After a diplomatic breakthrough between the USA **and NK** last week, SK is revving up for more business and exchanges with the North. Pyongyang agreed (Newsweek)

29 that didn't work. But the peaceful solution may take some time because the mistrust between the USA **and NK** is so deep. Theoretically speaking, the USA is at war with NK. The Chinese are not intereste (Newsweek)

30 o light-water reactors in the north was the centerpiece of the 1994 Agreed Framework between the USA **and NK**. The NKns had hoped to be drawing power from the reactors by now, but construction has barel (Newsweek)

Concordance 32. A snapshot of concordance lines of 'and NK' which feature 'Iran' and other countries, ordered by news outlet

6.3 Five Kims

Differences in the way in which each person bearing the surname 'Kim' is presented in the English source texts (STs) chosen for translation will be discussed in some depth in this section. As previously mentioned in Chapter Five, five people playing major diplomatic roles in the context of North Korea have 'Kim' as their last name: Kim Il Sung (the founder of North Korea), Kim Jong Il (the late leader of North Korea and the son of Kim Il Sung), Kim Jong Un and Kim Jong Nam (the sons of Kim Jong Il), and Kim Dae Jung (the former President of South Korea). All five 'Kims' will be analysed. The focus will be on investigating whether the patterns associated with each person in the current English ST sub-corpus are different from those of the larger English corpus, analysed in Chapter Five. A close examination of concordance lines will be carried out and distinctive patterns associated with each different Kim will be discussed without reference to any collocate list. Analysis of the collocate list would introduce an

unnecessary level of noise since it would be impossible to establish how each collocate relates to each individual ‘Kim’.

As in Chapter Five, concordance lines were generated with each person’s full name as a search word, i.e. Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il, Kim Jong Nam, Kim Jong Un, and Kim Dae Jung. To ensure consistency, the same steps that appear in the previous analysis are followed here: the default setting for the concordance functions was maintained and the ‘auto-remove duplicate’ option was not activated. As we will see, a number of recurrent but distinctive patterns were found to be associated with each Kim.

6.3.1 Kim Il Sung (founder of North Korea and father of Kim Jong Il)

Instances of Kim Il Sung, the founder of North Korea and father of Kim Jong Il, were analysed first: a total of 68 concordance lines. Only ten instances were found in *CNN* while a total of 58 instances were from *Newsweek*. The collocates most frequently associated with Kim Il Sung include ‘father’ (16 instances), ‘leader’ (14), ‘late’ (11), ‘dictator’ (6), and ‘founder’ (5). Table 18 summarises the collocates that emerged as the most frequent. It is worth mentioning here that ‘president’ does not feature in the list. This is interesting given that ‘president’ did appear before Kim Il Sung in the analysis of the English corpus in Chapter Five (a total of 58 occurrences).

Item	Number of concordance lines	% of total concordance lines	Kim Il Sung/ Kim Il-Sung
father	16	24%	
leader	14	21%	
late	11	16%	
dictator	6	9%	
founder	5	7%	

Table 18. Patterns associated with ‘Kim Il Sung’ (with and without a dash) identified in the English ST sub-corpus

(a) *Patterns associated with ‘father’*

The analysis begins with the collocate ‘father’. Concordance lines feature a total of sixteen instances, among which three are from *CNN* and thirteen from *Newsweek*. Kim Il Sung’s physical appearance and his role in North Korean history are foregrounded in some concordance lines, e.g. lines 1 and 10 in Concordance 33 below. However, the most striking pattern revealed through the analysis of the concordance lines is that Kim Il Sung is frequently referred to as Kim Jong Il’s father - in a total of fifteen lines, out of sixteen, the only exception being line 4, in which Kim Il Sung is discussed in his own

right, as ‘North Korean founding father’. All the other lines feature the possessive pronoun *his* (ten times; lines 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13 and 16), *their/whose* (two instances; lines 12 and 14¹¹⁰), or possessive apostrophe (three times; lines 3, 11 and 15). Although Kim Il Sung is a prominent figure in North Korean history in that he founded North Korea, he is in most cases referred to as the ‘father’ of Kim Jong Il. Hence, this pattern suggests that Kim Il Sung is not reported in his own right, but is treated as a subsidiary element of the discussion of Kim Jong Il, or Kim Jong Il and his sister in the case of line 14.

A related pattern concerns semantic preference and the prominence of a set of items indicating Kim Il Sung’s death: ‘late’ (lines 2, 3, and 15); ‘died’ (line 5); ‘was still alive’ (line 8); and ‘in death’ (line 9). Indeed, as Table 18 shows, ‘late’ occupies third place in the list of collocates, with a frequency of eleven instances. Another set of items refer to the achievements of Kim Il Sung; for instance, ‘founding/founded’ (lines 4 and 9), ‘is credited’ (line 6); and ‘paved the way’ (line 15).

N Concordance

- 1 can never match the achievements of his revered **father**, the "Great Leader" **Kim Il Sung** (who was close to six feet tall and who led a guerrilla army a
- 2 t and a lapel badge bearing the likeness of his late **father**, "Great Leader" **Kim Il Sung**. Yet there was Kim--a dynastic leader who has made it illegal
- 3 ce Rodong Daily, the North cited a 1980 blueprint by Kim's **father**, the late **Kim Il Sung**, for Korean reunification based on the principle of one countr
- 4 ferring to the obligatory badges featuring portraits of NKn founding **father Kim Il Sung**. "They always come with their interpreters." One very popular
- 5 aching out to the South and the world. After Kim took over when his **father, Kim Il Sung**, died in 1994, many Pyongyang watchers predicted his regime's
- 6 elieved to have been a mentor to Kim Jong Il and a confidant of his **father, Kim Il Sung** -- is credited with developing the regime ideology "juche," or
- 7 ns outside the rigid confines of official ideology--in his case, his **father Kim Il Sung's** misguided philosophy of juche, or self-reliance. NK is now c
- 8 abduction program to train better spies. In the mid-1970s, when his **father, Kim Il Sung**, was still alive, Kim Jong Il was in charge of espionage opera
- 9 f the official gifts presented over the years to Kim Jong Il and his **father Kim Il Sung** (who founded the NKn state and even now, in death, remains its
- 10 reliance. Kim Jong Il inherited the role of absolute ruler from his **father, Kim Il Sung**, who died of a heart attack in 1994. The elder Kim called him

¹¹⁰ The extended concordance of line 14 is as follows: “Jang began his quick rise within the KWP soon after marrying his college sweetheart and Kim Jong-il’s older sister, Kim Kyong-hui, in 1972. Although their father and founder of the Democratic Republic, Kim Il-sung, did not approve of the relationship, the Dear Leader was quite fond of Jang”.

11 favor of Choe. "The Prime Minister used to work with Kim Jong Il's *father*, *Kim Il Sung*. He is very close to the Kim family," said Han Park, a profess

12 s victory for the regime of NK's "Great Leader," Kim Jong Il, whose *father*, *Kim Il Sung*, ordered the seizure. The Pueblo crew was freed after 11 month

13 an. After his mother died when he was 7 years old, his *father*, the dictator *Kim Il Sung*, "treated him like a dog," says Ambassador James Lilley, a for

14 hui, in 1972. Although their *father* and founder of the Democratic Republic, *Kim Il-sung*, did not approve of the relationship, the Dear Leader was quit

15 Washington relations with Carter's visit. Carter's 1994 talks with the late *Kim Il-sung*, Kim Jong-il's *father*, paved the way for the "Agreed Framework

16 cession, when the Dear Leader, Kim Jong-il, took the reins from his *father*, *Kim Il-sung*. Why this scenario is so terrifying is that outside powers-eve

Concordance 33. A full set of concordance lines of 'Kim Il Sung' which feature 'father'

The concordance lines of Kim Il Sung featuring the collocate 'father' reveal a consistent negative prosody, as evident in lines 7 and 13: 'misguided' (line 7), 'dictator' (line 13), and 'treated him [Kim Jong Il] like a dog' (line 13). No particularly strong time-specific pattern is found, however, as all instances were published after 2000.

(b) *Patterns associated with 'leader'*

The second strongest collocate is 'leader': Concordance 34 displays the total set of fourteen instances. All instances are from *Newsweek* (no concordance lines were found in the *CNN* corpus). In terms of semantic preference, the same pattern associated with 'father' is evident here, with a preponderance of items such as 'late/died/death' (lines 1, 2, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13), all relating to the passing away of the 'leader'. Similar items referring to his achievements are also found here: 'found/founding' (lines 2, 3 and 14) and 'revered' (line 9). In terms of semantic prosody, a set of negative references foregrounds the image of Kim Il Sung as a dictator: 'patriarch' (line 7), 'one-man rule' and 'dictate' (line 10). This is further reinforced by the frequency of *dictator* as a collocate (discussed below).

The most striking pattern, however, is that, as in the analysis of the English corpus, the word 'leader' strongly collocates with 'Great' and 'Dear' (a total of ten concordances: all instances except lines 2, 3, 12 and 14¹¹¹). 'Great Leader' is again

¹¹¹ 'Dear Leader' in line 14 refers back to Kim Jong Il. The extended concordance of line 14 is as follows: "Jang began his quick rise within the KWP soon after marrying his college sweetheart and Kim Jong-il's older sister, Kim Kyong-hui, in 1972. Although their father and founder of the Democratic Republic, Kim

surrounded by quotation marks (lines 4, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11), as in the English corpus, signalling that it is used as a title, or a designation. No particular time-specific strong pattern is found; all instances were published from 1999 onwards.

- 1 orts. But huge floods in the 1990s plunged it back into crisis, and the death of **Kim Il Sung**, the Great **Leader**, in 1994 created chaos. "It became tough for inve
- 2 1." The former president--who himself was prepared to meet NK's founding **leader**, **Kim Il Sung**, before he died suddenly in 1994--says the estimated \$500 million S
- 3 destabilizing--extreme. On the orders of the socialist nation's founding **leader**, **Kim Il Sung**, the North's farmers endured relentless campaigns to boost the annu
- 4 wl in Berlin are easy to spot. They wear badges with portraits of "Great **Leader**" **Kim Il Sung**--and the more important the official, the bigger the badge. But tra
- 5 in a censored cyberspace filled with endless musings from the late Great **Leader** **Kim Il Sung**. But guide Kim Mong Lam insists that "in the near future, we will h
- 6 school in Pyongyang as a teen in the 1920s, and even the original Great **Leader**, **Kim Il Sung**, came from a devout Christian family.) In 1950, at the beginning of
- 7 lineage, which is the font of all power in NK. The patriarch, the "Great **Leader**" **Kim Il Sung**, earned his legitimacy by fighting imperialists--first the Japanese,
- 8 shocked by what they saw: a massive painting of Pyongyang's late "Great **Leader**" **Kim Il Sung** grandly instructing Korean officers into battle--with just one Chin
- 9 s, he can never match the achievements of his revered father, the "Great **Leader**" **Kim Il Sung** (who was close to six feet tall and who led a guerrilla army agains
- 10 visits open with an obligatory bow to a giant statue of the late "Great **Leader**," **Kim Il Sung**, whose one-man rule still dictates the pace of talks. Northern nego
- 11 o suit and a lapel badge bearing the likeness of his late father, "Great **Leader**" **Kim Il Sung**. Yet there was Kim--a dynastic leader who has made it illegal to lo
- 12 s people were starving and its economy was imploding. When the country's **leader**, **Kim Il Sung**, died, many predicted his regime would soon follow. Kim Jong Il, hi
- 13 n the Koreas looked set to produce a Pyongyang-Seoul summit--until NK's strongman **Kim Il Sung** died suddenly in 1994. After the Great **Leader**'s passing, Pyongyang
- 14 yong-hui, in 1972. Although their father and founder of the Democratic Republic, **Kim Il-sung**, did not approve of the relationship, the Dear **Leader** was quite fon

Concordance 34. A full set of concordance lines of 'Kim Il Sung' which feature 'leader'

(c) *Patterns associated with 'dictator'*

The third and fifth strong collocates of Kim Il Sung, 'late' and 'founder', reveal no specific pattern, whereas some interesting patterns are revealed in the concordance lines of the fourth collocate, 'dictator'. 'Dictator' forms a strong cluster with 'Kim Il Sung' in five instances (lines 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5: Concordance 35), thus crystallising 'Dictator Kim Il Sung' as a fixed designation. 'Dictator' also features in line 6, where Kim Il Sung is referred to as a 'protégé of Soviet *dictator* Joseph Stalin'.

Il-sung, did not approve of the relationship, the Dear Leader was quite fond of Jang".

N	Concordance
1	history, encapsulates the trend. A growing number of young Koreans see dictator Kim Il Sung as the victim of a cold-war confrontation between the USA and the S
2	cities. No one gets away from the giant statues of the country's first dictator, Kim Il Sung , and his son and heir, Kim Jong Il. My first morning in town, my NK
3	ng age. Not only are toddlers taught the unparalleled glories of former dictator Kim Il Sung and his son and heir Kim Jong Il, but even math textbooks are writt
4	ader has a well-known love for big, fancy cars. But what would the late dictator Kim Il Sung have said about his son's enthusiastic visit to the Shanghai Stock
5	he can. After his mother died when he was 7 years old, his father, the dictator Kim Il Sung , "treated him like a dog," says Ambassador James Lilley, a former C
6	ious personality cult that is, above all, Confucian. Built by founding patriarch Kim Il Sung , a protege of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, it allowed him to hand

Concordance 35. A full set of concordance lines of ‘Kim Il Sung’ which feature ‘dictator’

In terms of institution-specific patterns, the use of ‘dictator’ in referring to Kim Il Sung is always found in *Newsweek*. In terms of time-specific patterns, all concordance lines were published between 2001 and 2005: lines 3 and 4 in 2001, lines 2, 5 and 6 in 2003, and line 1 in 2005. The main policy towards North Korea adopted by the late president of South Korea, Kim Dae Jung, who served from 1998 to 2003, was called ‘the engagement policy’, more widely known as the ‘sunshine policy’. This policy was heavily criticised with respect to its efficacy, especially after June 1999, following the first battle of Yeonpyeong (*Yeonpyeong Haejon*) between the North and the South. The policy was seen as a peace initiative, primarily designed to achieve reconciliation and cooperation between the two nations, and involved a series of humanitarian programmes to assist the North. Despite the large volume of humanitarian aid, including the dispatch of rice and fertilisers to North Korea, border clashes broke out, and the first battle was soon followed by a second battle of Yeonpyeong in 2002, known as the ‘Yellow Sea battle’. Some critics have thus argued that the Sunshine policy is flawed, and only served to bolster the North Korean regime. The US was “known to be irritated by South Korea’s perseverance with its “sunshine” policy of economic engagement with the Pyongyang regime” (McCurry 2006). This may explain the concentration of instances of ‘dictator Kim Il Sung’ in 2001 and 2003, around the time when the second battle of Yeonpyeong (the Yellow Sea Battle) broke out.

6.3.2 Kim Jong Nam and Kim Jong Un (sons of Kim Jong Il)

The English ST sub-corpus features eight concordance lines for Kim Jong Nam and 42 for Kim Jong Un. This overwhelmingly disproportionate volume of reporting, in favour

of Kim Jong Un, reveals the South Korean media's ideological preference, as reflected in the choice of texts to be translated, and who they consider to be the more newsworthy of Kim Jong Il's sons.

The analysis begins with Kim Jong Nam. In terms of institution-specific patterns, the eight concordances are evenly distributed between *CNN* (4 instances – lines 4, 6, 7 and 8) and *Newsweek* (4 instances – lines 1, 2, 3 and 5); see Concordance 36. Like Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Nam is not newsworthy in his own right: he is referred to as '(the eldest) son' of Kim Jong Il, e.g. in lines 1, 2, 5 and 6. He is mentioned in relation to the issue of dynastic power transfer from his father Kim Jong Il, as in line 1 – 'it was once thought that the eldest son, Kim Jong Nam, was first in line'.

The discrepancy between Kim Jong Nam's political stance and personality, and the orientation of North Korea, is signalled in a few phrases such as 'polluted by outside ideas' (line 3), 'support from Western-oriented reformers' (line 3), and his statement 'personally I oppose the hereditary succession for three generations' (line 4). The media's attitude to Kim Jong Nam is also evident in his description as 'globe-trotting brother', which both downgrades his status as merely the 'brother' of Kim Jong Un, and hints at his lack of commitment to his country in 'globe-trotting'.

N Concordance

1 regarded him as too soft to take power. It was once thought that the eldest son, **Kim Jong Nam**, was first in line. But in 2001, Jong Nam was detained in Tokyo fo

2 e leadership, perhaps with one of Kim's sons as a figurehead. (None of the three–**Kim Jong Nam**, 37, Kim Jong Chol, 27, and Kim Jong Woon, 24–has emerged as a pow

3 globe-trotting brother, who they believe has been "polluted" by outside ideas. "**Kim Jong Nam** has support from Western-oriented reformers," says Jang Yong Hoon,

4 neration. "Personally I oppose the hereditary succession for three generations," **Kim Jong Nam** told Japan's TV Asahi in an interview that aired Tuesday. "But I p

5 of them were in a position to learn about it. Earlier this year Kim's elder son, **Kim Jong Nam**, was apparently persuaded to give up his home in the Chinese terri

6 rest on the succession. I do not care about it at all." At one point, the eldest **Kim Jung Nam** was considered the top candidate to succeed his father before he f

7 g Un as that man. "I presume my dear father decided [his brother's succession]," **Kim Jung Nam** said in the TV Asahi interview that was recorded in Beijing Saturd

8 e six-party nuclear talks, and has also met the country's titular head of state, **Kim Jong-nam**, according to Seoul's Yonhap News agency, quoting NK media. There

Concordance 36. A full set of concordance lines of 'Kim Jong Nam'

In terms of time-specific patterns, most concordance lines were published from 2007 onwards; only line 3 in Concordance 36 above was published in 2003. More specifically, while Kim Jong Nam's name appeared in 2003 (line 3), 2007 (line 5), 2008 (line 2) and 2009 (line 1) in *Newsweek*, all concordance lines from *CNN* were published in 2010 (lines 4, 6, 7 and 8). Although the *CNN* ST sub-corpus does not cover the same period as the *Newsweek* sub-corpus, it still includes texts published since 2008. Hence, it seems that *CNN*'s interest in Kim Jong Nam is more recent. Moreover, three out of four instances of Kim Jong Nam in *CNN* are direct quotations from interviews conducted with him. The importance of the year 2010 is that this was when, contrary to expectations, Kim Jong Nam's younger brother, Kim Jong Un, was nominated to become the leader of North Korea (which happened in 2011 following the death of his father Kim Jong Il) and was also promoted to the rank of a four-star general. Therefore, 2010 was when the clearest signal of Kim Jong Nam's not being chosen as heir-apparent was given (Branigan 2010).

Moving to the concordance lines of the younger brother, Kim Jong Un, these reveal more interesting and stronger patterns than those of Kim Jong Nam. Out of a total of 42 concordance lines, 24 come from *CNN* and eighteen from *Newsweek*. The imbalance appears to be more significant when seen in relation to the total size of each corpus, since the *CNN* ST sub-corpus (52,865 tokens) is much smaller than the *Newsweek* ST sub-corpus (313,997 tokens).

Although a few lines focus on general information about Kim Jong Un, such as his appearance (e.g. line 14 in Concordance 37), his political and official status in North Korea (e.g. lines 1, 16, 19 and 20), his educational background (line 41) and his personality (e.g. lines 2 and 36), the most distinctive pattern involves the collocate 'success*', which includes 'successor/succeed/succeeding'. This is strongly associated with Kim Jong Un, appearing in sixteen out of the 42 concordance lines. 'Heir' also features in five instances (lines 18, 21, 29, 34 and 36). Other items relating to the issue of succession include 'handover of power' (line 8), 'tapped to replace' (lines 23 and 25), 'take over' (line 29) and 'transfer power' (line 32). Together, all these items constitute a strong pattern of semantic preference.

1 ity of Georgia. "That has some succession implications." So, the fact that young **Kim Jong Un**, the presumed successor, is the son of Kim Jong Il and grandson of

2 ame. Between these shenanigans and the currency fiasco, it seems that life under **Kim Jong Un** promises to be no less harsh than under his father.

3 of Korea's central military commission, NK's state news agency reported Tuesday. **Kim Jong Un**, who is widely expected to be the successor to NK's "Dear Leader,"

4 the party meeting. Kim Yong Nam remains the diplomatic face of the North, though **Kim Jong Un** is widely expected to succeed his father, NK's "Dear Leader." The p

5 Party of Korea's central military commission. The United States anticipates that **Kim Jong Un** will succeed his ailing father, USA Defense Secretary Robert Gates

6, according to the state-run KCNA news agency. While it has been speculated that **Kim Jong Un** will succeed his father, details about him are scarce in NK and out

7 dly intercepted a message circulated around NKn embassies globally, stating that **Kim Jong Un** was being prepared for succession. Since then, there has been no fu

8 ng to set the stage for a possible handover of power from Kim Jong Il to his son **Kim Jong Un**. The North has said that its ruling party will meet on September 28

9 ariously worship Armani, NBA stars, Eric Clapton, and Disneyland. The third son, **Kim Jong Un**, is the most mysterious. That may be for his protection, as he seem

10 olo Ralph Lauren shirts and sunglasses. A lot less is known about the third son, **Kim Jong Un**. USA government sources, who did not want to be quoted on intellige

11 the hands of the SKn government indicates that Kim will choose his youngest son, **Kim Jong Un**, as his successor. So what are we to think? Does that mean that eve

12 the Workers' Party of Korea's 65th anniversary, NK's state news agency reported. **Kim Jong Un** has been widely rumored to be his ailing father's anointed successo

13 ow his name. Schoolchildren are being taught a song called "Footsteps," praising **Kim Jong Un**, though not by name. One key question if Kim Jong Un does inherit l

14 ndness for Michael Jordan and James Bond. In a move that surprised NK observers, **Kim Jong Un** appeared to be wearing civilian clothes instead of his military uni

15 in news reports outside of NK because he's been kept off the radar by the North. **Kim Jong Un**, who is widely expected to be the successor to NK's "Dear Leader,"

16 , because he's seen as providing a support network for Kim's son and his nephew, **Kim Jong Un**. Not only is Jang family, but he's a top official in the military a

17 alled "Footsteps," praising Kim Jong Un, though not by name. One key question if **Kim Jong Un** does inherit leadership: Can he sustain his grandfather's and fathe

18 ficent future of our country and people." Little is known about prospective heir **Kim Jong Un**. It's not even clear whether he holds an official position, yet he'

19 if there are any." Kim's comments were the first since his younger half-brother **Kim Jong Un** was promoted to the rank of four-star general just before a rare me

20 im Jong Il on Monday promoted his youngest son to the rank of four-star general. **Kim Jong Un** also was named vice chairman of the party's central military commis

21 ent, sources told the station. He was reportedly accused of betraying Young Gen. **Kim Jong Un**, the anointed heir of the regime's longtime leader Kim Jong-Il. FIF

22 Economics. To help smooth his son's ascent, the elder Kim has also declared **Kim Jong Un**'s birthday a national holiday and forbidden parents from givin

23 l Sung Square, named for Kim Jong Il's father and NK's founder. The USA believes **Kim Jong Un** has been tapped to replace his ailing father as NK's leader. Little

24 successor and who it will be. Since early 2009, a range of signs has pointed at **Kim Jong Un** as that man. "I presume my dear father decided [his brother's succe

25 s been tapped to replace his ailing father as NK's leader. Little is known about **Kim Jong Un**. He is thought to be 27 or 28, is believed to have been schooled ab

26 the Workers Party of Korea's central military commission. Little is known about **Kim Jong Un**. Only two photos of him consistently circulate in news reports outs

27 ty last convened its delegates more than four decades ago. Little is known about **Kim Jong Un**. Two photos of him consistently circulate in news reports outside o

28 es off the won, sparking massive inflation--was actually the work of 27-year-old **Kim Jong Un**, the Dear Leader's likely successor. Blaming and executing Pak

29 s into overdrive. Will the chosen heir--in Kim's case, his third son, 25-year-old **Kim Jong Un**--really take over? What will the party elders do? What about the gen

30 o be preparing for a transfer of power to a successor--possibly his youngest son, **Kim Jong-un**, who reportedly accompanied the elder Kim on a surprise visit to Ch

31 negotiate the release of an American prisoner, the country's leader and his son **Kim Jong-un** took a private train into China, according to SKn officials. Is it

32 y recognizing his own mortality, attempts to transfer power to his youngest son, **Kim Jong-un**. The Kim family has a tradition of rallying domestic support by rai

33 e move looks to be directed inward, suggesting that the Dear Leader's third son, **Kim Jong-un**, has already begun the process of cementing his power base in the m

34 stroke in 2008 and has grown frail since then. His third son and heir apparent, **Kim Jong-un**, lacks military credentials (although he recently and arbitrarily w

35 pan and the USA, had ulterior motives. Sin refused to discuss the possibility of **Kim Jong-un**, dictator Kim Jong-il's son, succeeding his father; NK's nuclear am

36 an Workers' Party this week is Kim Jong-il's coming-out party for his third son, **Kim Jong-un**, the heir apparent who is so enigmatic, the outside world isn't eve

37 ith the help of NK. And NK itself--where Kim Jong-il is ailing and his successor, **Kim Jong-un**, is untested--has become increasingly dominated behind the scenes by

38 - a move analysts say makes the latter the heir apparent, SKn state media said. "**Kim Jong-un** had been appointed to a low-level post, called 'instructor' at the

39 s according to plan, he will now serve as the behind-the-scenes administrator to **Kim Jong-un** until the younger Kim can keep the party chiefs in line himself. 9

40 e of three confidants who speaks directly to the Dear Leader--the other two being **Kim Jong-un** and Jang's wife, Kim Kyonghui, who happens to be the Dear Leader's

41 e last party conference in 1980 and spent the next 14 years watching his father, **Kim Jong-un**'s succession has been more rushed. Educated in Switzerland, the you

42 ve suffered a stroke two years ago, is preparing to officially announce his son, **Kim Jong-eun**, as his successor. Meanwhile, Carter arrived in Pyongyang Wednesda

Concordance 37. A full set of concordance lines of 'Kim Jong Un'

No particular negative or positive semantic prosody is identified. In terms of temporal spread, all 42 concordance lines were published in 2007 (line 11), 2009 (three instances – lines 9, 10 and 27) and in 2010 (the remaining 38 instances), showing an overwhelming dominance in 2010. The points made above regarding Kim Jong Un's

rising star as the front runner in the dynastic power transfer in 2009 and his anointment as heir to his father, Kim Jong Il, in 2010, also apply here.

In Chapter Five on the English corpus, it was explained that Kim Jong Nam was regarded as the heir apparent until 2001, but that by 2010 he had lost favour with his father. Subsequently, his younger brother, Kim Jong Un, rose to prominence meteorically, becoming the new front runner in the succession race.¹¹² As with 2010 (discussed above under the analysis of Kim Jong Nam), the year 2009 was also a crucial moment for North Korea. According to Yan and Shubert (2011), June 2009 was when “Kim Jong Un emerged as the front-runner to succeed his father that year [2009]... [and] began working as acting Chairman of the National Defence Commission ‘to support his ailing father’”. This resulted in an exponential burst of media interest in Kim Jong Un’s personality and trajectory. Needless to say, this interest was particularly strong in South Korea, a country that has been in a situation of conflict with North Korea for a considerable period of time.

And yet, in 2009 and 2010 Kim Jong Un was kept hidden from view, making rare public appearances and being protected by the North Korean government. This is evident in some concordance lines, which feature a keen interest in revealing who Kim Jong Un is. These lines feature items such as ‘little is known’, ‘mysterious’, and ‘less is known’. A total of six concordance lines reveal media interest in unveiling some aspect of Kim Jong Un’s life and character: *CNN* (lines 1, 2 and 6) and *Newsweek* (lines 3, 4 and 5), as shown in Concordance 38. These were published in 2009 (lines 3, 4 and 5) and 2010 (lines 1, 2 and 6).

N	Concordance
1	s been tapped to replace his ailing father as NK's leader. Little is known about Kim Jong Un. He is thought to be 27 or 28, is believed to have been schooled ab
2	the Workers Party of Korea's central military commission. Little is known about Kim Jong Un. Only two photos of him consistently circulate in news reports outs
3	ty last convened its delegates more than four decades ago. Little is known about Kim Jong Un. Two photos of him consistently circulate in news reports outside o
4	ariously worship Armani, NBA stars, Eric Clapton, and Disneyland. The third son, Kim Jong Un, is the most mysterious. That may be for his protection, as he seem

¹¹² He was officially declared supreme leader upon the death of Kim Jong Il in 2011.

5 olo Ralph Lauren shirts and sunglasses. **A lot less is known about** the third son, **Kim Jong Un**. USA government sources, who did not want to be quoted on intelligence

6 ficient future of our country and people." **Little is known about** prospective heir **Kim Jong Un**. It's not even clear whether he holds an official position, yet he'

Concordance 38. Media's interest in 'Kim Jong Un'

Lack of information about Kim Jong Un gave rise to speculation. The concordance lines reflect this, with five (lines 5, 6, 17, 23 and 29 in Concordance 37) featuring the US's anticipation, assumption, and beliefs about him. However, the main focus of reporting still lies in the question as to whether Kim Jong Un will be the next leader of North Korea, as evident in items such as the following: 'replace' (lines 23 and 25), 'succeed' (lines 4, 5, 6 and 35), 'inherit (leadership)' (lines 13 and 17) and 'chosen heir' (line 29) in Concordance 37. For ease of reference, these lines are separated from Concordance 37 and presented below (Concordance 39).

5 Party of Korea's central military commission. The United States anticipates that **Kim Jong Un** will succeed his ailing father, USA Defense Secretary Robert Gates

6 , according to the state-run KCNA news agency. While it has been speculated that **Kim Jong Un** will succeed his father, details about him are scarce in NK and out

17 alled "Footsteps," praising Kim Jong Un, though not by name. One key question if **Kim Jong Un** does inherit leadership: Can he sustain his grandfather's and father's

23 l Sung Square, named for Kim Jong Il's father and NK's founder. The USA believes **Kim Jong Un** has been tapped to replace his ailing father as NK's leader. Little

29 s into overdrive. Will the chosen heir—in Kim's case, his third son, 25-year-old **Kim Jong Un**—really take over? What will the party elders do? What about the generation

Concordance 39. Five concordance lines taken from Concordance 37

In terms of institution-specific patterns, four are from *CNN* (lines 5, 6, 17 and 23) and only one (line 29) is from *Newsweek*; again, this tendency appears to be significant considering the total size of the corpus. According to Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 72), “most information about world events needs to be tailored to specific publics, and the way in which narratives of global media events are constructed for local audiences is mediated by translation”; Bielsa and Bassnett similarly stress that “the choice of texts for translation into English has to be made with a view to the intended audience” (ibid.: 158). Thus, mirroring the public interest in South Korea in the issue of dynastic power transfer from Kim Jong Il to Kim Jong Un, the *CNN Hangeul News* may have selectively given preference to original English STs discussing Kim Jong Un from this perspective.

6.3.3 Kim Jong Il (late leader of North Korea and the son of Kim Il Sung)

Kim Jong Il was the official leader of North Korea from 1994 until his death on 19 December 2011. He succeeded Kim Il Sung, his father and the founder of North Korea, following Kim Il Sung's death. Out of 411 concordance lines of 'Kim Jong Il', 334 lines are from *Newsweek* while 77 are from *CNN*. An examination of concordances of 'Kim Jong Il' revealed a strong pattern of collocation with 'leader' (79 times), 'dictator' (29 times), 'regime' (28 times) and 'strongman' (14 times). Since 'leader' and 'dictator' have already been covered in the analysis of Kim Jong Il earlier, both in this section and Section 5.4, analysis of these two items as used in the current set of concordances will allow me to compare the results and to investigate any differences of patterning in the two sets. The remaining two collocates, 'regime' and 'strongman', will also be analysed in this section.

Item	Number of concordance lines	% of total concordance lines	Kim Jong Il/ Kim Jong-Il/ Kimg Jung Il
leader	79	19%	
dictator	28	7%	
regime	28	7%	
strongman	14	3%	

Table 19. Patterns associated with 'Kim Jong Il' identified in the English ST sub-corpus

(a) *Patterns associated with 'leader'*

79 concordance lines feature 'leader' as the collocate of Kim Jong Il. 'NKn/NK's leader', 'Dear leader' and 'Great leader' are the most common patterns (summarised in Table 20). The analysis begins with the collocate 'NKn/NK's leader'.

Firstly, out of a total of forty concordance lines of 'NKn/NK's leader' associated with 'Kim Jong Il', seventeen lines are from *CNN* and 23 lines from *Newsweek*.

Item	Number of concordance lines	leader	Kim Jong Il
NKn/NK's	40		
Dear/Great	16		

Table 20. Strong patterns associated with 'leader'

N Concordance

- 1 NKn leader reported to be in China (CNN) -- **NKn leader Kim Jong Il** is visiting China, the SKn JoongAng Daily reported Thursday, citing
- 2 , state-run media said on Thursday. Kang Sok Ju, a close confidant of **NKn leader Kim Jong Il**, has engineered the development of the North's nuclear program for
- 3 NKn leader's son apparently promoted to general (CNN) -- **NKn leader Kim Jong Il's** youngest son apparently was among more than 30 military promotions
- 4 oungest son rising in leadership circles (CNN) -- The youngest son of **NKn leader Kim Jong Il** was named vice chairman of the Workers Party of Korea's central mil
- 5 a transferring of power to the next generation. Just before it began, **NKn leader Kim Jong Il** on Monday promoted his youngest son to the rank of four-star genera
- 6 resumptive heir, attend huge parade Pyongyang, NK (CNN) --**NK's** reclusive leader, **Kim Jong Il**, made another rare public appearance Sunday with his youngest son a
- 7 Kim Jong Il's son talks succession (CNN) -- **NKn leader Kim Jong Il's** eldest son is against his family holding power in the reclusive co
- 8 n Mnister Yu Myung-Hwan is quoted as telling USA diplomats that "the **NKn leader [Kim Jong Il]** needed both Chinese economic aid and political support to stabiliz
- 9 ninsula tension (CNN) -- China's top foreign policy official met with **NKn leader Kim Jong Il** Thursday and the two sides "reached consensus" about defusing tensi
- 10 Report: NKn leader in public appearance (CNN) -- **NK's** reclusive leader, **Kim Jong Il**, made a rare public appearance at a Pyongyang soccer match, the coun
- 11 me the first SKn leader to cross the demilitarized zone and meet with **NKn leader Kim Jong Il**.
- 12 idarity with NK when it recently rolled out the red carpet to receive **NKn leader Kim Jong Il**, Delury said. The USA and SK could also delay the upcoming transfer
- 13 Skidding Into A Deal Aid could nip the NKn nuclear threat. **NKn leader Kim Jong Il** once kidnapped a SKn director and his wife when the local talent cou
- 14 Yokota's story has been a sensation in the Japanese press. In 2002, **NK's** leader, **Kim Jong Il**, admitted to Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi that NKn age
- 15 managers and engineers mingle with 4,000 northern workers at the factories. But **Kim Jong Il**, **NK's** leader, knows that his own hold on power depends on reviving
- 16 ry's blossoming economic relationship with China and SK. In July 2002 **NKn leader Kim Jong Il** signaled the end of decades of Stalinist economics with a package o
- 17 e Edge (Page 1 of 2) Hyundai founder Chung Ju Yung met on Oct. 1 with **NKn leader Kim Jong Il**, winning approval for a \$10 billion industrial complex not far from
- 18 Kosovo questions" about how the world should respond. The truth? Even **NKn leader Kim Jong Il** may not know the real death toll; and if he did, he wouldn't tell.
- 19 erence. By giving the outside world a peek into his secluded country, **NKn leader Kim Jong Il** has transformed his image, in just a few months, from that of omino
- 20 aught them to expect. The visitors seemed a bit brainwashed, thanking **NKn leader Kim Jong Il** for their good fortune. But above all, they seemed like living, bre
- 21 ekeeping role on the Korea Peninsula. Jo hand-delivered a letter from **NKn leader Kim Jong Il**, who pledged to join Clinton to reduce tension along the world's la

22 The USA aims to encourage the process--while keeping the pressure on **NK leader Kim Jong Il** to make concessions. Recent USA press reports have suggested that C

23 o kill themselves on the spot. Known for their unflinching loyalty to **NK leader Kim Jong Il**, their role in any future North-South conflict is to create "simult

24 laying for years with a deftness that is seldom credited to **NK's supreme leader, Kim Jong Il**. The idea is to pit the South Korean people against the United States

25 the public diplomacy that then-president Clinton was conducting with **NK leader Kim Jong Il** nearly 10 years ago, during Clinton's final months in office. At the

26 s serious. Media attention in the West may have focused on how spry **NK's leader, Kim Jong Il**, looked. But Pollack points to the official standing beside him, Ka

27 main firmly in control, despite lingering concerns over the impact of **NK leader Kim Jong Il's** August stroke. Kim was this spring "reappointed" as head of the N

28 erway around the tense Korean peninsula Thursday, with **NK leader Kim Jong-il** reportedly traveling through China, former USA Presi

29 t (CNN) -- Almost as soon as it was confirmed, the visit of reclusive **NK leader Kim Jong-il** to China was over Monday. State-run news outlets in China confirmed

30 Kim's son joins NK military board SEOUL, SK (CNN) -- **NK leader Kim Jong-il** tapped his son to join the powerful National Defense Commission -- a

31 Report: NK leader may be in China (CNN) -- **NK leader Kim Jong-il** is believed to be in China, according to the SK news agency Yonhap.

32 Report: NK's Kim, China's Hu to meet (CNN) -- **NK leader Kim Jong-il** is expected to meet with Chinese President Hu Jintao in Beijing on T

33 hina Hostage by Melinda Liu December 20, 2010 Ju Peng / Xinhua-Landov **NK leader Kim Jong-il** (left) meets with Chinese President Hu Jintao in August 2010. As ba

34 oot in the Hermit Kingdom. KNS / AFP-Getty Images An undated photo of **NK leader Kim Jong-il** released by state media in June 2010. As Jimmy Carter arrived in NK

35 d the North for the March 26 sinking of the SK naval vessel Cheonan, **NK leader Kim Jong-il** publicly ordered his armed forces to get ready for military action,

36 pet regime." This time, however, things could get worse. In the past, **NK leader Kim Jong-il** used the relatively moderate foreign ministry to keep the military

37 ories was the latest reports from SK's YTN television that **NK's "Beloved Leader" Kim Jong Il** has pancreatic cancer, which would mean he doesn't have long to liv

38 t's office: why the volatile and antisocial regime of **NK's ailing "Dear Leader," Kim Jong-il**, would have wanted to fire a torpedo at one of its neighbor's ships

39 Pueblo still represents a famous victory for the regime of **NK's "Great Leader," Kim Jong Il**, whose father, Kim Il Sung, ordered the seizure. The Pueblo crew wa

40 erself to our beloved supreme commander," meaning **NK's** reclusive "Great **Leader," Kim Jong Il**. The subtext, in case you missed it, is a simmering NK power strug

Concordance 40. A full set of concordance lines of 'NK's/NK leader Kim Jong Il'

'NK/NK's leader Kim Jong Il' appears to be a fixed phrase. Lines 14, 25, 32 and 33 in Concordance 40 above reveal the specificity of the phrase and its strong association with Kim Jong Il rather than heads of other countries, who are not referred to using the same item. Whilst Kim Jong Il is consistently described as 'leader',

Junichiro Koizumi, the former Prime Minister of Japan, Bill Clinton, the former President of the US, and Hu Jintao, the former President of mainland China (often called ‘Paramount leader of the Communist Party of China’), are all introduced as ‘Prime Minister’ and ‘President’, their relevant official designations. This distinctive practice in referring to leaders is not specific to a particular news outlet. Both *CNN* (line 32) and *Newsweek* (lines 14, 25 and 33) reserve this term for Kim Jong Il. Concordance lines featuring ‘leader’ are also characterised by a negative semantic prosody relating to the reclusive character of Kim Jong Il, as evident in items such as ‘rare’ (lines 6 and 10), ‘reclusive’ (lines 6, 7, 10, 29 and 40) and ‘secluded’ (line 19).

The second and third strong collocates are ‘Dear Leader’ and ‘Great Leader’; together they appear sixteen times. All concordance lines are from *Newsweek*. Both expressions are fairly evenly associated with Kim Jong Il: ‘Great Leader’ appears seven times and ‘Dear Leader’ nine times (Concordance 41). Like Kim Il Sung, ‘Great Leader’ and ‘Dear Leader’ also appear capitalised, except in line 9, where ‘great’ appears in lower case while ‘Leader’ is capitalised. Furthermore, these expressions often appear in quotation marks: “Dear Leader” and “Great Leader”, for instance, in lines 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 16 in Concordance 41.

This suggests that ‘Great’ and ‘Dear’ are not used as adjectives, but rather as titles, similar to ‘Mr’ and ‘Dr’. This use also signals that ‘we’ (in this case, *Newsweek*) do (does) not consider Kim Jong Il ‘great’ or ‘dear’ but are merely quoting ‘their’ (i.e. North Korea’s) designations for their leader. Line 13 exemplifies this very well: ‘reclusive’ appears as a common noun whereas ‘Great’ appears with a capital letter within quotation marks, as if ‘Great’ is part of a title. As discussed in Chapter Five, and in the previous analysis of ‘NKn/NK’s leader’ Kim Jong Il, and as will be discussed again in more detail later in this section, Kim Jong Il is referred to as ‘leader’ whereas South Korean president, Kim Dae Jung, is referred to as ‘president’ (line 3 in Concordance 41), the latter providing a more official title connected with a particular democratic process shared between South Korea and the US, and not associated with North Korea. Earning the title ‘President’ is an outcome of this process, whereas ‘Great Leader’ is a self proclaimed title, as evident in line 16 (‘The elder Kim called himself the “Great Leader”, and Kim Jong Il calls himself the “Dear Leader”’).

lung-chul responded with icy silence to a question about whether the *Dear Leader, Kim Jong-il*, would pick the team himself. The manager demanded that his country

2t's office: why the volatile and antisocial regime of NK's ailing "*Dear Leader, Kim Jong-il*", would have wanted to fire a torpedo at one of its neighbor's ships

3rdpolitik. Ten years ago, SKn President Kim Dae-jung met the North's *Dear Leader, Kim Jong-il*, and established the "sunshine" policy of rapprochement that earned

4t seen since the Stalinist regime's last power succession, when the *Dear Leader, Kim Jong-il*, took the reins from his father, Kim Il-sung. Why this scenario is

5 w of conflicting reports about the health of the nation's *Dear Leader*. USA CALLS *KIM JONG IL'S HEALTH A 'CONCERN'*, ran one headline. The body of the story, quot

6 ards render heroically waving banners, happy citizens or the ship of *Dear Leader Kim Jong Il* forging its way through stormy seas. There's one especially surreal

7 rs began churning out processed seafood unaccompanied by tales of "*Great Leader Kim Jong Il's* boundless glories. Has NK changed its tune? Almost overnight, a n

8 n also lacks posters crediting its noodles and all good things to "*Great Leader Kim Jong Il*". Noodles, yes, but Northern propaganda is still banned in the South

9 nt Hideko Takayama visited the zone. Her report: A huge portrait of *great Leader Kim Jong Il* greets us at the border inspection area as we cross the Tumen River

10 st's patience may be nearing its own breaking point. Not only has "*Great Leader Kim Jong Il*" failed to deliver promised road and rail links or to permit war-tor

11 on President Kim Dae Jung's "Sunshine Policy." The more promises "*Great Leader Kim Jong Il*" has broken, the higher Lee's popularity has risen. If current polls

12 iting on the Dear Leader Jan 19, 2003 7:00 PM EST By all accounts, "*Dear Leader Kim Jong Il*" has never visited the NKn border town of Hoeryong. Not even to pay

13 erself to our beloved supreme commander," meaning NK's reclusive "*Great Leader, Kim Jong Il*". The subtext, in case you missed it, is a simmering NKn power strug

14 Pueblo still represents a famous victory for the regime of NK's "*Great Leader, Kim Jong Il*", whose father, Kim Il Sung, ordered the seizure. The Pueblo crew wa

15 rst the Japanese, then the Americans in the Korean War. His son the *Dear Leader, Kim Jong Il*, learned how to outmaneuver his rivals during a decades-long appren

16 of a heart attack in 1994. The elder Kim called himself the "*Great Leader*," and *Kim Jong Il* calls himself the "Dear Leader." The younger Kim has remained one o

Concordance 41. A full set of concordance lines of Kim Jong Il featuring 'Dear/Great leader'

An interesting time-specific pattern is revealed on closer analysis. Investigating the time frame here is crucial because news reporting is extremely time-sensitive. Concordance lines containing criticisms of North Korea are found in 2010 ('dictator's lies' in line 1¹¹³; 'volatile' and 'antisocial regime' in line 2), a year which, it is interesting to note, falls between 2008 and 2012. Between 2008 and 2012, the 17th president of South Korea, President Lee, who took a tough line towards North Korea, was in office. His diplomatic policy particularly towards North Korea was extremely

¹¹³ The extended concordance of line 1 is as follows: "Clearly, significant numbers of NKns could not be allowed to attend the World Cup without revealing their dictator's lies about the rest of the planet".

different from that of the 15th President, Kim Dae Jung's, who adopted an appeasement policy. President Lee was considered to have "fallen in step with Washington's hard line on Pyongyang" and the message from the then South Korean to the North Korean government was "expect nothing from us, unless you get serious about giving up nukes" (Newsweek 2010). Line 11 in Concordance 41 clearly reflects this: "the more promises "Great Leader" Kim Jong Il has broken, the higher Lee's [President Lee Myeong-Bak] popularity has risen". As a result, the reconciliatory policies of South Korea's former presidents (the 15th and 16th)¹¹⁴ came under heavy criticism. Such criticism pervaded news reports, and is evident in the extended concordance of line 3, which specifies some of the arguments; Kim Jong Il was said to have been bribed in exchange for a Nobel Peace Prize for President Kim Dae Jung:

Ten years ago, SKn President Kim Dae-jung met the North's Dear Leader, Kim Jong-il, and established the "sunshine" policy of rapprochement that earned Kim the Nobel Peace Prize. That policy had limited results. For a decade thereafter, the Dear Leader took Seoul's cash and did as he pleased. Far from disarming, NK went nuclear. Minor market reforms proved short-lived.

Moreover, North Korea's policies are shown to be hypocritical and inconsistent in some concordance lines: Kim Jong Il lavishes his close associates with luxury treats – 'Rolex watches' and 'Lexus cars' – and his son, Kim Jong Un, attended a 'posh Swiss school' to which he was taken in a 'limousine' (line 15):

His son the Dear Leader, Kim Jong Il, learned how to outmaneuver his rivals during a decades-long apprenticeship to power, at one point dispatching an ambitious half brother, Pyong Il, to be ambassador to Finland. In 1998, four years after his father's death, Kim strengthened his hold by declaring a songun, or "military first" policy, and sprinkling his generals with Rolexes and luxury cars, including Lexuses and BMWs. At least one of the Dear Leader's sons got his initial training in a posh Swiss school. In the fall of 1992, two boys, both looking a bit old for the fourth grade, were delivered by limousine at the International School of Berne (ISB), a few minutes away from the NKn Embassy.

(b) Patterns associated with 'dictator'

'Dictator' is another strong collocate of Kim Jong Il. Out of 411 concordance lines of Kim Jong Il, 28 lines feature 'Dictator Kim Jong Il'. This pattern is attested in both news outlets, but *Newsweek* features 'dictator Kim Jong Il' more frequently than *CNN*:

¹¹⁴ The 16th President of South Korea, Roh Moo-Hyun, continued the Sunshine approach, taking a conciliatory approach towards North Korea, as did the 15th President. According to Lee (2006), Roh's aides known as the '386 generation' held "sympathetic views towards North Korea", which "created serious friction with Washington and other allies".

a mere two lines are from *CNN* whilst 26 are from *Newsweek*. No particular time-specific pattern is evident, with concordance lines being distributed across the period between 1999 and 2010.

Concordance 42 shows that 'dictator Kim Jong Il' is mostly used as a fixed designation and 'dictator' is often treated almost as an official role, a pattern that is particularly evident in line 28, 'in his early years as *dictator*-in-waiting', and in the proliferation of instances where 'dictator' is not followed by a comma, to indicate apposition.

N Concordance

1 scenes of NK film studio Brooklyn, New York (CNN) -- You could say NK *dictator Kim Jong Il* has two primary obsessions. The first would be maintaining the coun

2 e by no means the only ones piling into Pyongyang these days. Since NK *dictator Kim Jong Il* began a program of pseudo-reforms in July 2002, outside investment

3 cess, yet in Washington's view the project is mainly a cash cow for NK *dictator Kim Jong Il* that has funneled his regime some \$500 million. That perception gap

4 rgy. Russian presidential envoy Konstantin Pulikovsky, who met with NK *dictator Kim Jong Il* several days ago, said that Kim insisted his country should "furthe

5 ork," the announcer intoned, explaining why the country's fuzzy-haired *dictator, Kim Jong Il*, had decided to resume negotiations. Pyongyang's decision to rejoin

6 's. It's not known if the greater awareness yet poses a threat to NK's *dictator, Kim Jong Il*. But it's certainly giving more NKs reason to nurse discontent wit

7 urday with Chinese President Hu Jintao, spoke of the need for rogue NK *dictator Kim Jong Il* to "hear a common voice." So now, in one convulsive move, State has

8 but so far Pyongyang has not yet opened it to the public. Why wait? NK *dictator Kim Jong Il* has said that the three great fools of the 21st century are smokers

9 gun to explain certain lines in a joint declaration he signed with NK *dictator Kim Jong Il* at a summit meeting in Pyongyang on Sept. 17. The controversial pas

10 alinist shell, welcoming SK industrialists to invest in the North. NK *dictator Kim Jong Il* remains a diplomatic recluse, but he has allowed aides to entertain

11 USA Secretary of State Madeleine Albright visited NK to negotiate with *dictator Kim Jong Il* (whom she described as "decisive, practical and serious"). A trip s

12 , emerging with horror stories about working with the erratic regime of *dictator Kim Jong Il*. Hopes for change stirred when the northern leader met his southern

13 r Putin traveled to the Far East city of Vladivostok for talks with NK *dictator Kim Jong Il*, who recently arrived on his private train to examine opportunities

14 or the chance to wear masks depicting the two Kims--NK's frizzy-haired *dictator, Kim Jong Il*, and SK President Kim Dae Jung. The electronics store produced the

15 to protect the United States from attacks by "irrational" *dictators*. Until now, *Kim Jong Il* was the poster child for irrationality. His new warm, fuzzy image m

16 e the war--won Kim the Nobel Peace Prize and helped legitimize Northern *dictator Kim Jong Il* as a viable partner for talks. The revelations have already diminis

17 for plotting to assassinate a high-profile defector who once worked for **dictator Kim Jong-il**, SK's news agency said. The two men, known only as Kim, 36, and Ton

18 ine, and the swirl of story and counter-story that manages to penetrate **dictator Kim Jong-il's** wall of silence. One such person, The New York Times reports, was

19 g year could be even worse. The NK regime is in a state of upheaval as **dictator Kim Jong-il**, belatedly recognizing his own mortality, attempts to transfer power

20 so the situation remains difficult to confirm. Meanwhile, the country's **dictator Kim Jong-il** is reported to enjoy an exquisite diet of delicacies imported from

21 light. NK is perhaps the most oppressive and closed state in the world. **Dictator Kim Jong-il's** subjects suffer food shortages and face arbitrary imprisonment an

22 lterior motives. Sin refused to discuss the possibility of Kim Jong-un, **dictator Kim Jong-il's** son, succeeding his father; NK's nuclear ambitions; and the prosp

23 ngyang's military hard-liners is less clear. Though too weak to openly challenge **Kim Jong Il**, they may be opting instead to undermine the **dictator's** cautious re

24 peror whined before setting the Continent aflame in 1914. By many accounts, NK's **Kim Jong Il** also suffers from a tender ego. For one thing the 5-foot-3 **dictator**

25 n The Process Richard Wolffe George W. Bush did not just awaken to the menace of **Kim Jong Il**. Long before the NK **dictator** kicked out international inspectors,

26 raint." Beijing also flummoxed Seoul early this month with its warm reception of **Kim Jong Il**, during the **dictator's** visit to China just five weeks after the Che

27 ne of Obama's most vexing foreign-policy challenges. Finally, proof of life from **Kim Jong Il**. Since the NK **dictator** reportedly suffered a stroke last August, h

28 role in the Cheonan sinking. These incidents are similar to the deadly antics of **Kim Jong-il** in his early years as **dictator-in-waiting**. In 1983 he orchestrated

Concordance 42. A full set of concordance lines of Kim Jong Il featuring 'dictator'

A strongly negative semantic prosody is evident in the preponderance of items such as 'obsessions' (line 1), 'pseudo-reforms' (line 2), 'rogue' (line 7), 'diplomatic recluse' (line 10), 'erratic regime' (line 12), 'irrational' (line 15), 'oppressive', 'closed' (line 21), 'tender ego' (line 24), 'menace' (line 25), and 'deadly antics' (line 28). In addition, Kim Jong Il's appearance is caricatured in the choice of phrases such as 'fuzzy-haired dictator' and 'frizzy-haired dictator' (lines 5 and 14, respectively).

Once again, the concordance lines reveal a clear distinction drawn by the media in the use of 'president' and 'dictator' (*Newsweek*, lines 7 and 14). In line 7, the former President of Mainland China Hu Jintao is appropriately referred to as 'President', while Kim Jong Il is referred to as 'dictator'. In line 14, a caricature picture of Kim Jong Il is evoked in 'North Korea's frizzy-haired dictator', whereas Kim Dae Jung, the late President of South Korea, is referred to as 'South Korean President Kim Dae Jung'. In line 11, too, Madeleine Albright is introduced by her official role – USA Secretary – whereas Kim Jong Il, the leader of his country, is referred to as 'dictator'.

‘President’ is very occasionally used to refer to Kim Jong Il: out of 411 concordance lines, he is referred to as the ‘president’ in a mere three instances, all from *Newsweek Hangukpan*. Even when Kim Jong Il is referred to ‘president’, the reference is undermined (through the use of square brackets in line 1) or Kim Jong Il is caricatured (in lines 2 and 3: his trademark sunglasses make him look ‘seemingly evil’ and ‘scary-looking’): Concordance 43.

1 e problem. I strongly believe that the Chinese leaders convinced [NKn **President**] Kim Jong Il and supported him in this move to open up with the South and genera

2 To World Tensions A delegation of diplomats from SK paid a visit to NK **President** Kim Jung Il today to ask Kim to stop wearing his scary-looking sunglasses, whic

3 that the SKns were spooked by the NKn **president**’s seemingly evil sunglasses. "Kim Jung Il did not intend to scare anyone with his sunglasses," the representa

Concordance 43. A full set of concordance lines of Kim Jong Il featuring ‘president’

(c) *Patterns associated with ‘regime’*

A total of 28 out of 411 concordances of ‘King Jong Il’ feature the collocate ‘regime’. Of these, only four instances are from *CNN* while the overwhelming majority of 24 instances are from *Newsweek*. The most common pattern involves possessives such as ‘regime of Kim Jong Il’ and ‘Kim Jong Il’s regime’ (Concordance 44). Kim Jong Il’s/ his [Kim Jong Il’s] regime appears in seventeen instances: lines 2 to 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 18 to 21, 23, 24, 28; ‘regime of Kim Jong Il’ features six times: lines 1, 7, 10, 13, 25 and 27; ‘regime’s longtime leader Kim Jong Il’ features once (line 26); and ‘Kim Jong Il regime’ features three times: lines from 15 to 17.

N Concordance

1 , emerging with horror stories about working with the erratic **regime** of dictator Kim Jong Il. Hopes for change stirred when the northern leader met his southern

2 cess, yet in Washington's view the project is mainly a cash cow for NKn dictator Kim Jong Il that has funneled his **regime** some \$500 million. That perception gap

3 lear program. To them, inter-Korean exchange, over time, is the best way to draw Kim Jong Il's **regime** out of isolation. "We do think the nuclear crisis is the i

4 Some members of the aid community have come to believe that food aid is enabling Kim Jong Il's **regime** and preventing the kind of change that will ultimately be

5 re that the only way to fix NK is by dismantling the system. Instead of engaging Kim Jong Il, they'd rather haul his **regime** before the UN Security Council. Such

6 A Prayer for the Hermit King Kim Jong Il's **regime** has inflicted great suffering, but his sudden absence would

7 Pueblo still represents a famous victory for the **regime** of NK's "Great Leader," Kim Jong Il, whose father, Kim Il Sung, ordered the seizure. The Pueblo crew wa

8 and tourism ventures along the border) designed to reassure Pyongyang and nudge Kim Jong Il's **regime** into rational behavior. That policy has little support in

9 ometers over the border, straight into the heart of Pyongyang. It's the heart of Kim Jong Il's **regime** that these defectors hope to strike, by destroying the ill

10 said "ideological warfare," not military action, would help topple the **regime** of Kim Jong Il. "We don't need to resort to force," Hwang Jang-yop told a small au

11 eate a big problem for them. Do you think there have been changes in the mind of Kim Jong Il as the world has focused on the abuses of his **regime**? I think he is

12 rth give up its nukes but are equally interested in maintaining the stability of Kim Jong Il's **regime** for fear of the chaos that might ensue if the communist go

13 y Is Not A Strategy Fareed Zakaria President Bush is right about one thing--NK's Kim Jong Il is an evil man who runs one of the most barbaric **regimes** in the wor

14 fretting over NK. Beijing's policy has been to hope for the best by subsidizing Kim Jong Il's weak **regime** with food and fuel, and prepare for the worst, the po

15 nterests would be served by an end to the sanctions policy, coexistence with the Kim Jong Il **regime** in return for its denuclearization and support for Seoul's c

16 nant elements in the administration to undercut the Sept. 19 accord, squeeze the Kim Jong Il **regime** and eventually force its collapse. My conversations made cle

17 c growth. But there is no sign whatsoever that the sanctions are undermining the Kim Jong Il **regime**. NK is stable and there is more economic activity in Pyongyang

18 get NK to renounce its nuclear weapons, the second to help undermine and topple Kim Jong Il's **regime**. But unless these two tracks are carefully coordinated and

19 ing the evidence, the official said, Beijing agreed to toughen its stance toward Kim Jong Il's **regime**.

20 ousins in the North, and few know or care much about the actual conditions under Kim Jong Il's totalitarian **regime**. That's partly because the center-left admini

21 sts are quite another. NK is still a strategic buffer state for China. And while Kim Jong Il's mercurial **regime** is unsavory, Chinese efforts to ratchet up the p

22 ight on the 2000 trip. "That's exactly the phrase we used: you have to deal with Kim Jong Il and the **regime** as it is. But Bush hasn't wanted to." Kim Jong Il, i

23 its robust economic ties with the South, but it is critical for the survival of Kim Jong-Il's **regime**. A Large quantity of NK's daily oil supply and food import

24 far short of the "all-out war" the North initially promised. The softer side of Kim Jong-il's **regime**, it seems, wants out of this crisis, stat. While its posit

25 interviewed more than 40 people who had escaped the oppressive **regime** of leader Kim Jong-il. They painted a picture of hospitals without electricity or heat, w

26 raying Young Gen. Kim Jong Un, the anointed heir of the **regime**'s longtime leader Kim Jong-Il. FIFA president Sepp Blatter told a press conference in Singapore o

27 t's office: why the volatile and antisocial **regime** of NK's ailing "Dear Leader," Kim Jong-il, would have wanted to fire a torpedo at one of its neighbor's ships

28 r 8 at night. They were beaten or forced to beat each other, sometimes to death. Kim Jong-il's **regime** values genetic purity, said the report. Women who had esca

Concordance 44. A full set of concordance lines of Kim Jong Il featuring 'regime'

A negative semantic prosody is evident across the set of concordance lines. Two particularly strong patterns are worth highlighting: one concerns negative qualities *of* the regime, and the other is associated with ‘threat’ *to* the regime through the external pressure being placed on it. The first negative prosody is revealed in items such as ‘erratic’ (line 1), ‘isolation’ (line 3), ‘inflicted’ and ‘suffering’ (line 6), ‘abuses’ (line 11), ‘barbaric’ (line 13), ‘weak’ (line 14), ‘totalitarian’ (line 20), ‘mercurial’ and ‘unsavory’ (line 21), ‘oppressive’ (line 25), and ‘volatile’ and ‘antisocial’ (line 27). The pattern relating to outside pressure is evident in items such as ‘topple’ (lines 10 and 18), ‘sanctions’ (lines 15 and 17), ‘collapse’ (line 16), ‘undermining/undermine’ (lines 17 and 18), and ‘toughen’ (line 19). The two patterns are clearly interdependent: the suggestion is that it is because the regime is barbaric and oppressive that outside pressure must be brought to bear on it and it must be toppled.

In terms of time frame, more concordance lines are found in 2006 and 2010. The distribution is as follows: 2000 (line 14); 2001 (lines 1 and 4); 2003 (lines 7, 11 and 13); 2005 (lines 5, 8, 12 and 18); 2006 (lines 2, 3, 15, 16, 17, 20 and 22); 2008 (lines 6, 19 and 26); 2009 (lines 9 and 23); and 2010 (lines 10, 21, 24, 25, 27 and 28). The year 2006 was when the first nuclear test was undertaken by North Korea; it was condemned as an intolerable, unacceptable and provocative act by many countries, including China, Japan, Russia, South Korea, the US and the UK. In 2010, the South Korean corvette Cheonan was sunk by a torpedo fired from a North Korean submarine.

(d) Patterns associated with ‘strongman’

The final collocate to be examined is ‘strongman’, with a total of fourteen instances. All instances are found in *Newsweek* only, with no occurrence attested in *CNN*. No particular time-specific pattern is identified: the concordance lines are distributed across the period between 1999 and 2004 (Concordance 45). Concordance 45 below reveals that ‘strongman Kim Jong Il’ is a fairly fixed expression.

N Concordance

1 week Kim Dae Jung will cross the world's most heavily defended border to engage Kim Jong Il on the reclusive **strongman's** own turf. Following a still-secret age

2 ecle corrupt sex culture." Since not much emanates from NK without the say-so of Kim Jong Il, the pudgy, oddball **strongman** of Pyongyang, it's a good bet that th

3 ecle corrupt sex culture." Since not much emanates from NK without the say-so of Kim Jong Il, the pudgy, oddball **strongman** of Pyongyang, it's a good bet that th

4 Iraq provokes an even more dramatic gesture. Intelligence experts fear **strongman** Kim Jong Il could lash out with a missile test, a declaration of nuclear stateh

5 ilometers above the 38th parallel. Elite troops, acting on orders from **strongman** Kim Jong Il, arm hundreds of Scud missiles with chemical and biological weapons

6 il war ended in stalemate in 1953. The meeting between NK's reclusive **strongman**, Kim Jong Il, and SK's Kim Dae Jung could tear down the cold war's last wall. SK

7 tigate an ongoing famine and offered to hold a summit meeting with NK's **strongman** Kim Jong Il. Yet Pyongyang has answered every overture by provoking clashes at

8 , Pyongyang recently hosted Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi. **Strongman** Kim Jong Il offered vague hints during the visit that he might again freeze his

9 is mending fences with its former colonizer, Japan. In late August NK's **strongman** Kim Jong Il invited Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi to meet him in Py

10 usly complicated and expensive, and require major concessions from NK's **strongman** Kim Jong Il, whose country lacks everything but humility. No matter: according

11 st fear," he explains. "Kai fang: openness." That is indeed a problem. **Strongman** Kim Jong Il still trumpets juche, or self-reliance, an ideal that has transform

12 tigate an ongoing famine and offered to hold a summit meeting with NK's **strongman** Kim Jong Il. Yet Pyongyang has answered every overture by provoking clashes at

13 The Coming Rail Boom (Page 1 of 2) Talk about accidental tourists. Kim Jong Il, NK's shadowy **strongman**, is a homebody if ever there was one. He hat

14 ang in September, he raised the spy-ship incident during his summit meeting with Kim Jong Il. The NK's **strongman** feigned surprise at Tokyo's version of events, t

Concordance 45. A full set of concordance lines of Kim Jong Il featuring 'strongman'

A negative semantic prosody is also identified through the analysis of the concordance lines above, with many items occurring in the vicinity of the headword that concern negative qualities and questionable behaviour of Kim Jong Il: 'reclusive' (lines 1 and 6); 'pudgy' (lines 2 and 3); 'oddball' (lines 2 and 3); 'lash out' (line 4); 'problem' (line 11); 'shadowy' (line 13); and 'feigned' (line 14).

6.3.4 Kim Dae Jung (the former President of South Korea)

Kim Dae Jung was the President of South Korea from 1998 to 2003. His foreign policy, especially towards North Korea, was known as the 'sunshine policy'. As a policy of rapprochement, it was the mainstay of national security during his term of office, and aimed at achieving peace on the Korean peninsula through reconciliation and cooperation to ease tension in North-South relations.

The English ST sub-corpus features 71 concordance lines of ‘Kim Dae Jung’. It is interesting that all instances come from *Newsweek*, with no concordance lines attested in *CNN*. In the earlier analysis of Kim Jong Il in this section, I noted that out of 411 concordance lines of ‘Kim Jong Il’, 334 came from *Newsweek* and 77 from *CNN*. Although the number of tokens of the *CNN* ST sub-corpus is relatively small compared with those of the *Newsweek* ST sub-corpus, *CNN* still featured 77 concordance lines of ‘Kim Jong Il’, and this makes the absence of any concordance lines of Kim Dae Jung interesting. It would seem, therefore, that *CNN Hangeul News* is more interested in reporting on Kim Jong Il than in reporting on Kim Dae Jung.

(a) Patterns associated with ‘President’ and ‘SK/SKn/Southern’

In the 71 concordance lines of Kim Dae Jung, the strongest collocate is ‘president’ (39) followed by SK/SKn/Southern (27), policy (18) and sunshine (16). ‘SK/SKn/SK’s/Southern’, in particular, largely clusters with ‘President’ – 25 instances out of a total of 39 – the odd lines out being a total of fourteen lines: lines 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 22, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 38 and 39 (Concordance 46).

Item	Number of concordance lines	% of total concordance lines	Kim Dae Jung /Kim Dae- Jung
president	39	55%	
SK/SKn/SK’s/Southern	27	38%	
policy	18	25%	
sunshine	16	23%	

Table 21. Patterns associated with ‘Kim Dae Jung’ identified in the English ST sub-corpus

N	Concordance
1	Clinton left off. Some promising elements were left on the table." SKn President Kim Dae Jung , full of messianic fervor about his new Sunshine Policy of détente
2	lties. April 2000: The two sides announce a June 12 summit between SKn President Kim Dae Jung and NK's Kim Jong Il. im Jong Il.
3	man beings--with families, jobs and visible emotions. In June Southern President Kim Dae Jung and his Northern counterpart signed a historic reconciliation acco
4	icting the two Kims--NK's frizzy-haired dictator, Kim Jong Il, and SKn President Kim Dae Jung . The electronics store produced the cartoon likenesses so customer
5	an most SKns when it comes to relations with the North, and they blast President Kim Dae Jung's so-called sunshine policy of rapprochement with Pyongyang. They
6	te, Hyundai, is the boldest opportunity seeker in the North. Since SKn President Kim Dae Jung took power last year, declaring a "sunshine policy" aimed at engag

7 change is on the agenda. The injection of young blood was conceived by **President Kim Dae Jung's** ruling Millennium Democratic Party, which hoped fresh faces would

8 d National Party, he's spent the past four years raining skepticism on **President Kim Dae Jung's** "Sunshine Policy." The more promises "Great Leader" Kim Jong Il

9 as an "illegal regime of American-sponsored reactionaries." In Seoul, **President Kim Dae Jung** responded with a sweeping peace plan called the "Sunshine Policy,"

10 s serious as this recent episode. During the early days of the crisis, **President Kim Dae Jung** was criticized by the opposition party for not responding more for

11 avail] defeat." The North's provocations are taxing the patience of SKn **President Kim Dae Jung**. His peace initiative, known as the sunshine policy, aims to reduc

12 it's life. And they say I was liberated from hermitage by the visit of **President Kim Dae Jung**.'" As the summit progressed, Kim lightened up even more--laughing

13 d leader made a stunning debut on the international stage, hosting SKn **President Kim Dae Jung** at a breakthrough inter-Korean summit in Pyongyang. Wearing his tr

14 ously preparing for the historic June 12-14 Pyongyang meeting with SKn **President Kim Dae Jung**--the first Korean summit since the Korean War. Then again, it's ne

15 zed need for South-North dialogue." And Perry found a huge ally in SKn **President Kim Dae Jung**. His "sunshine policy"--focused on providing financial aid to the

16 orean people. Tensions had been falling since the late 1990s, when SKn **President Kim Dae Jung** broke the cold-war ice by declaring a new "Sunshine Policy" of par

17 hown the world a streak of pragmatism. As his recent meetings with SKn **President Kim Dae Jung** and USA Secretary of State Madeleine Albright suggest, the once re

18 in Beijing and Seoul are convinced he's going to try. Last week SK's **president, Kim Dae Jung**, publicly remarked that NK "seems to aim at becoming a second Chin

19 avail] defeat." The North's provocations are taxing the patience of SKn **President Kim Dae Jung**. His peace initiative, known as the sunshine policy, aims to reduc

20 g. Sent by Kim Yong Sun and addressed to 150 prominent SKns--including **President Kim Dae Jung**--it invited Seoul to join "'high-level political talks'" during "'

21 he DMZ. Like most of the projects proposed with great fanfare when SKn **President Kim Dae Jung** met his northern counterpart, Kim Jong Il, in Pyongyang nearly two

22 ch for a business brotherhood of the Koreans. In 1998 SK elected a new **president, Kim Dae Jung**, who vowed to end five decades of hostile division between the Kor

23 rimes against humanity," says a fund spokesman. Park wants to meet SKn **President Kim Dae Jung**. "I'd tell him what Kim Jong Il is doing to the people of NK," say

24 owed aides to entertain peace overtures from Seoul and Washington. SKn **President Kim Dae Jung's** "sunshine policy" seeks warmer relations with the North. And jus

25 an and SK." The SKns aren't waiting for an official welcome. Since SKn **President Kim Dae Jung** proclaimed his "sunshine" policy of engagement early last year, re

26 g him. "We were beaten up often, and there wasn't enough to eat." SK's **President Kim Dae Jung** declared the amnesty to celebrate his first anniversary in power.

27 The Pyongyang Card **President Kim Dae Jung** knows the "North wind" better than most SKns. In 1987 Pyongyang eff

28 sk. The chemical-biological weapons threat could undermine support for **President Kim Dae Jung's** "sunshine policy," an initiative to improve inter-Korean trade,

29 ongyang's old rivals in Seoul may now be its best friends in Asia. SKn **President Kim Dae Jung** has resolved to pursue a "sunshine policy" of warmer ties to the N

30 nful revelations involve what the Koreans did to each other: last week **President Kim Dae Jung** signed legislation authorizing a parliamentary inquest into a 1948

31 s of jobs in the North. And last week Roh pardoned six aides to former **president Kim Dae Jung** who were convicted of funneling some \$500 million in bribes and ot

32 rded the millennium's first Peace Prize to the city's democratic hero, **President Kim Dae Jung**. In 1980, Kim's arrest sparked a civic insurrection in Kwangju; so

33 ting in double-digit growth in freight volumes in 1999 and 2000. In SK **President Kim Dae Jung** wants a rail link to prove that his "sunshine policy" of engagemen

34 nt his career working to avoid. First as foreign-policy adviser to SKn **President Kim Dae Jung** and later as foreign minister under SK's current president, Roh Mo

35 untessential No. 2 man. Last week he abandoned his latest patron, SKn **President Kim Dae Jung**, by siding with the opposition in a no-confidence vote on the admi

36 nd to extend a self-imposed moratorium on ballistic-missile tests. SKn **President Kim Dae Jung**, whose "sunshine policy" toward the North won him the Nobel Peace

37 at? What Seoul urgently needs is a new Nordpolitik. Ten years ago, SKn **President Kim Dae-jung** met the North's Dear Leader, Kim Jong-il, and established the "suns

38 im victory in last December's presidential election. On Feb. 25, he will succeed **Kim Dae Jung** to become his country's ninth **president** in a gala Inaugural markin

39 100 Days Of Trouble **KIM DAE JUNG** COMPLETED HIS FIRST 100 days as SK's **president** last week, and he ca

Concordance 46. A full set of concordance lines of 'Kim Dae Jung' featuring 'President'

The default reference to Kim Dae Jung is therefore as 'SK/SKn/SK's/Southern President'. By contrast, there are only two concordance lines of 'leader Kim Dae Jung': see Concordance 47.

1 ronically, the regional leader who has kept an open mind about Kim is SKn leader Kim Dae Jung. Last March--just ahead of his historic visit to Pyongyang--he ord

2 ke the little sibling among its BRIC brethren, Russia, India, and China. Leader: Kim Dae-jung Country: SK Years in office: 5 Kim is sometimes known as the Nelso

Concordance 47. A full set of concordance lines of 'Kim Dae Jung' featuring 'leader'

Considering the total number of concordance lines of both 'president' and 'leader', once again, the concordance lines of Kim Dae Jung reveal a clear distinction drawn by *Newsweek* in the use of 'president' and 'leader' (no single concordance line attested in *CNN*). Across the entire English ST sub-corpus (i.e. both in *Newsweek* and

CNN), ‘president’ is used in preference to other available expressions when referring to the late South Korean president Kim Dae Jung, while Kim Jong Il is more routinely referred to as ‘dictator’ and ‘leader’. The result of the previous analysis of ‘Kim Jong Il’ in this section showed that ‘leader’ Kim Jong Il returned 79 occurrences out of 411, accounting for 19% of all concordance lines, whilst only two concordance lines, accounting for just 1%, featured ‘president’ Kim Jong Il. By contrast, ‘leader’ is very occasionally used to refer to Kim Dae Jung: only two concordance lines out of 71 occurrences of ‘Kim Dae Jung’ (Table 22). No particular semantic prosodies or time-specific patterns were identified in this set of data.

	Kim Dae Jung	Kim Jong Il
leader	3% (2 occurrences out of 71)	19% (79 occurrences out of 411)
President	55% (39 occurrences out of 71)	1% (3 occurrences out of 411)

Table 22. The use of ‘leader’ and ‘President’, referring to Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Il, across the entire corpora (both in *CNN* and *Newsweek*)

(b) Patterns associated with ‘policy’ and ‘sunshine’

Other strong collocates of Kim Dae Jung are ‘policy’ and ‘sunshine’, which appear eighteen and sixteen times respectively. As can be seen in Concordance 48 below and is evident in these figures, ‘sunshine’ collocates strongly with ‘policy’. As mentioned earlier, Kim Dae Jung adopted what he called a Sunshine Policy towards the North, in order to initiate dialogue between the two nations. Given that it was the main diplomatic policy formulated under his administration and that he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000 as a result of it, it is not surprising to see ‘Sunshine policy’ appearing as a fixed phrase or designation in the vicinity of his name.

N	Concordance
1	ceful coexistence, let alone reunification, seemed almost impossible. Even after Kim Dae Jung proclaimed his sunshine policy of engagement with the North in ear
2	en resolved, and I am very sorry about that." The Bush team says both Powell and Kim Dae Jung got ahead of themselves, imposing policy on the new president when
3	Clinton left off. Some promising elements were left on the table." SKn President Kim Dae Jung, full of messianic fervor about his new Sunshine Policy of détente
4	an most SKns when it comes to relations with the North, and they blast President Kim Dae Jung's so-called sunshine policy of rapprochement with Pyongyang. They

5 te, Hyundai, is the boldest opportunity seeker in the North. Since SKn President Kim Dae Jung took power last year, declaring a "sunshine **policy**" aimed at engag

6 d National Party, he's spent the past four years raining skepticism on President Kim Dae Jung's "Sunshine **Policy**." The more promises "Great Leader" Kim Jong Il

7 as an "illegal regime of American-sponsored reactionaries." In Seoul, President Kim Dae Jung responded with a sweeping peace plan called the "Sunshine **Policy**,"

8 aval] defeat." The North's provocations are taxing the patience of SKn President Kim Dae Jung. His peace initiative, known as the sunshine **policy**, aims to reduc

9 zed need for South-North dialogue." And Perry found a huge ally in SKn President Kim Dae Jung. His "sunshine **policy**"--focused on providing financial aid to the

10 orean people. Tensions had been falling since the late 1990s, when SKn President Kim Dae Jung broke the cold-war ice by declaring a new "Sunshine **Policy**" of par

11 aval] defeat." The North's provocations are taxing the patience of SKn President Kim Dae Jung. His peace initiative, known as the sunshine **policy**, aims to reduc

12 owed aides to entertain peace overtures from Seoul and Washington. SKn President Kim Dae Jung's "sunshine **policy**" seeks warmer relations with the North. And jus

13 an and SK." The SKns aren't waiting for an official welcome. Since SKn President Kim Dae Jung proclaimed his "sunshine" **policy** of engagement early last year, re

14 sk. The chemical-biological weapons threat could undermine support for President Kim Dae Jung's "sunshine **policy**," an initiative to improve inter-Korean trade,

15 ongyang's old rivals in Seoul may now be its best friends in Asia. SKn President Kim Dae Jung has resolved to pursue a "sunshine **policy**" of warmer ties to the N

16 ting in double-digit growth in freight volumes in 1999 and 2000. In SK President Kim Dae Jung wants a rail link to prove that his "sunshine **policy**" of engagemen

17 nt his career working to avoid. First as foreign-**policy** adviser to SKn President Kim Dae Jung and later as foreign minister under SK's current president, Roh Mo

18 nd to extend a self-imposed moratorium on ballistic-missile tests. SKn President Kim Dae Jung, whose "sunshine **policy**" toward the North won him the Nobel Peace

Concordance 48. A full set of concordance lines of 'Kim Dae Jung' featuring 'policy'

The concordance lines featuring these two items reveal a positive semantic prosody, realised through items such as the following: 'engagement' (lines 1, 13 and 16), 'rapprochement' (line 4), 'peace' (lines 7, 8 and 11), 'warm' (lines 12 and 15), and 'improve' (line 14). These concordance lines were published between 1999 and 2003, a period which falls within Kim Dae Jung's five-year tenure as President (from 1998 to 2003). The distribution of lines across this period, however, is not even, with more appearing in 1999: 1999 (lines 8, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15); 2000 (lines 1 and 16); 2001 (line 4); 2003 (line 7). By contrast, line 6, which signals scepticism towards the policy, was published in 2002. It was previously explained under the discussion of Kim Jong Il

that the Sunshine policy was much criticised after the two clashes between the two Koreas, the first in 1999 and the second in 2002.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter examined the English ST sub-corpus and offered an in-depth analysis of the collocational profiles and dominant discursive patterns associated with the keywords ‘North Korea’ and ‘Kim’.

The collocate list analysed in this chapter revealed that English news texts that are selected and translated into Korean reflect what Korean media institutions (*Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News* in this case) regard as newsworthy in their own context. A group of countries sharing common political, historical and sociological ties with North Korea tended to occupy higher positions on the collocate list, compared with the analysis of the English corpus in Chapter Five, with other countries like Iran and Iraq appearing further down the list or not appearing at all. In terms of the five people bearing the surname ‘Kim’ and playing major diplomatic roles in the context of North Korea, examination of collocational profiles revealed a number of distinct patterns that diverged from those identified in the English corpus in Chapter Five. For instance, ‘policy’ and ‘sunshine’ were revealed as strong collocates of Kim Dae Jung, a pattern that did not emerge in the analysis of the English corpus.

The next chapter will offer an analysis of collocational profiles, semantic preferences and semantic prosodies of the same set of search words in the Korean TT sub-corpus, with a view to identifying patterns that either diverge or overlap with those identified in Chapter Five and the current chapter, as well as any translational shifts and their possible motivation.

Chapter Seven

Data Analysis III: the translational corpus

(Korean target texts)

This chapter offers an analysis of the Korean target text (TT) part of the translational sub-corpus. The Korean TT sub-corpus is comprised of articles from *Newsweek* and *CNN* translated into Korean and published in *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News* respectively between 1998 and 2010. Given limited access to the archive of *CNN Hangeul News*, the *CNN Hangeul News* sub-corpus contains 171 articles, covering the period from 2008 to 2010, with a total size of 33,684 tokens, while the *Newsweek Hangukpan* corpus consists of 302 articles that correspond to Korean translations published between January 1998 and December 2010. The total size of the *Newsweek Hangukpan* sub-corpus is 226,598 tokens.

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses of specific lexical items, ‘북한’ [North Korea] and ‘김’s [Kims] (i.e. ‘김일성’ [Kim Il Sung], ‘김정일’ [Kim Jong Il], ‘김정남’ [Kim Jong Nam], ‘김정은’ [Kim Jong Un], and ‘김대중’ [Kim Dae Jung]) will be presented and discussed in some depth on the basis of a close examination of collocational profiles and expanded concordance lines. Concordance lines other than these for countries and cities are also examined. As in Chapter Six, particular attention will be given to semantic prosodies as an extension of examining collocational profiles. In total, the Korean TT sub-corpus of the translational corpus consists of 473 files, with a total size of 260,282 tokens.

As discussed earlier in Chapter Two on corpus-based translation studies, a Korean word is largely comparable to an English word, because both writing systems are syllabic. Korean uses spaces to separate words, as is the case in English, although the basic unit in Korean is ‘*eojeol*’, for which there is no equivalent in English. There are three ways to explain the concept of ‘*eojeol*’: *Bunseoksik Chegye*, *Jeolchungsik Chegye* and *Jonghapsik Chegye*, all of which are based on different understandings of what constitutes the basic unit of analysis. The present study adopts the *Jonghapsik Chegye* system, which does not consider Korean particles, verb-endings and suffixes (called ‘*josa*’ and ‘*eomi*’, e.g. *-eun*, *-neun*, *-ga* and *-ida*) – that cannot be used

independently and that do not have meanings as such – as a separate unit of analysis. Rather, according to *Jonghapsik Chegye*, each element separated by spaces in a sentence is a single ‘*eojeol*’, irrespective of whether it contains particles and suffixes; this contrasts with other systems that count particles and/or suffixes as separate ‘*eojeols*’. In this sense, the concept of ‘*eojeol*’ in Korean is largely equivalent to an English orthographic word in the *Jonghapsik Chegye* system. Accordingly, the current study treats every Korean element separated by spaces as a single unit of analysis; hence, ‘word’ and ‘*eojeol*’ are used interchangeably.

7.1 Collocates of ‘북한’ [North Korea]: Methodological Issues

For the sake of consistency, the same steps as appear in the analysis of the English corpus (Chapter Five) and in that of the English ST sub-corpus (Chapter Six) are followed here in the analysis of the collocate list and concordance lines. The Korean equivalents of the lexical item – ‘NK’ [북한] – and ‘Kim’ [김] – ‘김일성’ [Kim Il Sung], ‘김정일’ [Kim Jong Il], ‘김정남’ [Kim Jong Nam], ‘김정은’ [Kim Jong Un], and ‘김대중’ [Kim Dae Jung] – will be used as keywords to generate collocate lists and concordance lines in order to establish the extent to which patterns and collocational profiles identified in the analysis of the Korean TT sub-corpus overlap with, or deviate from, those identified in the analysis of the English ST sub-corpus. Although North Korea is also referred to as ‘the North’ in English, with its corresponding Korean equivalent being ‘북’, only ‘북한’ [NK] will be used here, because the analysis should be comparable and ‘North Korea’ is almost always translated into the two items mentioned above. Also, ‘the North’ was not included as a search item in the previous analyses.¹¹⁵

First, all articles of *Newsweek Hangukpan* were revisited and checked in order to confirm the status of the Korean translated texts, because *Newsweek Hangukpan* also independently publishes articles originally written in Korean in addition to Korean translations. Korean TTs were identified as such based on whether their English titles were cited together with their Korean titles. It was decided that any text that was not accompanied by an English title should be excluded, to ensure that all texts included in the translational corpus were actual translations from English into Korean. Once identified, the English titles were removed from the text before the analysis began.

¹¹⁵ See section 5.2.

Second, Chinese characters were checked carefully prior to the analysis. Chapter Four explained that many Chinese characters were introduced into the Korean language as a consequence of close geographical and historical ties between the two countries. Chinese ideographs are useful for clarifying the meanings of Korean words, especially when two or more words are pronounced similarly; therefore they are found fairly frequently in Korean media. Typically, a foreign or polysemous term in Korean is followed by the Chinese characters within brackets. For example, ‘President Lee’ [이 대통령] features as ‘李 대통령’ or ‘이 (李) 대통령’ in many cases, because the Korean ‘이 대통령’ can be understood either as ‘this president’ or ‘President Lee’. Another reason behind the largely pervasive use of Chinese characters in Korean media is that ideographic language takes up less space. For instance, the Korean equivalent of ‘the US’ is ‘미국’; its corresponding Chinese character is ‘美國’. However, the first character, ‘美’, also means ‘the US’. Hence, in some Korean newspapers, ‘美’, which requires only one space for one character, is preferred to ‘미국’, which requires two spaces. Another example is ‘訪中’ [visit China]. Although it should be translated into, and be written in, Korean, this form sometimes seems to be preferred as a way of keeping the title simple, rather than using the literal Korean translation, ‘중국을 방문하다’ (or, simply, ‘중국방문’). What can be expressed in only two characters in Chinese, then, requires seven Korean characters plus a space in between. Other examples include the Korean translations of ‘訪韓’ [visit South Korea] and ‘訪美’ [visit the US], where the Korean translations are ‘한국을 방문하다’ (or ‘한국방문’) and ‘미국을 방문하다’ (or ‘미국방문’), respectively.

These Chinese characters have to be manually replaced with Korean to facilitate the analysis, because (i) the Korean target texts compiled in this study are exclusively about North Korea, so there is no room for ambiguity; (ii) WordSmith Tools counts ‘미’ and ‘美’ differently if both forms are maintained. This also applies to China, Japan, North Korea, South Korea, as well as surnames, such as Lee (李). Therefore, ‘中’ has consistently been replaced with ‘중국’ [China]; ‘日’ with ‘일본’ [Japan]; ‘北’ with ‘북한’ [North Korea]; ‘韓’ with ‘남한’ [South Korea]; and ‘李 대통령’ with ‘이 대통령’ [President Lee]. As for 韓, this is replaced with ‘남한’ [South Korea], not ‘한’ or ‘한국’ [Korea], although it can also mean ‘Korea’, because this Chinese character is

exclusively used to refer to South Korea: according to the *Naver Online Korean Dictionary* (2012)¹¹⁶, it is the abbreviated form of ‘Republic of Korea’ (South Korea).

Some news outlets prefer to use Korean words, which means that, in some cases, the Korean transcription of a Chinese character is used. For instance, the Korean transcription of ‘韓’ (한) is used instead of ‘韓’. The same applies to ‘中’ (중), ‘美’ (미) and ‘北’ (북). These four Korean words in particular can have more than two meanings each, depending on the context, and if they are not accompanied by the relevant Chinese characters, it may be difficult to interpret them precisely. ‘한’ can be interpreted in a number of different ways. For instance, it may mean ‘as far as/as long as’ (e.g. ‘내가 아는 *한*’ [*as far as* I know]); ‘one’ (e.g. ‘*한* 사람’ [*one* person]); or ‘Korea’ (e.g. ‘*한-미* 정상회담’ [South Korea-the U.S. Summit]). Similarly, ‘중’ may mean ‘among’ (‘생존자 *중*’ [*among* the survivors]); ‘China’ (‘북-*중* 정상회담’ [NK-*China* Summit]); and ‘during’ (in the course of) (e.g. ‘재판 *중*’ - *in the course of* a trial). ‘미’ and ‘북’ can also have a number of different meanings, but some are unlikely to be relevant in the North Korean context. For instance, ‘북’ can be translated into ‘North’ or ‘drum’; however, it is unlikely that there will be many instances where it refers to the latter.

In order to ensure that the methodology of analysis is robust, all instances of the three polysemous syllables – ‘미’, ‘한’ and ‘중’ – were examined to clarify their use. This process was conducted by using the ‘highlight collocate’ function of WordSmith Tools. When this system is activated, all instances of the selected collocate are highlighted in the concordance lines. A snapshot of one set of concordance lines is provided in Figure 11 below. All concordance lines shown in Figure 11 are examples of the use of this word to mean ‘the US’; here, the selected collocate ‘미’ is highlighted in red, thus enabling the analyst to examine the specific ways in which the collocate is used in a given context. The concordance lines of ‘미’ reveal that it is exclusively used to refer to ‘the US’.

¹¹⁶ <http://krdic.naver.com/> [last accessed 31 May 2012].

6	기자 미국의 강경책이 위기 부른 듯... 최근 방북한 미 북한 전문가의 진단 2006년 9월 19일 북한은
7	열린 아세안 지역안보포럼(ARF) 연례회의에서 백남준 북한 외무상을 만났을 때 미 정부 관리들은 북한 내에서 그의
8	당국에 의해 불잡혀 억류됐다. 앞서 미 국무부는 여기자들이 북한 당국으로부터 대우를 잘 받고 있다는 정보를 받았다고
9	보고 있다고 보도했다. 라이스 미 대사는 유엔의 구속력 없는 북한 핵실험에 대한 비난 성명을 채택한 뒤 안보리가 현재
10	지난 7월 9일 저녁, 크리스토퍼 힐 미 국무부 차관보와 김계관 북한 외무성 부상이 베이징의 한 식당에서 은밀히 만났다.
11	북한 플루토늄 무기화 미 북한 연구학자에 따르면, 북한 고위 관계자가 “북한은 플루토늄 재고량을
12	기본적인 장거리 탄도 미사일을 개발할 수 있을 것이다. 북한 북한 의 미사일 발사실험 위협: 미 중앙정보국(CIA)은
13	백남준 북한 외무상을 만났을 때 미 정부 관리들은 북한 내에서 그의 권력 서열이 어느 정도 되는지를 확실히 알
14	“역사적 사건”이라고 선언했다. 이 말이 중요한 이유는 김씨가 북한 인민군 대좌이며 미 · 북 대립의 상징물을 지키는
15	박했다. 커트 캠벨 미 국무부 동아태 차관보는 “미국은 북한 내 상황전개를 주시하고 있다”고 밝혔다 그는 미국은
16	에너지 원조, 그리고 미 국무부 테러국가 명단에서 북한 제외)을 제공하는 방식도 있다. 금융제재의 고동은 어느
17	시한을 넘겼다. 크리스토퍼 힐 미 국무부 차관보와 김계관 북한 외무성 부상의 지난주 베이징 회동도 대화를 계속한다는

Figure 11. A snapshot of concordance lines where the selected collocate ‘미’ [the US] is highlighted in red

However, the situation is somewhat different for ‘한’ and ‘중’. Figure 12 shows concordance lines where ‘한’ is highlighted. A closer look at these instances shows that ‘한’ is used in a number of different ways: for example, to mean ‘one’ (lines 38 and 48); ‘certain’ or ‘anonymous’ (lines 39, 40, 42, 44, 46 and 49); ‘as long as (line 41); ‘Korea’ (line 43); and as a form of ‘do’ [하다] (lines 45, 46 and 47). Figure 13 is a snapshot of concordance lines of ‘북한’ [North Korea] where ‘중’ is highlighted in red: here, it means ‘among’ or ‘of’ (lines 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9 and 10); ‘during’ (lines 2 and 7); and ‘China’ (lines 5 and 11).

38	한국 경비 정의 지휘를 맡고 있었다. 그가 북한 전함 가운데 한 척을 가로막은 다음 ‘중독식
39	당국은 그들을 추방했다. 그 후 지난 2월 한 북한 대변인이 항의서를 발표했다. “달러의
40	전략부서에서 내려왔으며 대금지불은 한 북한 무역회사를 통해 이뤄졌다고 말했다.
41	북한 의 정책과 의도를 분석하는 문제에 관한 한 북한 외무성의 성명이 간단하고 유치해
42	손쉽게 반입될 수 있다). 남한의 비디오 CD를 북한 손님들에게 수시로 파는 단종의 한 음악
43	우려한다. 일례를 보자. 최근 한 · 미 양국은 북한 정권 붕괴 시에 대비한 비상 대응계획을
44	. 예컨대 평양의 한 유럽 대사관에서 일하는 북한 여성 근로자(이 여성은 북한 정보기관의
45	시나리오다. 미국이 선제공격을 할 경우 북한 정권의 교체를 목표로 한 것일 가능성이
46	. 북한에서 근무 한 적이 있는 한 외교관은 “현재 북한 지도부는 변화가 자신들의 권력 기반에
47	‘오덕 스토라’를 두고 하는 말이다. 임씨는 북한 정치범 수용소를 배경으로 한 이 작품에서
48	정도로 조용했다. 북한 관영 중앙통신은 심지어 북한 전함 한 척이 ‘침몰’했다는 사실 까지
49	제공하고 있다고 말한다. 한 고위관리는 북한 역시 그 때문에 원조 대가로 핵프로그램을

Figure 12. A snapshot of concordance lines where the selected collocate ‘한’ is highlighted in red

1	스티븐 해거드의 새 연구에 따르면 북한 주민 중 '상거래가 출세의
2	통과는 농촌에서 시작됐다. 냉전기간 중 북한 정권은 터무니없이 많은 양의
3	박혀낸 드문 취재 기회다. 정대세는 북한 대표팀의 재일동포 3명의 선수 중
4	증거는 거의 찾아보지 못했다. 남포는 북한 서부의 주요 항구 중 하나다.
5	링은 지난 17일 북·중 접경지대에서 북한 당국에 의해 붙잡혀 억류됐다.
6	늘렸다. 특히 대중국 무역은 현재 북한 전체 교역량 중 거의 4분의 3을
7	일본 태생의 스타 정대세 선수는 북한 대표팀이 유럽여행 중 유료
8	안 된다"고 밝혔다. 그는 유엔이 북한 인구 2400만명 중 130만명에게
9	'햇볕정책' 역대 한국 지도자 중 북한 도발에 이처럼 단호하게 대처한
10	한 장면 중 일부는 한국 동부의 오지에 북한 마을을 본떠 만든 촬영소에서
11	하는 미·중·북 3자회담이었지만 향후 북한 군부는 미국과의 직접협상이

Figure 13. A snapshot of concordance lines where the selected collocate ‘중’ is highlighted in red

In summary, close examination of the use of each of the four collocates that raise issues of ambiguity and polysemy shows that only one dictionary meaning is used in the case of ‘북’ and ‘미’. However, ‘한’ and ‘중’ are used with different meanings in different contexts; importantly, ‘한’ may mean something other than ‘Korea’; and ‘중’ does not always mean ‘China’. In the analysis of the English corpus (Chapter Five) and the English ST sub-corpus (Chapter Six), ‘Korea’ and ‘China’ raised no issues of ambiguity or polysemy. Inasmuch as the analysis should be comparable, it was therefore decided to ignore ‘한’ and ‘중’ after the collocate list was generated, since their appearance on that list was not associated with a single or predominant semantic meaning.

In terms of the collocate list of ‘북한’ [North Korea], a supplementary measure is adopted because of the nature of the Korean language and the way in which the software processes the collocate list, as discussed below. As already briefly discussed in Chapter Four, various types of Korean particles and suffixes, such as *-eun*, *-neun*, *-ga* and *-eneun*, have various grammatical functions, but the referential meanings of the nouns to which they are attached remain the same. For example, although ‘북한은’ and ‘북한을’ both refer to ‘북한’ [North Korea], the former functions as a grammatical ‘subject’, whereas the latter functions as an ‘object’. Moreover, even when their grammatical functions are the same, different particles and suffixes can be added, depending on the context in which the word functions, including the phonological context. For example, ‘북한은’ and ‘북한이’ both refer to ‘North Korea’, and both function as ‘subjects’, but their particles and suffixes are different (as italicised).

Therefore, analysing ‘북한’ only does not reveal the whole picture of how North Korea is constructed in the Korean media.

The option of using an asterisk for fuzzy matching was discarded, because of a specific feature of the Korean language, together with the way in which WordSmith Tools processes the relation score. In the previous analyses of the English corpus and the English ST sub-corpus, a statistical technique was used in order to produce a relation score, thereby reducing the list, and ordering collocates by their relation scores. It was explained in Chapter Five that the relation score was measured generally by examining the following: (i) the frequency of occurrence of each collocate in the vicinity of the search item; (ii) the “relative number of occurrences, both next to, and away from” the search word (Baker 2009: 101), which requires access to a full frequency list of the corpus; and (iii) the overall size of the corpus. Because the frequency of the occurrence of each collocate matters, and the collocate contains all the different variations of ‘North Korea’ in Korean, too many variants were produced. For instance, if ‘북한*’ is used as a search item, the frequency list will return all possible variants, including ‘북한 0/’, ‘북한 은’, and ‘북한 을’; this eventually leads WordSmith Tools to show numerous different relation scores of collocates, e.g. relation scores of ‘북한 0/’ [NK, subject] being associated with ‘북한 을’ [NK, object]; ‘북한 0/’ [NK, subject] with ‘북한 은’ [NK, subject]; and ‘북한 을’ [NK, object] with ‘북한 은’ [NK, subject], and so on.

In order to demonstrate why the option of using an asterisk was discarded, a table is given below (Table 23), showing the top twenty collocates of countries and cities appearing in the three hundred collocate list output for ‘북한*’ [NK*] which was acquired using the DC (Dice-Coefficient) technique, with an asterisk attached, listing items in order of collocation strength alongside the back translation of each item. The higher relation scores indicate strong collocations, and scores are calculated down to three places of decimals. 68 countries and cities appeared in the three hundred collocate list output for ‘북한*’; however, only the top twenty collocates of countries and cities are presented here, because, as we will see later, the others consisted of the same items already appearing in the top twenty.

N	Word	Gloss	with	Gloss	Relation score
1	북한과	with North Korea	북한과	with North Korea	1.007
2	북한산	Bukhan [North Korea] mountain	북한산	Bukhan [North Korea] mountain	1.000
3	북한군은	North Korean army	북한군은	North Korean army	1.000
4	북한에서는	In North Korea	북한에서는	In North Korea	1.000
5	북한보다	Than North Korea	북한보다	Than North Korea	1.000
6	북한에선	In North Korea	북한에선	In North Korea	1.000
7	북한이나	North Korea or	북한이나	North Korea or	1.000
8	북한군이	North Korean army	북한군이	North Korean army	1.000
9	북한에서	In North Korea	북한에서	In North Korea	1.000
10	북한처럼	Like North Korea	북한처럼	Like North Korea	1.000
11	북한에게	To North Korea	북한에게	To North Korea	1.000
12	북한에도	Also in North Korea	북한에도	Also in North Korea	1.000
13	북한측의	North Korean side	북한측의	North Korean side	1.000
14	북한으로서는	For North Korea	북한으로서는	For North Korea	1.000
15	북한에서도	Also in North Korea	북한에서도	Also in North Korea	1.000
16	북한측에	To North Korean side	북한측에	To North Korean side	1.000
17	북한인들은	North Korean	북한인들은	North Korean	1.000
18	북한측	North Korean side	북한측	North Korean side	1.000
19	북한에서의	In North Korea	북한에서의	In North Korea	1.000
20	북한군의	North Korean army's	북한군의	North Korean army's	1.000

Table 23. Countries and cities appearing in the raw top three hundred collocate list, ordered by relation score

Table 23 includes a number of repeated items, because of various particles and suffixes being attached to the same word, as explained above, and because WordSmith Tools reads and calculates differently some Korean words that mean the same thing. Although those particles and suffixes do not affect the basic referential meaning of the word they are attached to, the software program recognises each variant as a different word. For example, all three items appearing in the list below, i.e. ‘북한에서는’ (line 4), ‘북한에선’ (line 6) and ‘북한에서’ (line 9), mean ‘in/at North Korea’. However, because each form contains a different particle or suffix (as italicised), WordSmith Tools counts each as a distinct item.

As can be seen from the above discussion, the software employed in this study has certain limitations when used to analyse a Korean text, and is generally not as

straightforward to apply as in the case of English. I therefore had no option but to adjust some aspects of the data to ensure that the software can process it reliably. In particular, a specific marker is added after every instance of ‘북한’ [NK] in order to identify it clearly irrespective of the various particles and suffixes that might be attached to it. A small square box is used to substitute a particle or a suffix. For example, ‘북한은’ [NK, subject] was changed into ‘북한□’. The particle or suffix itself is deleted, with the square box indicating that there is a missing particle but not which particle. The alternative would have been to retain an unmanageable number of forms ending in different particles and being counted separately by the software. Since this is not a study of particles and the particles have no impact on the meaning of the keyword, this was thought to be an acceptable measure.

This exercise had to be carried out manually by activating the ‘find and replace’ function of Microsoft Word, because there were some instances where ‘북한’[NK] was part of a different word, e.g. ‘거북한’ [uncomfortable]. Furthermore, in the case of some compounds that feature the word ‘북한’ used in the relevant referential meanings, e.g. ‘북한전문가’ [NKn expert], a space needs to be inserted in order to allow the software program to recognise ‘북한’ as referring to North Korea. If a space is not inserted, WordSmith would count the compound as a separate word. Unlike particles, meaningful elements of a compound word cannot be deleted. Inserting a space, therefore, resolves this problem: ‘북한□/전문가 [NKn□/expert]¹¹⁷’.

The collocate list had to be further refined, because the point discussed above can apply to other words, such as ‘미국’ [the US] and ‘중국’ [China]. For instance, ‘미국이’, ‘미국은’, ‘미국이’ and ‘미국을’ all refer to the US; however, the particles (italicised) lead the software program to read them as different words. Therefore, in order to correct this and to refine the output, the ‘lemmatising’ function of the software was employed. This enables several entries that appear in groups on a list of collocates to be treated as a set, and for their total frequency to be calculated. Scott (2010) explains ‘lemmatisation’ as the function that brings together several entries, such as *want*, *wants*, *wanting* and *wanted*, and treats them as “members of the same lemma, or set, rather

¹¹⁷ ‘북한’ [North Korea] may also refer to ‘North Korean’.

than as a headword in a dictionary”.¹¹⁸ This process could have been carried out manually; however, the software processes it automatically. This requires a plain text (.txt) file (e.g. Figure 14), based on which the software suite automates the process of matching and joining collocates. Knowing that the raw Korean collocate list needs to be refined where scattered collocates having the same lemma should be grouped together, a text file was created in order to enable lemmatisation to be carried out (Figure 14).

In principle, and for the sake of consistency, lemmatisation should be applied to all Korean words appearing on the raw collocate list; however, this requires a considerable investment of time, given that the frequency list features a total of 65,504 words. The focus of this study was already limited to the analysis of countries and cities in Chapters Five and Six; therefore, only countries and cities were subjected to lemmatisation. I investigated all the different forms of each country and city as they appeared on what I call the ‘raw collocate list’: the collocate list as it was prior to the refining and supplementary process I undertook.

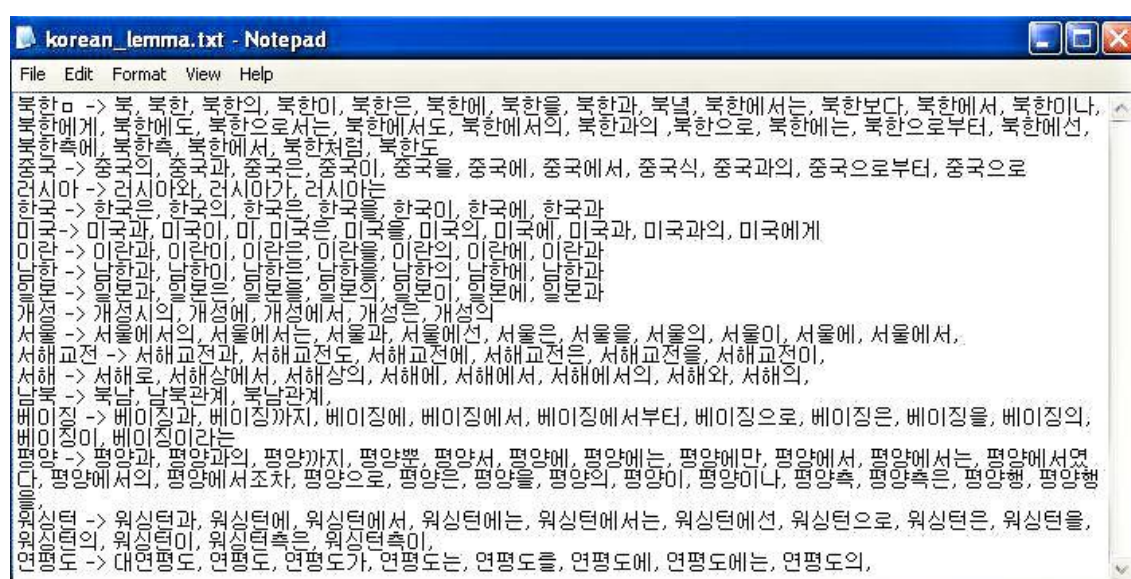


Figure 14. Various lemma sets used for lemmatisation

¹¹⁸ ‘북한’ [NK] can also be subjected to lemmatisation, but the data have to be adjusted anyway because the frequency list of ‘북한’ has to be obtained to produce a relation score.

N	Word	With	Relation	Texts	Total
5	미국	북한	0.000	107	167
6	이	북한	0.000	108	162
7	한	북한	0.000	93	157
8	그	북한	0.000	89	147
9	미사일	북한	0.000	61	142
10	그러나	북한	0.000	88	139
11	수	북한	0.000	85	139
12	있는	북한	0.000	95	132
13	있다	북한	0.000	85	124
14	김정일	북한	0.000	94	123
15	중국	북한	0.000	74	123
16	대해	북한	0.000	83	116
17	위해	북한	0.000	75	113
18	한국	북한	0.000	68	112
19	천안함	북한	0.000	53	106
20	더	북한	0.000	70	101
21	미	북한	0.000	72	100
22	최근	북한	0.000	75	99
23	그는	북한	0.000	66	96
24	미국은	북한	0.000	60	93
25	따르면	북한	0.000	57	83
26	이번	북한	0.000	61	83
27	미국이	북한	0.000	53	80

Figure 15. A snapshot of the raw collocate list of ‘북한’ [NK]

N	Word	With	Relation	Texts	Total
5	미국	북한	0.000	107	592
6	이	북한	0.000	108	162
7	한	북한	0.000	93	157
8	그	북한	0.000	89	147
9	미사일	북한	0.000	61	142
10	그러나	북한	0.000	88	139
11	수	북한	0.000	85	139
12	있는	북한	0.000	95	132
13	있다	북한	0.000	85	124
14	김정일	북한	0.000	94	123
15	중국	북한	0.000	74	377
16	대해	북한	0.000	83	116
17	위해	북한	0.000	75	113
18	한국	북한	0.000	68	242
19	천안함	북한	0.000	53	106
20	더	북한	0.000	70	101
21	미	북한	0.000	72	400
22	최근	북한	0.000	75	99
23	그는	북한	0.000	66	96
24	미국은	북한	0.000	60	93
25	따르면	북한	0.000	57	83
26	이번	북한	0.000	61	83
27	미국이	북한	0.000	53	80

Figure 16. A snapshot of the lemmatised collocate list of ‘북한’ [NK]

According to Scott (2010), the way the lemmatisation program works means that every entry in the lemma list is “checked to see whether it matches one of the entries” in the Wordlist, Concord or Keywords, such that ‘am’, ‘was’, and ‘were’ will be stored as lemmas of ‘be’. Similarly, if ‘미국’ and ‘미국의’ are found, ‘미국의’ will be joined to ‘미국’. Figures 15 and 16 demonstrate the lemmatisation process: Figure 15 is a snapshot of the raw collocate list of ‘북한’ [NK], while Figure 16, below, presents the same collocate list obtained after lemmatisation. Various forms of ‘the US’ are highlighted in boxes in both figures on the next page: Figure 15 and Figure 16. In Figure 15, ‘미국’ [the US] (line 5), ‘미’ [the US], (line 21) ‘미국은’ [the US] (line 24), and ‘미국이’ [the US] (line 27) are presented separately; however, the latter three words are greyed out in Figure 16, while the total frequency of ‘미국’ [the US] (line 5) is increased from 167 instances (Figure 15) to 592 instances (Figure 16). This mechanism is also applied to other countries and cities, including ‘중국’ [China], ‘이란’ [Iran], ‘베이징’ [Beijing] and ‘서울’ [Seoul].

After all these steps were carried out, a collocate list was generated with ‘북한’ [NK] as a search item. The default setting for the collocate list and concordance functions including the ‘stop at sentence break’ function which limited the search for collocates within the sentence boundary and five as the minimum frequency were maintained. The ‘stop list’ function, which was activated in the previous analyses in order to automatically exclude specific words such as relative pronouns and modal verbs in the analyses, was not used. The ‘stop list’ function was previously employed in order to reduce the collocate list to a manageable size; it consisted of forty-eight functional words, including articles and demonstratives. However, this is not useful for the analysis of the Korean TT sub-corpus because items such as articles, auxiliary verbs¹¹⁹ and prepositions are not used in Korean.

The same statistical techniques were employed in order to produce a relational score, resulting in the stronger collocates appearing at the top and weaker ones at the bottom. Like the previous analyses, DC (Dice-Coefficient) was used in preference to other available statistical techniques, even though the language under investigation is different, for the sake of consistency.

¹¹⁹ Although auxiliary verbs are used in Korean, their definition is different from auxiliary verbs of English.

All these processes returned 1,536 collocates, ordered according to the strength of the collocation. The top three hundred items on the list were selected for analysis, in order to remain consistent with the analysis in both Chapter Five and Chapter Six. The top three hundred collocates on the list may be categorised into a number of groups semantically, as they were in the analysis of the English corpus and the English ST sub-corpus. The analysis of the Korean TT sub-corpus will specifically focus on the ‘countries and cities’ set, although this sub-corpus might feature different semantic groups from those of either the English corpus or the English ST sub-corpus. This choice means that the CDA framework adopted in this study can be maintained and consistency in the examination of collocational profiles throughout the whole study can be achieved. Specifically, the extent to which the collocational profiles of the Korean TT sub-corpus differ from those of the English ST sub-corpus can be investigated, thus enabling me to answer the last research question: What does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discursive shifts in the translated Korean texts?

Table 24 below lists countries and cities that appear in the top three hundred collocate list, ordered according to the relation score. The relation score of each collocate was reached by applying the same procedure used in previous analyses: DC was used and the scores were calculated down to three decimal places. For ease of reference and analysis of the sets of countries and cities, ‘Yeongpyeong Island’, the name of the island in South Korea, is relocated to appear directly under ‘South Korea’, and the collocate list of the English ST sub-corpus is provided for comparison purposes. It is worth remembering that the main purpose of the analysis of the collocate list does not lie in comparing the relation score of each collocate but in identifying which countries or cities receive more attention in Korean media; the relation score is used merely as an instrument for selecting a manageable number of collocates.

N	English ST sub-corpus collocates			Korean TT sub-corpus collocates			
	English word	Relation score	Total frequency	Korean word	Gloss	Relation score	Total frequency
1	NK PYONGYANG YONGBYON	0.999 0.017 0.006	2,234 27 7	북한 =	NORTH KOREA =	1.081	6,383
2	USA WASHINGTON AMERICAN	0.061 0.021 0.015	120 27 19	미국	USA	0.055	675
3	SK SEOUL SKN YEONPYEONG	0.059 0.029 0.023 0.008	87 38 32 9	중국	CHINA	0.042	446
4	CHINA CHINESE BEIJING	0.057 0.009 0.010	92 12 13	한국	KOREA	0.038	259
5	IRAN	0.051	66	일본	JAPAN	0.023	143
6	JAPAN JAPANESE	0.025 0.008	34 10	이란	IRAN	0.015	76
7	IRAQ	0.023	32	남한 연평도	SOUTH KOREA YEONPYEONG ISLAND	0.014 0.014	155 42
8	RUSSIA	0.014	18	한반도	KOREAN PENINSULA	0.011	34
9	KOREAN	0.009	12	러시아	RUSSIA	0.009	54
10	LIBYA	0.008	9	이라크	IRAQ	0.007	22
11	PAKISTAN	0.008	9	남북한 =	SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA	0.006	17

Table 24. Comparison of the collocate list of English ST and Korean TT sub-corpora

The collocational profile of the Korean TT sub-corpus is similar, to an extent, to that of the English ST sub-corpus: it reveals that North Korea strongly collocates with ‘USA’, ‘China’, ‘Korea’ and ‘Japan’. However, there are some differences in terms of the order of collocates, as well as the presentation of countries and cities. For instance, ‘Iran’ is a strong collocate of North Korea and appears before ‘Japan’ in the English ST sub-corpus top three hundred collocate list; but it appears in a lower position than Japan in the Korean TT sub-corpus collocate list (fifth position), occupying sixth place. The

differences between the English ST sub-corpus and the Korean TT sub-corpus can largely be reduced to two main points: (i) some countries, cities and people either disappear or appear for the first time, and (ii) some countries and cities appear higher up, or lower down, the list. These two patterns merit some explanation.

Starting with the first group, a few countries, cities and people that appear among the top three hundred collocates of the English ST sub-corpus are not found at all in the Korean TT sub-corpus collocate list. Specifically, the two countries identified in Chapter Five as ‘unexpected alliances’ – ‘Libya’ and ‘Pakistan’ – do not appear in the Korean list. These countries were grouped under ‘unexpected alliances’ in the previous chapter because, alongside other countries such as Iran and Iraq, they have little in common with North Korea, specifically no evident historical, geographical, cultural or political connection with that country. It was also explained that both Libya and Pakistan have a history of conflict with the US. There is however no such history of conflict between either North or South Korea and those ‘unexpected alliances’. Indeed, the relationship of Libya and Pakistan to South Korea is not only non-conflictual, but is close enough to support mutual agreements. South Korea established consular relations with Libya in 1980 and signed a trade agreement with Pakistan in 1968. As of 2011, bilateral trade between Libya and South Korea amounted to \$180,912,000 in exports and \$248,832,000 in imports, and there have been consistent exchanges of high-profile diplomatic figures between the two countries between 1999 and 2011 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2012)¹²⁰. Furthermore, diplomatic ties between Libya and South Korea were strengthened when Ban Ki-Moon, the then South Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and Han Myung-Sook, the then Prime Minister, visited Libya in 2005 and 2006 respectively, resulting in extended cooperation between the two countries (Naver online Encyclopaedia 2012)¹²¹.

Pakistan has signed a number of agreements with South Korea, including the ‘Agreement on Maritime Transport’ (1984), the ‘Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement’ and the ‘Air Transport Agreement’ (1996) (ibid.). Bilateral trade reached a total of \$15 billion (\$840 million from exports and \$630 million from imports) in 2008. South Korea has invested fairly heavily in Pakistan, with the cumulative total of such

¹²⁰ <http://www.mofat.go.kr/main/index.jsp> [last accessed 31 May 2012].

¹²¹ <http://100.naver.com/> [last accessed 31 May 2012].

investment, at the end of 2006, amounting to as much as \$24 million (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2012). According to a report by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2012), Pakistan has consistently sought to strengthen its diplomatic relations with South Korea since the 1980s; at the same time, it has kept its distance from North Korea since 2002, when that country's nuclear ambitions came to the fore.

The fact that North Korea does not have close historical, geographical and political ties with Libya and Pakistan and that South Korea has built fairly good relations with those countries goes some way towards explaining why they do not appear as strong collocates of North Korea on the Korean TT sub-corpus collocate list. The assumption here is that the process of selecting material for translation into Korean will be subject to the usual constraints on newsworthiness from the perspective of the target rather than source culture.

Interestingly, ‘남북한’ [South and North Korea] did not appear on the English ST sub-corpus collocate list but does appear on the Korean TT sub-corpus collocate list as a single collocate. This may indicate that the Korean media are more concerned about North Korean issues that might affect the relationships between North and South Korea, in particular, and that they select or supplement news from a South Korean perspective.

Still focusing on the first group, it is worth noting that specific cities – ‘Pyongyang’, ‘Yongbyon’, ‘Washington’ and ‘Beijing’, and people – ‘American’, ‘Chinese’ and ‘Japanese’ – are not found at all in the top three hundred collocates of the Korean TT sub-corpus. ‘Yeonpyeong Island’ is the only province that appears on the list. Close investigation of concordance lines and specific texts would need to be carried out to find plausible explanations for these patterns. However, a tentative explanation for the absence of cities might be as follows. Whereas capital cities are widely used in the media as a substitute for countries – for example, ‘*Pyongyang* announced’ might be assumed to mean ‘*North Korea* announced’, and ‘Washington’, where the White House is located, is routinely used as a substitute for ‘the US’ – North Korean issues tend to be reported at a national level, thus reducing the various aspects of ‘North Koreanhood’ (such as people and cities) to a single, abstract actor.

Turning now to the second set of countries and cities, some countries moved higher up, while others appeared lower down the list. China and Japan, two of the countries ‘expected’ to collocate strongly with North Korea because of historical, geographical and political ties, feature higher up the list, whereas Iran and Iraq, who belong to the set of ‘unexpected alliances’, the same set in which Libya and Pakistan were placed, appear in lower positions, below China and Japan. ‘China’ appeared below ‘South Korea’ in the English ST sub-corpus collocate list, but appears above ‘South Korea’ in the Korean TT sub-corpus collocate list. Iran, moreover, is not as strongly associated with North Korea as it is in the English ST sub-corpus. Its position dropped to 6th place, below Japan. Iraq, similarly, moved way down the list, below Russia.

As one of the major diplomatic players in East Asia, South Korea has built strong relationships with China and Japan. Moreover, historical enmity during World War II, when Japan invaded a number of East Asian countries, including China and Korea, continues to make diplomatic relations between China, both North and South Korea and Japan newsworthy. Similarly, South Korea also has an ongoing interest in Russia, since Russia is a long-standing ally of North Korea. Such historical, political and diplomatic realities explain, to some degree, the changes in the order of those countries in the Korean TT sub-corpus collocate list, which might reflected in the selection of STs again.

The differences between the English ST sub-corpus and the Korean TT sub-corpus discussed so far can be summarised as follows: (i) the countries identified in Chapter Five as ‘expected collocates’ of North Korea, including China and Japan, continue to hold prominent positions or even appear higher up on the collocate list of the Korean TT sub-corpus; (ii) whereas some ‘unexpected alliances’ (namely, Iran and Iraq) appear further down the list, compared to their positions in the English ST sub-corpus, and other ‘unexpected alliances’ (namely, Libya and Pakistan), which were strongly associated with North Korea in the English corpus and also appeared on the collocate list of the English ST sub-corpus, do not appear at all in the Korean TT sub-corpus collocate list; (iii) ‘남북한’ [South and North Korea], which did not appear on the collocate list of the English ST sub-corpus (nor of the English corpus), is a strong collocate of North Korea in the Korean TT sub-corpus; (iv) specific cities (Pyongyang’, ‘Yongbyon’, ‘Washington’ and ‘Beijing’) and the people of relevant countries

(‘American’, ‘Chinese’ and ‘Japanese’), which were also strongly associated with North Korea in the English ST sub-corpus (as well as in the English corpus), do not appear at all in the three-hundred Korean TT sub-corpus collocate list. These differences reflect what Korean media institutions, in this case *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News*, value most. At the same time, they reveal interesting discursive shifts in the Korean translations.

In what follows, some of the ways in which relationships are constructed by Korean media will be identified. Prior to the parallel analysis of the English ST and the Korean TT where some of the ways in which discursive shifts introduced in the process of translation by Korean media will be examined, concordance lines of ‘북한*’ [NK*] will be analysed in order to form a clearer picture of the image of North Korea that is being constructed by Korean media. An asterisk is used here in order to obtain all instances of ‘북한’ [North Korea] - ‘북한’ with various particles and suffixes attached – e.g. ‘북한이’, ‘북한을’ and ‘북한에’.¹²²

7.2 Concordance lines of ‘북한’ [North Korea]

In this section, an in-depth analysis of the concordance lines of ‘북한’ [North Korea] will be carried out. Using ‘북한*’ [NK*¹²³] as a search word, a total of 5,830 concordance lines were retrieved, allowing me to identify a number of potentially interesting patterns.

‘북한*핵*’ [NK* nuclear*] (325 occurrences), ‘북한* 정권*’ [NK* regime*] (128), ‘미국* 북한*’ [The US* NK*] (117), ‘중국* 북한*’ [China* NK*] (115) and ‘북한* 정부*’ [NK* government*] (103) proved to be among the most common.¹²⁴ As already pointed out in the analysis of ‘North Korea’ in the English ST sub-corpus in Chapter Six, there are limitations imposed by the relatively small size of the translational corpora (the English ST sub-corpus and Korean TT sub-corpus). Bearing this in mind, a more in-

¹²² Note that the option of using an asterisk was discarded in the collocate list analysis mainly in order to achieve relation scores.

¹²³ This includes ‘North Korea’s’ and ‘North Korean’.

¹²⁴ All these cases include both those instances with spaces between two words and with no spaces between them, all of which are enclosed by brackets. Although not specified, this is reflected in all concordances throughout the study, e.g. ‘북한핵’ [North Korean/North Korea’s nuclear] and ‘북한/핵’ [North Korean/North Korea’s nuclear].

depth analysis will be carried out, focusing on the following most promising pattern – ‘북한* 핵*’ [NK* nuclear*].

A total of 325 concordance lines of ‘북한* 핵*’ [NK* nuclear*], out of 5,830 instances of ‘북한*’ [NK*], was analysed first. Interesting patterns that emerged in this analysis included the association of ‘북한*’ [NK*] with ‘무기’ [weapon], ‘프로그램’ [programme], ‘실험’ [test] and ‘개발’ [development]; these are summarised in Table 25. In terms of institution-specific patterns, the majority, 271 instances, were from *Newsweek Hangukpan* with the remaining 54 occurrences from *CNN Hangeul News*. A systematic analysis of the concordance lines of each pattern will be presented below.

북한* 핵* [NK* nuclear*]	Patterns	gloss	Frequency
	무기	weapon	60 instances
	프로그램	programme	54 instances
	실험	test	48 instances
	개발	development	27 instances

Table 25. Patterns associated with ‘NK* nuclear*’ with different nouns in the immediate vicinity (right of the search item)

7.2.1 ‘북한* 핵*무기’ [NK* nuclear*weapon*]

A total of sixty concordance lines of ‘북한*핵*무기’ [NK* nuclear* weapon*] were found, out of 325 instances of ‘북한*핵*’ [NK* nuclear*]. Interesting patterns that emerged in the analysis included that association of ‘NK* nuclear*’ with a number of countries, such as the US, China, Japan and Iran. Institution-wise, fifty instances come from *Newsweek Hangukpan* while the other ten concordance lines come from *CNN Hangeul News*.

The analysis begins with the left pane of ‘NK* nuclear*weapon’, which revealed some interesting patterns. For instance, US, China, Japan, and Iran, found in the vicinity of ‘NK* nuclear*weapon’, form a coherent semantic set of countries. However, there is an overwhelmingly disproportionate volume of reporting, in favour of ‘the US’. US-related items account for 27 instances out of sixty; they include (i) items relating to the US government – ‘미국 정부’ [the US government]/‘미국 당국’ [the US authorities]/‘미국 행정부’ [the US Administration]/미국 관리 [the US government official]/미국 안보

관리[the US security official]/백악관’ [The White House]/‘워싱턴 정계’ [Washington political circle]: lines 2, 3, 4, 10, 16, 37, 38, 40, 54, 58 and 59; (ii) items featuring ‘Bush’ – ‘부시’ [Bush]/‘부시 행정부’ [Bush Administration]: lines 3, 20, 39, 48 and 58; (iii) items featuring Obama – ‘오바마’ [Obama]/‘오바마 정부’ [Obama government]/‘오바마 캠프’ [Obama Camp]: lines 16, 52 and 55; (iv) items referring to the country directly ‘미국’ [the US]/‘미국인’ [American]: lines 5, 8, 15, 18, 24, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 39, 41, 44 and 45; and (v) individual political figures below the level of ‘President’, including ‘라이스’ [Rice¹²⁵] (lines 37 and 56), ‘올브라이트/올브라트’ [Albright] (lines 5 and 47), ‘보즈워스’ [Bosworth] (line 32), ‘댄 핑크스톤’ [Daniel A. Pinkston] (line 9), ‘슨 매코맥’ [Sean McCormack] (line 24), and ‘클린턴’ [Clinton] (line 47): see Concordance 49 below. Most of these items are transparent in meaning and implication, and all revolve directly around the US, whether the items concerned are US presidents, officials, or institutions.

N Concordance

1 비롯한 6자회담 대표가 핵 협상안에 서명했다. 잉크가 마르기도 전에 평론가들이 그 합의문을 비난하기 시작했다. 이번 회담에서 **북한**이 **핵무기** 프로그램 핵심 요소의 봉인과 불능화를 약속하는 대가로 에너지를 지원하고 국제체재를 점차 완화하기로 합의했다.

2 선과 악 사이의 회색지대를 발견해가고 있는 만큼 미얀마에 대한 흑백논리적 접근을 재고하고 싶어질지도 모른다. 최근 미 행정부는 **북한**이 **핵무기** 개발을 중단하면 대북 제재조치 완화를 검토하겠다고면서 그간의 단호한 태도를 누그러뜨렸다. 하지만 미국은 미얀마에

3 하다. 워싱턴 정계가 논쟁에 휘말렸다. 좌, 우파의 연합세력은 부시 행정부의 분열된 대북 정책을 비판한다. 그리고 부시 행정부는 **북한**의 **핵무기** 능력과 시리아 커넥션에 관해 진실을 말하도록 북한을 압박할 것이냐, 아니면 북한이 천민국가로 붕괴할 때까지 기

4 PT 탈퇴 선언 외에 1998년 중단했던 미사일 시험 발사를 재개하겠다고 천명했다. 미국 관리들은 애써 평정을 유지하려 했다. **북한**의 **핵무기** 보유 여부와는 별도로 제2의 한국전쟁을 바라는 사람은 아무도 없다. 물론 북한은 전쟁에서 패배하겠지만 북한이

5 했다. 한 미국 관제자는 지난주 북한이 추가 핵실험을 준비하고 있을 가능성이 있다고 밝혔다. 올브라트 소장은 “핵실험을 할수록 **북한**의 **핵무기** 기술은 상당히 개선될 수 있다”고 말했다. 지난 수개월에 걸쳐 북한은 또한 단거리, 중거리, 장거리 미사일을

6 고 최종적으로 폐기하지 않는다. 그러려면 시간이 좀 걸리고 우리가 최종 목표에 도달할 때까지 분명 공존할 길을 찾아야 한다.” **북한**은 **핵무기**를 선호하는 강경파, 그리고 미국과의 비핵화 협상과 경제개혁을 추진하는 실용주의자들로 양분돼 있다. 클린턴 정부

7 제사회에 합류하든지 둘 중 하나를 선택하도록 압박하는 정책을 고수해 왔다. 그러나 문제가 있었다. 국경을 접하는 중국과 한국이 **북한**의 **핵무기**보다는 북한 체제의 붕괴를 더 우려한다는 점이다. 그래서 중국과 한국은 북한의 김정일 국방위원장이 미국의 압력에

8 않는 듯했다. 북핵 문제는 미국의 잘못된 정책이 아니라 무책에 있다. 다분히 충동적이고 단발적인 목표가 두 가지 있긴 하다. **북한**이 **핵무기**를 단념토록 유도하거나, 불안 조장을 통해 김정일 정권을 전복하는 것이다. 그러나 이 두 노선은 신중하게 통합

¹²⁵ Condoleezza Rice, the 66th United States Secretary of State.

9 비가 노후하기 때문에 잘 갖춰진 남한 해군에 대한 공격할 기회가 적다고 보고 있다 국제 위기그룹의 북한 전문가 덴 핑크스톤은 "북한은 핵무기를 포함한 비대칭적 군사력에 의존할 수밖에 없다"며 "북한은 실제 전쟁을 일으킬 수 없다"고 밝혔다. 북한이 보

10 게 그렇게 말했다. 북한 관리의 짓궂은 농담이었을까. 그러나 미 당국은 이 협박을 진지하게 받아들이는 것이 좋을 것이다. 특히 북한이 핵무기용 플루토늄 생산을 위해 핵 프로그램을 재가동하겠다고 선언한 상황에서는 말이다. 사실 북한이 플루토늄을 수출할

11 지지하고 중국이 북한의 비난하는데 중요한 역할을 하라고 촉구한 바 있다. 지난 달 연평도 포격, 지난 3월 천안함 침몰사건, 북한의 핵무기용 우라늄 농축 시설 공개 등으로 한반도 긴장이 고조된 가운데 스테인버그 부장관은 다음 주 아시아 순방에 나선다

12 만났다. 3시간 뒤 북한 국영 TV는 오후 10시45분의 일기예보를 중단하고 긴급성명을 내보냈다. 감청색 양복의 뉴스 진행자는 북한이 핵무기 계획에 관한 6자회담에 복귀한다고 선언했다. 북한은 지난 13개월간 6자회담을 거부해 왔다. 진행자는 흐트러진

13 유엔 특사, 북한 식량지원 지지 북한이 핵무기 프로그램을 단념하지 않을 것이라고 선언한지 3일 뒤 북한을 방문한 유엔 고위 관계자는 국제사회가 은둔왕국 북한에

14 주) 의원이 최근 고립이 심화되는 김정일의 북한을 나홀로 다녀왔다. 방북 목적은 외무상과 6자회담 대표를 포함한 북한 지도부에 북한 핵무기에 대한 미국의 입장을 전달하는 일이었다. 지난주 미국에 돌아간 렌토스를 크리스천 카릴 뉴스위크 기자가 만났다.

15 기는 것. 미국이 중국의 코앞에서 무력을 사용하게 되는 사태를 피하기 위해, 또는 일본이 핵무장하는 사태를 피하기 위해 중국이 북한의 핵무기 포기를 종용하는 것이다. 두번째 버전은 이라크전의 승리 분위기를 이용해 노골적인 정권교체의 위협으로 북한이 물

16 에서, 오바마 캠프 참가자들의 발언에서, 미국 외교안보 거물들의 움직임에서 확인되고 있다. 오바마 캠프는 아시아 정책장소에서 '북한의 핵무기 프로그램을 완전하고도 검증가능하게 제거'하는 게 목적이라고 천명했다. 이 대목은 2005년 9월 19일 6자회

17 공동위원장이 뉴스위크 앤드루 배스트 기자와 만나 세계 핵 정치사에서 '중대 분수령'이 될 을 한 해의 주요 현안을 전망했다. 북한이 핵무기 프로그램을 가동 중이다. 이란도 핵무기 프로그램을 개발 중인 듯하다. 협상과 제재 전략의 실패 아닌가? 협상과

18 런 논쟁은 양국 관계의 보다 근본적인 현안들을 가리고 있다. 미국과 달리 북한은 적국에 대한 장, 단기 정책을 모두 갖고 있다. 북한은 핵무기 프로그램에 관해 협상을 통해 서서히 폐기할 의사를 지녔다. 그러나 그 대가로 새롭고 비적대적인 양국관계 수립과

19 것"이라고 덧붙였다. 야세르 아라파트 팔레스타인 자치정부 수반이 타계한 뒤의 중동과 인도-파키스탄 문제, 그리고 특히 이란과 북한의 핵무기 개발 저지 등에서 외교가 필요하다는 의미다. 부시는 APEC 연설에서 곧 유럽을 순방해 "대서양 양안 관계를

20 의 내용을 잘 아는 사람들에 따르면 그 선언문 내용은 북한에 대해 너무 부드러운 것들이라 또다시 부시 행정부내 강경파들의 요구(북한 핵무기의 '검증가능하고 반복될 수 없는 폐기')에 발목이 잡혔다. 1994년 미국과 북한 사이에 이뤄진 제네바 합의 때

21 재가동하고 핵 시설에서 꺼낸 폐 연료봉을 재처리하겠다는 통보도 했다"고 덧붙였다. 북한 국영 언론은 이날 앞서 "북한 외무성이 북한의 핵무기를 불능화하려는 6자회담을 중단할 것이며 핵 무기 능력을 강화할 것이라고 밝혔다"고 보도했다. 북한은 국영언론

22 자세가 보도된 것처럼 불합리한가? 물론이다. 그러나 우리가 10년 전 대화를 시작할 때의 상황도 그랬다. 나머지 최후의 옵션은 북한의 핵무기 프로그램을 인정한 다음 정권을 견제하고 고립시키는 것이다. 이 경우 아시아에서 핵 군비경쟁이 촉발될 뿐 아니라

23 드시 그렇지는 않다. 상호 애정을 표현한 연설문과 성명서의 미사여구 그 어느 구석에도 김정일의 핵 야망에 대한 언급이 없었다. 북한의 핵무기 포기를 설득하려는 다자 간 협상인 6자회담에 북한이 참여한다는 사실을 감안할 때 핵무기에 대한 언급이 없다는

24 행하도록 노력할 것이라고 밝혔다. 손 매코맥 국무부 대변인은 "북한이 북핵 검증의정서 합의를 거부했다"고 말했다. 미국이 앞서 북한의 핵무기용 플루토늄을 생산하는 원자로 불능화 조치뿐 아니라 북핵 검증에 합의하겠다고 구두로 약속한 이후 이번 북핵 검증

- 25 현재 북핵 사태를 위기라고 부르기를 거부하며 외교적인 해결을 모색하고 있다. 우선 그것은 일본과 한국 같은 동맹국들을 압박해 **북한**에 **핵무기**를 포기하지 않으면 경제지원을 거부할 수도 있다고 으름장을 놓게 하는 것을 의미한다. 동시에 부시 행정부는 이번
- 26 동 미사일을 제공하는 대가로 우라늄 농축용 원심분리기 20여 기를 제작하는 데 필요한 부품을 구입 중인 사실을 알았다. 아울러 **북한**이 **핵무기** 제조 공장을 짓고 있을지 모른다는 다소 불확실한 정보도 있었다. 그러나 “그들이 구입한 부품으로 무엇을 했는지
- 27 두 건의 유엔 안보리 결의에도 불구하고 이제 북한은 핵프로그램 일부(설비)의 불능화에 착수했다. 협상과 외교의 진정한 승리다. **북한**이 **핵무기**를 완전히 포기하리라고 믿지는 않지만 그래도 그런 정권과 협상할 수 있다는 것을 입증한 셈이다. 남은 문제는 북
- 28 ”고 합창했다. 북한이 합리적인 모습을 보일수록 핵 개발 포기를 강요하기가 어려워질 위험성이 있다. 많은 한국인은 설문조사에서 **북한**의 **핵무기**보다는 미국의 패권주의가 더 위협적이라고 대답한다. “남한의 주류는 반 북에서 친북으로 바뀌었다”고 유 교수는 말
- 29 사일 발사는 7월 4일 미국 독립기념일에 집중됐다. 이번 무력 시위는 3년 전의 미사일 발사 때와 판박이다. 그때도 미국인들은 **북한 핵무기** 프로그램으로 긴장이 고조된 가운데 독립기념일을 맞았다. 발사한 미사일 수도 같다. 다만 2006년엔 발사 후 1
- 30 개발계획을 중단할 것이라는 제안이었다. 서면은 “타당성이 있는 제안인 것 같다”고 말했다. 불과 6년 전인 1994년 미국은 **북한**의 **핵무기** 실험실로 의심되던 금강리 지하 시설에 대한 공격 직전 단계까지 갔었다. 지미 카터 전 미국 대통령의 막판 중재
- 31 자살 행위임을 북한 정권에 분명히 깨닫게 해주기 위해서였다. 당근 정책의 예로는 94년의 북-미 협정을 들 수 있다. 미국은 **북한**이 **핵무기**의 연료 공급원으로 의심되는 시설을 폐쇄할 경우 2기의 경수로를 제공한다는 데 동의했다. 올해에는 핵 실험장으로
- 32 보즈워스 `북한 태도 변화야 대화 재개` 미국은 **북한**의 **핵무기** 대치를 해결할 6자회담을 재개하기 전에 북한이 진지하게 핵교섭을 하겠다는 증거가 있어야 한다고 스티븐 보즈워스
- 33 한 가지 사안에는 동의하지 않는다는 점이 근본적인 문제다. 현재 상황을 돌파하려면 공통분모를 찾아야 한다. 중국과 미국은 모두 **북한**의 **핵무기** 보유를 원치 않는다. 중국은 이런 방향으로 입장을 선회하는 데 시간이 조금 걸렸다. 아직도 중국 정부 내에는
- 34 제적 지원, 제재 완화, 안보 보장은 물론 궁극적으로 미국과의 관계정상화라는 밝은 미래를 제시해야 한다는 생각”이라고 말했다. **북한 핵무기**를 제거하기 위해서는 관계정상화를 추진할 수 있음을 시사하는 대목이다. 그는 또 “6자회담만으로 충분하지 않으며
- 35 은 이란이 핵무기를 개발할 의도가 있다고 생각한다는 말도 네그로폰테는 했다. 우리 기구는 그런 의도를 읽지 못했다고 말해왔다. **북한**의 **핵무기** 개발로 IAEA가 비난받을까? 우리는 1992년이나 93년 북한에 강경하게 대처했다고 본다. 그들이 조약을 지
- 36 단계 가까이가 있다. 셋째, 이제는 이같은 대치상황의 책임이 북한 못지않게 미국에도 있다고 믿는 한국인이 많다. 마지막으로, **북한**은 **핵무기**를 구입을 원하는 자에게 팔 수도 있음을 시사했다고 한다. 미국 정부는 어떻게 대처해야 할까. 불량국가를 상대할
- 37 한 적이 있다. 미국 정부가 외교적인 해결책을 모색만 하면서 현상태를 유지하려든다면 주도권을 잃을 수도 있다. 부시와 라이스는 **북한**의 **핵무기** 보유 선언 문제가 6자회담에서 다루어져야 한다고 말했다. 부시는 동맹국들, 특히 중국과 한국에 기대고 있다. 그
- 38 진입 금지, 국제 규제 체제의 강화, 러시아, 중국 등 중간 경유국과의 공조를 통한 무역 차단 등이 그것이다. 미국 정부는 또 **북한**이 **핵무기** 개발 계획을 중단했다는 사실을 증명하기 위해 국제원자력기구(IAEA)의 사찰을 허용한다는 약속을 이행하는지 예
- 39 지난주 미국이 북한의 핵 문제에 대해 미온적인 태도를 보인 이유를 설명해준다. 지난주 부시 행정부는 언론의 압력에 떠밀려서야 **북한**의 **핵무기** 개발에 대해 확증을 갖고 있다고 밝혔다. 수개월간 사담 후세인 이라크 대통령의 핵무기 개발 사실을 증명하려 애
- 40 대사관을 지키는 경찰(위), 지난 17일 필리핀 남부에서 폭탄 테러 희생자가 호송되고 있다. 백악관은 언론의 압력에 떠밀려서야 **북한**의 **핵무기** 개발에 대해 확증을 갖고 있다고 밝혔다. 사담 후세인 이라크 대통령의 핵무기 개발을 증명하려 애써온 것과는 사

41 것이란 점을 우리에게 분명히 했다. 왜냐하면 북한의 시각에서 볼 때 미국과의 협상은 단순히 핵무기만의 문제가 아니기 때문이다. **북한**은 **핵무기**를 목적 달성의 수단으로 본다. 핵무기 자체가 목표가 아니라는 얘기다. 바로 그 점을 미국 지도부는 이해하지 못

42 없는 사회'도 아닌 듯했다. 고층 건물의 1층과 2층 창문에는 튼튼한 방범용 쇠창살이 붙어 있었다. 이 모든 점을 고려할 때 **북한**이 **핵무기**를 폐기할 의도가 없을지 모른다는 생각을 떨치기 어려웠다. 어쨌든 핵무기는 김정일 정권이 국민에게 자랑할 만한

43 세워지고 있다. 금호지구에서는 한반도에너지개발기구(KEDO)가 46억 달러 상당의 경수로 발전소를 건설 중이다. 정치협상에 따라 **북한**이 **핵무기** 개발계획을 동결한 대가로 이뤄지는 사업이다. 주계약자는 한국전력공사, 관리는 일본과 미국측이 맡고 있다. 어려

44 한-미 양국은 북한 정권 붕괴 시에 대비한 비상 대응계획을 두고 마찰을 빚었다. 그 계획에는 난민 행렬에 대한 연합군의 대응과 **북한** **핵무기**를 안전하게 회수하는 방법이 구체적으로 명시돼 있었다. 그러나 막상 미국이 올 초 그 계획(일명 '개념계획 502

45 조 프로그램, 1950~53년 한국전쟁의 공식적인 종전, 미국의 전면적인 외교적 인정과 그에 따른 국제사회 복귀를 얻는 대가로 **북한**이 **핵무기**에서 깨끗이 손을 씻었다는 판정을 받기 위해 취해야 하는 단계들이 구체적으로 명시됐다. 그런 조건 중 아직 이행

46 을 주선해 한반도 긴장완화에 한몫. 1994년 7월: 남북정상회담을 몇 주 앞두고 김일성이 사망하면서 남북관계는 다시 냉각되고 **북한** **핵무기**를 둘러싼 긴장까지 고조. 예기치 못한 김일성의 급서. 1998년 8월: 북한이 일본 열도를 가로질러 태평양상에

47 포함된다). 하지만 부시 대통령은 북한과의 직접 협상을 거부했다. 전임자이자 올브라이트의 상사인 빌 클린턴과는 달랐다. 그리고 **북한**이 **핵무기** 프로그램을 포기해야 한다는 6년 전의 요구를 재천명했다. "그 사람의 속셈이 무엇인지 모른다"고 부시는 말했다

48 기를 제조할 가능성을 제기한 바 있다. 그는 "확실히 북한 추가 핵무기 생산을 계속해 나갈 것이라고 추정하고 있다"며 "그리고 **북한**은 **핵무기** 기술을 발전시킬 것으로 알려져 있기 때문에 북한은 아주 위험하다"고 말했다. 앞서 오바마 행정부의 고위 관계자

49 만 명이 사망했다. 북한 인민 20명 가운데 한 명꼴인 셈이었다. 한국 정부는 북한이 동독처럼 붕괴될 것으로 예측했다. 그러나 **북한**은 **핵무기**와 장거리 미사일을 틀며 세계를 긴장시킨 뒤 국제적 이목을 끄는 데 성공했다. 1994년 국제 감시단은 북한

50 상황의 전후 관계를 파악해야 한다"며 "북한은 경제적 원조를 협상하고 싶어하며 이 모든 상황이 재협상 카드"고 말했다. 그는 "**북한**이 **핵무기** 개발에 열중하지 않고 있으며 이것이 그에게 협상의 기회며 미국과 양자간 대화로 협상하길 바라고 있다"고 말했다

51 전했다. 연합통신은 익명의 중국 소식통을 인용, "북한과 중국간 정상회담이 6월에 있을 것"이라고 보도했다. 지난해 국제사회가 **북한**의 **핵무기**와 미사일 실험을 비난하자 북한이 미국, 중국, 한국, 일본, 러시아가 참여한 6자회담 불참을 선언했다. 연합통신은

52 큰 인기를 얻었다. (끝) '핵에너지 생산은 허용할 수도' 전문가 진단-오바마 시대의 한반도 정책 오바마 정부의 전략적 관심은 **북한** **핵무기** 프로그램... 고위급 협상 포함한 외교적 대안 다각도로 고려서 재 정 기자 지난 6월 워싱턴 DC에서 모임을 가진

53 . 예컨대 빈국들이 무기를 많이 보유할수록 부국들의 힘이 상대적으로 약화된다는 견해다. 그러나 이렇게 생각하는 정부 관리들조차 **북한**이 **핵무기**를 보유하면 동아시아에 긴장이 초래되며 자신들이 너무도 소중히 여기는 평화와 안정이 깨질지 모른다는 사실을 깨닫

54 연구위원이 말했다. 만에 하나 중국이 북한의 급변 시 질서 회복에 실패한다면 어떻게 될까? 그렇다고 해도 미국의 안보 관리들은 **북한**의 **핵무기**에 대해 크게 우려하지 않는다. 군사 분석가들은 북한이 지하 폭파실험은 했지만 아직은 실전 배치 가능한 핵무기

55 오바마 정부는 그런 우선순위를 바꿀지도 모른다. 먼저 핵무기가 들어가서는 안 될 사람들의 손에 가지 않도록 하고 그 과정에서 **북한** **핵무기** 프로그램을 제거한다는 것이다. "북한의 핵 프로그램이 잠재적인 위험성은 있지만 성격상 공격성을 띤 화급한 문제는

56 ,한국,일본 등이 실제로 구체적 제안들을 테이블에 올려놓았다." 그러나 지난주 라이스가 명확히 언급했듯이 "중요한 점은, 과연 **북한**이 **핵무기** 계획을 포기하는 전략적 선택을 할 준비가 돼 있느냐 하는 문제다." 오랜 북한 관측통인 조갑제 전 월간조선 대

57 협했지만 경제를 살리기엔 규모가 너무 작았다. 아마 대규모 개혁을 실시하면 정치적 통제력을 잃게 될까 두려웠기 때문일 것이다. **북한**이 **핵무기** 포기를 종용하는 6자회담 주요 당사국들도 북한의 체제혼란을 두려워하기는 마찬가지다. 중국, 한국, 일본, 러시아 모

58 시 행정부의 유화정책은 워싱턴 정가의 보수 진영에 분열을 가져왔다. 일부 대파는 부시의 정책을 공격하기에 이르렀다. 강경파들은 **북한**이 **핵무기**를 없애고, 독재 체제를 바꿀 준비가 됐다는 확증이 나오기 전에는 북한과의 협상이 실수라고 여긴다. 제이 레프코

59 정부는 테러 후원국 명단에서 북한을 삭제하고 일부 제재를 중단하기로 약속했다. 적들과 협상하지 않기로 유명한 백악관이 갑자기 **북한**에 **핵무기** 생산을 중단하고 국제사회와 사이 좋게 지내라고 설득하는 길을 택한 것이다. 전문가들(그동안 대체로 부시를 비판

60 다. 북한의 핵심 맹방인 중국은 후진타오 주석의 북한 국민 방문을 제의했다. 한국은 훨씬 큰 제안을 내놓았다. 가난한 **북한**이 **핵무기** 계획 폐지에 동의할 경우 매년 200만kW의 전력을 공급한다는 내용이다. 부시 행정부의 주된 양보는 수사

Concordance 49. A full set of concordance lines of ‘북한* 핵*무기 [NK* nuclear*weapon]

Moving on to the right-hand pane of ‘북한*핵*무기 [NK* nuclear*weapon], which attracts a negative semantic prosody as evident in collocates such as ‘renounce’, ‘halt’, ‘freeze’, ‘danger’ and ‘rising tensions’ (Concordance 50). In terms of semantic preference, a number of verbs and nouns – all consistent with negative prosody – can be grouped semantically. For instance, ‘우려’ [concern/worry], ‘위험’ [danger], ‘대치’ [confrontation] and ‘긴장고조’ [raise tensions] form a coherent semantic group that relates to concern over the implications of North Korean nuclear weapons. A more prominent semantic group is connected with ways of dealing with this source of concern, all revolving around ‘detering’, ‘stopping’ and ‘disabling’ the North Korean nuclear programme; the group includes items such as: ‘중단’ [halt] (lines 2, 4, 22 and 31), ‘저지’ [stop] (line 12), ‘동결’ [freeze] (line 24), ‘제거’ [eliminate] (lines 9, 21 and 27), ‘폐쇄’ [shutdown] (line 19), ‘폐지’ [abolish] (line 32), ‘폐기’ [discard] (lines 11, 13 and 23), ‘불능화’ [disable] (lines 1, 14 and 16), ‘단념’ [give up] (lines 6 and 7), and ‘포기’ [abandon] (lines 8, 15, 17, 18, 26, 28 and 29); see Concordance 50.

N Concordance

1 비롯한 6자회담 대표가 핵 협상안에 서명했다. 잉크가 마르기도 전에 평론가들이 그 합의문을 비난하기 시작했다. 이번회담에서 **북한**이 **핵무기** 프로그램 핵심요소의 봉인과 불능화를 약속하는 대가로 에너지를 지원하고 국제제재를 점차 완화하기로 합의했다.

2 선과 악 사이의 회색지대를 발견해가고 있는만큼 미얀마에 대한 흑백논리적 접근을 재고하고 싶어질지도 모른다. 최근 미 행정부는 **북한**이 **핵무기** 개발을 중단하면 대북제재조치 완화를 검토하겠다는 그간의 단호한 태도를 누그러뜨렸다. 하지만 미국은 미얀마에

3 하다. 워싱턴 정계가 논쟁에 휘말렸다. 좌, 우파의 연합세력은 부시 행정부의 분열된 대북정책을 비판한다. 그리고 부시행정부는 **북한**의 **핵무기** 능력과 시리아커백선에 관해 진실을 말하도록 북한을 압박할 것이냐, 아니면 북한이 천민국가로 붕괴할때까지

4 고 최종적으로 폐기하지 않는다. 그러려면 시간이 좀 걸리고 우리가 최종목표에 도달할 때까지 분명 공존할 길을 찾아야 한다.” **북한은 핵무기**를 선호하는 강경파, 그리고 미국과의 비핵화협상과 경제개혁을 추진하는 실용주의자들로 양분돼 있다. 클린턴 정부

5 제사회에 합류하든지 둘 중 하나를 선택하도록 압박하는 정책을 고수해왔다. 그러나 문제가 있었다. 국경을 접하는 중국과 한국이 **북한**의 **핵무기**보다는 북한체제의 붕괴를 더 우려한다는 점이다. 그래서 중국과 한국은 북한의 김정일 국방위원장이 미국의 압력에

6 양는 듯했다. 북핵문제는 미국의 잘못된 정책이 아니라 무책에 있다. 다분히 충동적이고 단발적인 목표가 두 가지 있긴 하다. **북한**이 **핵무기**를 단념토록 유도하거나, 불안조장을 통해 김정일 정권을 전복하는 것이다. 그러나 이 두 노선은 신중하게 통합

7 유엔 특사, 북한식량지원지지 **북한**이 **핵무기** 프로그램을 단념하지 않을 것이라고 선언한지 3일 뒤 북한을 방문한 유엔 고위관계자는 국제사회가 온둔왕국 북한에

8 기는 것. 미국이 중국의 코앞에서 무력을 사용하게 되는 사태를 피하기 위해, 또는 일본이 핵무장하는 사태를 피하기 위해 중국이 **북한**의 **핵무기** 포기를 중용하는 것이다. 두 번째 버전은 이라크전의 승리 분위기를 이용해 노골적인 정권교체의 위협으로 북한이 물

9 에서, 오바마캠프 참가자들의 발언에서, 미국외교안보거물들의 움직임에서 확인되고 있다. 오바마캠프는 아시아 정책장사에서 ‘**북한**의 **핵무기** 프로그램을 완전하고도 검증가능하게 제거’하는 게 목적이라고 천명했다. 이 대목은 2005년 9월 19일 6자 회

10 공동위원장이 뉴스위크 앤드 루베스트 기자와 만나 세계핵정치사에서 ‘중대분수령’이 될 올 한해의 주요 현안을 전망했다. **북한**이 **핵무기** 프로그램을 가동 중이다. 이란도 핵무기 프로그램을 개발 중인 듯 하다. 협상과 제재전략의 실패 아닌가? 협상과

11 런 논쟁은 양국관계의 보다 근본적인 현안들을 가리고 있다. 미국과 달리 북한은 적국에 대한 장, 단기 정책을 모두 갖고 있다. **북한**은 **핵무기** 프로그램에 관해 협상을 통해 서서히 폐기할 의사를 지녔다. 그러나 그 대가로 새롭고 비적대적인 양국관계 수립과

12 것”이라고 덧붙였다. 야세르 아라파트 팔레스타인 자치정부 수반이 타계한 뒤의 중동과 인도-파키스탄 문제, 그리고 특히 이란과 **북한**의 **핵무기** 개발 저지 등에서 외교가 필요하다는 의미다. 부시는 APEC 연설에서 곧 유럽을 순방해 “대서양 양안관계를

13 의 내용을 잘 아는 사람들에 따르면 그 선언문 내용은 북한에 대해 너무 부드러운 것들이라 또 다시 부시 행정부 내 강경파들의 요구 (**북한** **핵무기**의 ‘검증 가능하고 번복될 수 없는 폐기’)에 발목이 잡혔다. 1994년 미국과 북한 사이에 이뤄진 제네바 합의 때

14 재가동하고 핵시설에서 꺼낸 폐연료봉을 재처리하겠다는 통보도 했다”고 덧붙였다. 북한 국영 언론은 이날 앞서 “북한 외무성이 **북한**의 **핵무기**를 불능화하려는 6자 회담을 중단할 것이며 핵무기 능력을 강화할 것이라고 밝혔다”고 보도했다. 북한은 국영 언론

15 드시 그렇지는 않다. 상호 애정을 표현한 연설문과 성명서의 미사여구 그 어느 구석에도 김정일의 핵 야망에 대한 언급이 없었다. **북한**의 **핵무기** 포기를 설득하려는 다자간 협상인 6자 회담에 북한이 참여한다는 사실을 감안할 때 핵무기에 대한 언급이 없다는

16 행하도록 노력할 것이라고 밝혔다. 손 메코맥 국무부 대변인은 “북한이 북핵검증의 정식 합의를 거부 했다”고 말했다. 미국이 앞서 **북한**의 **핵무기**용 플루토늄을 생산하는 원자로 불능화 조치뿐 아니라 북핵검증에 합의하겠다고 구두로 약속한 이후 이번 북핵검증

17 현재 북핵사태를 위기라고 부르기를 거부하며 외교적인 해결을 모색하고 있다. 우선 그것은 일본과 한국 같은 동맹국들을 압박해 **북한**에 **핵무기**를 포기하지 않으면 경제지원을 거부할 수도 있다고 으름장을 놓게 하는 것을 의미한다. 동시에 부시 행정부는 이번

18 두 건의 유엔안보리결의에도 불구하고 이제 북한은 핵 프로그램 일부 (설비)의 불능화에 착수했다. 협상과 외교의 진정한 승리다. **북한**이 **핵무기**를 완전히 포기하리라고 믿지는 않지만 그래도 그런 정권과 협상할 수 있다는 것을 입증한 셈이다. 남은 문제는 북

19 자살 행위임을 북한 정권에 분명히 깨닫게 해주기 위해서였다. 당근정책의 예로는 94년의 북-미 협정을 들 수 있다. 미국은 **북한이 핵무기**의 연료공급원으로 의심되는 시설을 폐쇄할 경우 2기의 경수로를 제공한다는 데 동의했다. 올해에는 핵 실험장으로

20 한 가지 사안에는 동의하지 않는다는 점이 근본적인 문제다. 현재 상황을 돌파하려면 공통분모를 찾아야 한다. 중국과 미국은 모두 **북한이 핵무기** 보유를 원치 않는다. 중국은 이런 방향으로 입장을 선화하는 데 시간이 조금 걸렸다. 아직도 중국 정부 내에는

21 제적 지원, 제재완화, 안보 보장은 물론 궁극적으로 미국과의 관계 정상화라는 밝은 미래를 제시해야 한다는 생각”이라고 말했다. **북한핵무기**를 제거하기 위해서는 관계 정상화를 추진할 수 있음을 시사하는 대목이다. 그는 또 “6자회담만으로 충분하지 않으며

22 진입 금지, 국제규제체제의 강화, 러시아, 중국 등 중간 경유국과의 공조를 통한 무역차단 등이 그것이다. 미국정부는 또 **북한이 핵무기** 개발계획을 중단했다는 사실을 증명하기 위해 국제원자력기구(IAEA)의 사찰을 허용한다는 약속을 이행하는지 예

23 없는 사회’도 아닌 듯 했다. 고층 건물의 1층과 2층 창문에는 튼튼한 방범용 쇠창살이 붙어 있었다. 이 모든 점을 고려할 때 **북한이 핵무기**를 폐기할 의도가 없을지 모른다는 생각을 떨치기 어려웠다. 어쨌든 핵무기는 김정일 정권이 국민에게 자랑할 만한

24 세워지고 있다. 금호지구에서는 한반도 에너지개발기구(KEDO)가 46억달러 상당의 경수로 발전소를 건설 중이다. 정치협상에 따라 **북한이 핵무기** 개발계획을 동결한 대가로 이뤄지는 사업이다. 주 계약자는 한국전력공사, 관리는 일본과 미국 측이 맡고 있다. 어려

25 조 프로그램, 1950~53년 한국전쟁의 공식적인 종전, 미국의 전면적인 외교적 인정과 그에 따른 국제사회 복귀를 얻는 대가로 **북한이 핵무기**에서 깨끗이 손을 씻었다는 판정을 받기 위해 취해야 하는 단계들이 구체적으로 명시됐다. 그런 조건 중 아직 이행

26 포함된다). 하지만 부시 대통령은 북한과의 직접 협상을 거부했다. 전임자이자 올브라이트의 상사인 빌 클린턴과는 달랐다. 그리고 **북한이 핵무기** 프로그램을 포기해야 한다는 6년 전의 요구를 재천명했다. “그 사람의 속셈이 무엇인지 모른다”고 부시는 말했다

27 오바마 정부는 그런 우선순위를 바꿀지도 모른다. 먼저 핵무기가 들어가서는 안 될 사람들의 손에 가지 않도록하고 그 과정에서 **북한 핵무기** 프로그램을 제거한다는 것이다. “북한의 핵 프로그램이 잠재적인 위협성은 있지만 성격상 공격성을 띤 화급한 문제는

28 한국, 일본 등이 실제로 구체적 제안들을 테이블에 올려 놓았다.” 그러나 지난 주 라이스가 명확히 언급했듯이 “중요한 점은, 과연 **북한이 핵무기** 계획을 포기하는 전략적 선택을 할 준비가 돼있느냐하는 문제다.” 오랜 북한 관측통인 조갑제 전 월간조선 대

29 험했지만 경제를 살리기엔 규모가 너무 작았다. 아마 대규모 개혁을 실시하면 정치적 통제력을 잃게될까 두려웠기 때문일 것이다. **북한에 핵무기** 포기를 중용하는 6자회담 주요 당사국들도 북한의 체제혼란을 두려워하기는 마찬가지다. 중국,한국,일본,러시아 모

30 시 행정부의 유화정책은 워싱턴정가의 보수진영에 분열을 가져왔다. 일부 매과는 부시의 정책을 공격하기에 이르렀다. 강경파들은 **북한이 핵무기**를 없애고, 독재체제를 바꿀 준비가 됐다는 확증이 나오기 전에는 북한과의 협상이 실수라고 여긴다. 제이레프코

31 정부는 테러후원국 명단에서 북한을 삭제하고 일부제재를 중단하기로 약속했다. 적들과 협상하지 않기로 유명한 백악관이 갑자기 **북한에 핵무기** 생산을 중단하고 국제사회와 사이좋게 지내라고 설득하는 길을 택한 것이다. 전문가들 (그 동안 대체로 부시를 비판

32 다. 북한의 핵심 맹방인 중국은 후진타오 주석의 북한 국빈방문을 제의했다. 한국은 훨씬 큰 제안을 내놓았다. 가난한 **북한이 핵무기** 계획폐지에 동의할 경우 매년 200만kW의 전력을 공급한다는 내용이다. 부시 행정부의 주된 양보는 수사

Concordance 50. Concordance lines showing collocates in the right pane of ‘북한*핵*무기’ [NK* nuclear*weapon] and featuring a semantic group of items indicating ‘stop’ and ‘halt’

This pattern raises the question of ‘who is the actor constructed as powerful enough to be in a position to ‘disable’, ‘stop’ and ‘halt’ the North Korean nuclear programme?’. The entities that ‘disable’, ‘stop’ and ‘halt’ include South Korea (lines 5, 29 and 32), China (lines 5, 8, 20, 32 and 29) and Japan (line 29); however, in most cases, that powerful entity is the US: ‘미 행정부’ [the US Administration] (line 2), ‘미국’ [the US] (lines 4, 5, 6, 8, 16, 19, 20 and 22), ‘백악관’ [The White House] (line 31¹²⁶), ‘부시 행정부/강경파/부시’ [Bush Administration/hardliners/Bush] (lines 3, 13, 17¹²⁷, 26¹²⁸ and 30), ‘오바마 캠프’ [Obama camp] (lines 9 and 27¹²⁹) and ‘라이스’ [Rice] (line 28). And finally, there is also ‘6자 회담’ [Six-party talks] (lines 1¹³⁰, 9, 14, 15 and 29).

The Six-party talks, involving North Korea, South Korea, Mainland China, the US, Russia and Japan, are designed to resolve concerns over the North Korean nuclear weapons programme. Thus, the countries who are in a position to halt the North Korean nuclear weapons programme are the current ‘world powers’, most notably the US, among others. Whereas North Korea is projected as the weak party, the US is projected as the more powerful party, i.e. the country in a position to force North Korea to ‘halt’, ‘stop’ or ‘shutdown’ its nuclear weapons programme. This outcome is consistent with what was revealed through the analysis of the English ST sub-corpus. In the previous analysis, (Chapter Six), the current ‘world powers’, most notably the US, were identified as the countries that have the most powerful hold on North Korea; and the imbalance of power between North Korea and the US was evident throughout the corpus.

Although the analysis of ‘북한* 핵*무기 [NK* nuclear*weapon] in the Korean TT sub-corpus paints a largely similar picture to what has been identified in the analysis of

¹²⁶The extended concordance of line 31 is as follows: “그 대가로 미국 정부는 테러후원국 명단에서 북한을 삭제하고 일부 제재를 중단하기로 약속했다. [...] 2007년 2월의 합의에는 광범위한 경제원조프로그램, 1950~53년 한국전쟁의 공식적인 종전, 미국의 전면적인 외교적 인정과 그에 따른 국제사회 복귀를 얻는 대가로 북한이 핵무기에서 깨끗이 손을 씻었다는 판정을 받기 위해 취해야 하는 단계들이 구체적으로 명시됐다”.

¹²⁷The extended concordance of line 17 is as follows: “부시 행정부는 현재 북핵사태를 위기라고 부르기를 거부하며 외교적인 해결을 모색하고 있다. 우선 그것은 일본과 한국같은 동맹국들을 압박해 북한에 핵무기를 포기하지 않으면 경제지원을 거부할 수도 있다고 으름장을 놓게하는 것을 의미한다”.

¹²⁸The extended concordance of line 26 is as follows: “하지만 부시 대통령은 북한과의 직접협상을 거부했다. 전임자이자 올브라이트의 상사인 빌 클린턴과는 달랐다. 그리고 북한이 핵무기 프로그램을 포기해야 한다는 6년 전의 요구를 재천명했다. “그 사람의 속셈이 무엇인지 모른다”고 부시는 말했다”.

¹²⁹The extended concordance of line 27 is as follows: “오바마 정부는 그런 우선순위를 바꿀지도 모른다. 먼저 핵무기가 들어가는 안될 사람들의 손에 가지 않도록 하고 그 과정에서 북한 핵무기 프로그램을 제거한다는 것이다”.

¹³⁰The extended concordance of line 1 is as follows: “지난 2월 13일 북한을 비롯한 6자회담 대표가 핵 협상안에 서명했다. 잉크가 마르기도 전에 평론가들이 그 합의문을 비난하기 시작했다. 이번 회담에서 북한이 핵무기 프로그램 핵심 요소의 봉인과 불능화를 약속하는 대가로 에너지를 지원하고 국제제재를 점차 완화하기로 합의됐다”.

‘NK’s’ in the English ST sub-corpus, it still reveals subtle differences. In particular, North Korea in the Korean TT sub-corpus is not totally helpless. It agrees to halt its nuclear weapons programme *provided that* it achieves what it is determined to acquire: for example, in the extended concordance of line 1 in Concordance 50, North Korea promises to disable the key component of a nuclear weapons programme *on condition that* it is provided with sufficient energy. In this sense, North Korea, at least in the Korean TT sub-corpus, exerts some degree of control over its negotiations with the US, despite being construed as the weaker party.

As the powerful party, the US is in a position to negotiate with North Korea using humanitarian programmes: it offers North Korea food aid *in return for* the country halting its nuclear development programme. Here, the issue of humanitarian aid for North Korea is tied to political conditions, and is not a response to a ‘need-based’ humanitarian appeal. ‘Energy’ and ‘food’ are offered as inducements to influence and pressure North Korea – a reward for freezing its nuclear activities, not an altruistic form of assistance to feed the poor and powerless. Indeed, the US government used food aid in the midst of famine in North Korea to coax the country to the nuclear table in the 1990s; and in 2012, the Obama administration pledged food aid and nutritional supplements for children as an incentive to resume nuclear talks (Natsios 2012). The politicisation of the humanitarian programme reinforces the role of North Korea as the weaker party, despite its attempts to appear assertive in negotiations with ‘world powers’ in the South Korean media.

7.2.2 ‘북한* 핵*프로그램’ [NK* nuclear*programme]

Out of 325 instances of ‘북한* 핵*’ [NK* nuclear*], a total of 54 concordance lines of ‘북한*핵*프로그램’ [NK* nuclear*programme] was found. Of these 54 instances, fourteen lines are from *CNN Hangeul News* and forty from *Newsweek Hangukpan* (Concordance 51). The left pane of the search item does not feature any strong patterns, but the examination of the right pane reveals similar patterns to those found in the analysis of ‘북한* 핵*’ [NK* nuclear*] discussed above, in particular, the proliferation of negative semantic prosody, as evident in collocates such as ‘동결’ [freeze] (lines 3, 40 and 44), ‘포기’ [abandon/give up] (lines 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 38, 39 and 43) and ‘중지’ [stop] (line 19).

As with ‘북한* 핵*’ [NK* nuclear*], several countries appear as ‘negotiating parties’ with North Korea over nuclear programme issues, including the US (e.g. lines 12, 14, 29, 34 and 43), China (e.g. lines 34 and 38) and Japan (e.g. lines 20, 26 and 34). These countries demand (e.g. ‘요구’ [demand] in line 20) North Korea to scrap its nuclear programme in return for ‘원조’ [aid] (lines 14, 16¹³¹ and 44) and ‘(추가) 보상’ [(additional) reward] (lines 10 and 39). North Korea returns to the negotiation table under the pressure of sanctions; it is thus ultimately projected as a passive entity, as it has to ‘give up’ something in exchange for the food and fuel it so desperately needs.

N Concordance

- 1 소한 충돌과 위협 행위가 일상화된 곳이다. 하지만 최근의 사고(3월 26일 서해 북방한계선 인근에서 천안함의 폭발 및 침몰)로 **북한 핵프로그램**에 대처하려는 한국과 세계의 정책 입안자 모두에게 중대 장애물이 등장했다. 천안함 침몰은 46명의 생명을 앗아
- 2 관은 모든 정력을 이라크 침공에 쏟았다. 또 엘리슨은 전문가들이 9/11 이후 “이라크보다 잠재적으로 더 큰 위협”으로 지정한 **북한 핵프로그램**에 대해 부시 행정부가 “기가 막힐 정도로 수동적인 반응을 보였다”고 꼬집는다. 엘리슨은 낙관론을 펴려고 노력
- 3 관계를 정상화하겠다는 제안까지 내놓았다. 부시 행정부 지지자들은 이런 접근방식이 이미 결실을 거두고 있다고 말한다. 지난해 말 **북한은 핵프로그램**을 동결기로 한 1994년 제네바 합의를 훨씬 뛰어넘어 영변 원자로 불능화 절차에 들어갔다. 부시 지지자들은
- 4 완전히 정색됐다. 그러다가 2006년과 2007년 6자회담의 틀 안에서 북한의 핵프로그램을 중단시킬 합의에 근접했다. 하지만 **북한이 핵프로그램**의 세부 사항을 투명하게 밝히기를 거부함으로써 협상이 다시 결렬됐다. 최근 들어서는 북한의 2차 지하 핵실험
- 5 것이다. 미국의 전문가들은 북한이 1~4개의 핵무기를 제조할 수 있는 양의 플루토늄을 갖고 있다고 믿는다. 중국의 전략가들은 (**북한**의 **핵프로그램** 수준과 상관없이) 북한측의 호언만으로도 미국의 군사행동이 중국의 코앞에서 벌어질 가능성을 우려한다. 사석
- 6 하는 것이다. 이 두가지 옵션의 문제점은 중국이 북한의 붕괴를 부채질할 가능성이 낮다는 것과, 아이로니컬하게도 이라크 사태는 **북한**의 **핵프로그램**을 식히는 것이 아니라 오히려 데울 수 있다는 점이다. 그리고 군사적 옵션이 있다. 핵시설에 대한 공습일 수
- 7 모두 북한과 국경을 접하거나 가까이 있다. 아무도 북한의 체제붕괴와 그에 수반되는 난민 유입을 받기 싫다. 이들의 목표는 **북한**의 **핵프로그램** 억제이지 체제변화나 개혁의 강요가 아니다. 더 많은 것을 기대하는 전문가들은 이런 점을 간과한 것이다. 북한
- 8 다. 그 다음 상황이 어떻게 전개될지 전혀 감을 잡을 수 없었다. 하지만 핵실험과 두 건의 유엔 안보리 결의에도 불구하고 이제 **북한**은 **핵프로그램** 일부(설비)의 불능화에 착수했다. 협상과 외교의 진정한 승리다. 북한이 핵무기를 완전히 포기하리라고 믿지는
- 9 정부는 북한의 핵개발을 동결시킨 1994년의 클린턴 정부와는 달리 북한의 핵개발을 아예 포기시킬 작정이다. 부시 정부 관리들은 **북한**의 **핵프로그램** 재가동을 용납하는 협정은 절대 맺지 않을 것이라고 누누이 강조했다. 그러나 일부 분석가들에 따르면 이제 북

¹³¹ The extended concordance of line 16 (part of the Korean TT) is as follows: “그러나 2년 뒤인 지금 북한은 핵 프로그램 포기에 합의했다. 왜 이제와서 이런 양보를 했을까? 국제사회에서 고립된 북한이 국제 원조형태로 식량과 에너지를 확보해야할 위기에 처했기 때문이라는 분석이 많다”.

10 러하는 미국 정부의 정책에서 여전히 제외된다. 북한의 핵신고로 6자회담이 재개될 전망이다. 거기에서 핵신고의 미흡한 점을 두고 **북한이 핵프로그램을 좀 더 성실히 밝히면** 추가적인 보상을 해 주겠다는 협상이 또 한 차례 진행될 것도 거의 확실하다. 미국이

11 스위스와 다른 서방 대체에 보도됐다. 그후 북미 관계는 완전히 경색됐다. 그러다가 2006년과 2007년 6자회담의 틀 안에서 **북한의 핵프로그램을 중단시킬** 합의에 근접했다. 하지만 북한이 핵프로그램의 세부 사항을 투명하게 밝히기를 거부함으로써 협상이

12 가 당근과 채찍을 적절히 배합해 현명하게 협상을 이끈다면 일부 맹점이 있는 클린턴의 정책을 진일보시킬 수 있을 것이다. 미국은 **북한의 핵프로그램 중단에** 그칠 게 아니라 방향 자체를 돌려놔야 한다. 로널드 레이건 전 대통령은 고르바초프가 이끄는 러시아에

13 단하기는 어렵다. 하지만 북한이 이런 신고를 처음 했다는 사실이 중요하다. 정확성 문제는 검증 절차와 정보 평가에 달려 있다. **북한의 핵프로그램 중단으로** 세계가 더욱 안전해질까? 물론이다. 핵불능화 과정이 지금 이 순간에도 진행되고 있다. 영변 원자로

14 에 질 수밖에 없기 때문이라는 것이다. 조지 W. 부시 미국 대통령은 김위원장이 우려할 만한 이유를 충분히 제공해왔다. 부시는 **북한이 핵프로그램을** 폐기해야만 구체적인 원조나 다른 인센티브를 제시하겠다고 고집해왔다. 지난 1월 20일 취임사에서 미 의

15 제사회가 신고 내용을 6주 내에 검증해야 한다. 신고 내용이 정확하다고 가정한다면 북한의 대외관계는 이제 어떻게 달라질까? 또 **북한의 핵프로그램 포기** 계획이 북한 주민과 세계에 어떤 영향을 미칠까? 뉴스위크의 대니얼 스톤 기자가 부시 행정부의 백악관

16 된 적도 있었다. 2006년 김정일 북한 국방위원장은 국제사회에 한마디 통고도 없이 핵실험을 강행했다. 그러나 2년 뒤인 지금 **북한은 핵프로그램** 포기해 합의했다. 왜 이제 와서 이런 양보를 했을까? 국제사회에서 고립된 북한이 국제 원조 형태로 식량과

17 1997년 중국 베이징 방문 동안 망명한 이후 미국에 2번째 방문에 워싱턴에 있는 학계와 정계인사들과의 만남을 가졌다. 그는 **북한이 핵프로그램을** 포기하도록 설득하기 위한 다양한 노력에 대해 언급하며 김정일은 6자회담에 참석할 자격이 없다고 밝혔다.

18 반이며 이전의 약속을 저버리는 처사다. 이제 미국과 국제사회는 그에 대응하는 행동을 취해야 한다. 지금까지의 상황은 확실하다. **북한은 핵 프로그램** 포기를 약속했다. 그러나 그 약속을 무시하기로 결정했다. 유엔 결의에도 정면 도전한 행동이다. 그 결과

19 관계자가로부터 핵탄두무기를 사찰용으로 공개하지 않을 것이라는 말을 들었다”고 말했다. 이 같은 내용이 사실일 경우 이 소식은 **북한의 핵 프로그램** 중지를 위해 2003년 시작된 6자회담에 어두운 전망을 예고했다. 해리슨 국장은 “게임 양상이 바뀌었다”

20 선언문의 내용을 이행하리라고 기대할 수 없다”고 일갈했다. 일본은 10월 29일 말레이시아에서 열릴 북·일 관계정상화 회담에서 **북한측에 핵 프로그램** 중단을 요구할 방침이다. 그러나 모두가 북·일 관계의 와해를 예상하는 것은 아니다. 도쿄의 여론조사 기

21 좀처럼 쓰러 하지 않는다. 그러나 중국의 한 관리는 북한을 “응석받이(spoiled child)”로 묘사했다. 다른 관리들은 **북한(핵 프로그램)**을 세계 안보에 대한 위협으로 간주했다. 따라서 그들이 북한 정부를 골칫거리로 인식하고 한반도 통일을 받아

22 북한 경수로 건설 위성사진 공개 **북한의 핵 프로그램** 시설이 상당히 진척됐음을 보여주는 최근의 위성사진들이 공개됐다. 그러나 북한의 내부 모습을 단편적으로 볼

23 891호 (2009.07.29) “유엔의 대북 제재 실효 거들 것” 수전 라이스 미국 유엔 대사, **북한의 핵 프로그램** 막을 강력한 수단이라고 강조 미국은 2003년 유엔의 지지 없이 이라크를 침공한 이래 유엔에 마지못해 참여

24 술, 설계도면, 부품을 영리 목적으로 판매하는 최초의 ‘죽음의 핵 상인’ 세대를 낳았다. 그 휘하의 공급자들은 리비아, 이란, **북한의 핵 프로그램** 구축에 직접적인 역할을 맡았다. 그러나 칸이 파키스탄의 자택에서 감시당해 그 일에서 손을 뗐다고 알려진

25 자끼엠 베트남 외무장관과의 회담한 뒤 이같이 밝혔다. 지난 6월 미 상원 외교위원회의 짐 웹 민주당 상원의원이 미얀마 정부가 **북한과 핵 프로그램** 개발에 관련해 협력하고 있다는 우려가 나오자 미얀마 방문을 연기한 바 있다. 당시 웹 의원은 “미얀마 군

- 26 북한 정부도 압력을 느낀다. 2월 둘째 주 일본과 북한 대표가 양국 관계 정상화를 논의하려고 베이징에서 만났다. 최우선 과제는 **북한의 핵 프로그램**과 실종된 납북자 문제였다(이 회담에서 북한은 엉뚱하게도 일본 정부에 인권운동가 7명을 넘겨달라고 요구하며
- 27 가진 기자회견에서 북한이 6자회담에 복귀할 의향이 있음을 알게 됐다고 밝혔다. 박의춘 북한 외무상은 기자회견을 갖지 않았다. **북한은 핵 프로그램**과 미사일 실험에 대해 국제사회의 비난이 일자 지난해 6자회담을 중단했다. 나카레가와 장관은 "북한이 우려
- 28 의 이름이 언급되지 않지만 그를 칭송하는 '발자취(Footsteps)'라는 노래를 가르치고 있다. 김정은이 권력을 승계할 경우 **북한이 핵 프로그램**과 군사력 증강에 돈을 붓는 동안 주민들은 기아로 고통 받아도 김정은이 할아버지와 아버지가 물려준 북한체제
- 29 이러한 행위에 대한 대가를 치르도록 계속 협력해 나갈 것"이라고 말했다. 그는 "미국은 15일 열린 유엔 제재위원회 회의에서 **북한 핵 프로그램**과 관련해 추가 제재조치를 제안했다"고 지적했다. 우드 부대변인은 "제재위원회가 북한에게 핵 기술을 제공하는
- 30 서 선글라스가 무서우니 그만 벗어달라고 요구했다. 선글라스 때문에 "2.한반도에 불필요한 긴장이 유발된다"고 대표단은 말했다. **북한의 핵 프로그램**과 관련된 김정일의 발언들도 그 자체로 겁을 주기에 충분했지만 선글라스를 착용한 그의 섬뜩한 모습 때문에
- 31 층과 이 계층과 관련된 다양한 불법 거래도 목표로 삼았다. 이 고위 당국자는 담배, 주류, 해외에서 들여온 식품의 불법 판매로 **북한은 핵 프로그램**에 필요한 자금을 대고 있다고 말했다. 미국은 북한 엘리트 5000여명을 목표로 삼는 것이 북한 정부를 압
- 32 련해 추가 제재조치를 제안했다"고 지적했다. 우드 부대변인은 "제재위원회가 북한에게 핵 기술을 제공하는 기관과의 협력뿐 아니라 **북한의 핵 프로그램**에 지원하는데 사용되는 모든 물품 흐름까지 차단하기로 결정했다"고 말했다. 우드 대변인은 제재위원회가 제재
- 33 교수의 보고서로 미국이 우려해왔고 북한이 종종 부인해왔던 농축 우라늄 프로그램이 진행되고 있다고 밝혔다. 그는 새 핵 시설은 **북한의 핵 프로그램**에 대한 유엔안전보장이사회의 결의안을 위반한 것이며 말한 것을 이행하겠다는 북한의 약속을 믿을 수 없다고
- 34 다고 덧붙였다. 그러나 북한은 지난해 중단된 6자 회담 복귀를 거부하면서 공식적으로는 강경정책을 유지하기로 한 것처럼 보인다. **북한 핵 프로그램**에 관한 협의체인 6자회담에는 한국, 미국, 중국, 러시아, 일본이 참여하고 있다. (CNN) / 이수지(J
- 35 우라늄 농축 프로그램 공개한 것은 오랜 동안 국제사회를 속여 왔음이 확인됐다고 미국과 남측 외교당국이 밝혔다. 북한 전문가들은 **북한의 핵 프로그램**은 항상 만약이라는 가정이 아닌 언제라는 시기의 문제임을 강조했다. 스티븐 보즈워스 미 국무부 대북정책 특
- 36 핵시설인 KRL(칸연연구소)에서 핵 브리핑을 받았다. 그러나 수입된 우라늄 농축기술은 거의 쓸모없었다. 이런 노력에도 불구하고 **북한의 핵 프로그램**은 여전히 날림 수준을 면치 못했다. 결국 핵무기 제조가 쉽지는 않음이 입증됐다. 1990년대 초 미국과
- 37 급하지 않았다. 북한은 불법 핵 프로그램을 이용해 돈과 양보를 받아내기로 악명이 높는데 또다시 그런 속셈이 있는지도 모른다. "**북한에 핵 프로그램**은 성역"이라고 한국의 윤덕민 외교안보연구원 교수가 말했다. 북측이 협상절차를 가능한 한 오래 지연시킬 것
- 38 북한 등 동맹국들에게 의존하는 것을 꺼리고 있다고 분석했다. 중국은 북한을 다시 협상 테이블로 데려오기 위해 노력하고 있다. **북한은 핵 프로그램**을 포기하는 대신 다른 나라의 경제적 지원과 정치적으로 양보를 얻어 내려했던 6자회담에서 탈퇴했다. 6자회
- 39 행정부 입장에서는 대외 정책에서 승진보에 목마른 상황이다. 부시 행정부는 미 국무부의 테러국 명단에서 북한을 삭제하는 조건으로 **북한을 핵 프로그램**을 포기하는 협상 테이블로 끌어냈다. 미국은 일을 그르치지 않으려고 북한의 사소한 결함마 조치까지 보상에
- 40 한으로 하여금 빌 클린턴 전 대통령에게 약속받았던 불가침 보장이 소멸했다고 생각하게 만들었다. "클린턴 행정부 정책의 문제점은 **북한의 핵 프로그램**을 폐기시키기보다 동결시키는 수준에 그쳤다는 것"이라고 그 고위 관리는 말했다. "결국 북한이 핵 프로그램

41 국제적 교착상태는 사실 미국 내의 교착상태를 의미한다. 부시 행정부 내 강경파들은 정권 교체를 밀어붙이려 하지만 실리주의자들은 **북한**의 **핵 프로그램**을 종식하길 원한다. 지금까지 행정부 내에서 벌어진 끝도 없는 정책 다툼에서 양자 모두 승리하지 못했고 그

42 정부 정책의 문제점은 **북한**의 **핵 프로그램**을 폐기시키기보다 동결시키는 수준에 그쳤다는 것”이라고 그 고위 관리자는 말했다. “결국 **북한**이 **핵 프로그램**을 재가동하겠다고 협박할 수 있는 빌미를 준 셈이다. 다시는 그런 우를 되풀이해서는 안된다. 그러나 **북한**이

43 “결국 **북한**이 **핵 프로그램**을 재가동하겠다고 협박할 수 있는 빌미를 준 셈이다. 다시는 그런 우를 되풀이해서는 안된다. 그러나 **북한**이 **핵 프로그램**을 일괄 포기한다면 미국은 **북한**과 지금과는 다른 새로운 관계를 맺을 수 있다. 이에 관해 부시 행정부 내

44 한 뒤 동행한 CNN 기자를 통해 발표했다. 그 협상 내용은 나중에 ‘제네바 합의(Agreed Framework)’로 이어졌다(**북한**이 **핵 프로그램**을 동결하는 대신 미국이 경수형 원자로 발전소 2기를 건립하는 동시에 경제원조로 연간 50만t의 중유를 지

45 지연 행위를 눈감아 주고자 하는 유혹에 빠질 위험성이 있다. 미국도 이라크에 정신이 팔려 어영부영 따를지 모른다. 그렇게 되면 **북한**은 **핵 프로그램**을 계속 추진하면서 또 다른 시험을 실시해 더 많은 양보를 받아내려 할 지도 모른다. 다행히 새로운 합의에서

46 도쿄의 **북한** 전문가 다마키모토이는 “정부가 피랍 문제에 지나치게 집착해 **북한**의 **핵**과 미사일 문제를 도의시킨 것 같다. 일본은 **북한**이 **핵 프로그램**을 계속 진행시키고 있었음을 알고도 선언문제 서명해 당신을 자초했다”고 말한다. **북한**도 손해를 볼 수 있다

47 실험의 폭발력을 3-4킬로톤으로 평가했다. 핵무기 조사관이었던 데이비드 올브라이트 과학국제안보연구소 소장은 “이번 핵실험을 통해 **북한**이 **핵 프로그램**을 계속 밀고 나가고 있으며 향상됐음을 증명했다”고 밝혔다. 비교해보면 미국 공군의 자료에 미국이 개발한

48 이 **북한**의 비밀 **핵 프로그램**에 관한 증거를 처음 포착한 지난해 여름 이후 사태발전의 속도에 당황했다고 한다. 지난해 10월 초 **북한**이 **핵 프로그램**을 갖고 있다고 도발적으로 시인한 뒤 딕 체니 부통령, 콜린 파월 국무장관, 도널드 럼즈펠드 국방장관 등은

49 유엔 제재 실행을 촉구했다. 그러나 ‘위대한 지도자’의 아들 김정일이 자발적으로 핵을 포기할 가능성은 매우 낮다. 이제 과제는 **북한** **핵 프로그램**의 추가적 진전을 억제하고, 김정일이 자국 과학자들의 핵기술을 테러리스트나 기타 국가에 팔지 못하도록 막는

50 의 식량문제는 선택의 여지가 없다. 정권이 잔혹하고 식량부족 사태가 만성적으로 되풀이되면서 도움을 구하기가 쉽지 않다. 심지어 **북한**이 **핵 프로그램**의 진상을 밝히기 전엔 미국 정부가 아무것도 지원하지 말아야 한다고 주장하는 사람도 있다. 장기적 해법은

51 994년의 그 합의에 따라 클린턴은 경제지원과 경수로 발전소 건설의 대가로 플루토늄 재처리를 동결한다는 약속을 얻어냈다. 그해 **북한** **핵 프로그램**의 중심지 영변을 사찰하러 간 미국 전문가들은 눈을 의심했다. 안에 들어가 보니 냉각지(冷却池)는 마치 버려

52 행정부 내 강경파는 그 같은 안보 보장 제안에 실현가능성이 거의 없는 **북한**측의 양보를 전제조건으로 내세우면서 반격에 나섰다. **북한** **핵 프로그램**의 “완벽하고 검증가능하며 빈복될 수 없는 폐기”라는 전제조건이었다. 지난 한달 동안 중국 외교관들은 당사국

53 다. 먼저 핵무기가 들어가서는 안 될 사람들의 손에 가지 않도록 하고 그 과정에서 **북한** 핵무기 프로그램을 제거한다는 것이다. “**북한**의 **핵 프로그램**이 잠재적인 위협성은 있지만 성격상 공격성을 띤 화급한 문제는 아니라는 생각이 국무부에 지배적”이라고 오바

54 게 그렇게 말했다. **북한** 관리의 짓궂은 농담이었을까. 그러나 미 당국은 이 협박을 진지하게 받아들이는 것이 좋을 것이다. 특히 **북한**이 핵무기용 플루토늄 생산을 위해 **핵 프로그램**을 재가동하겠다고 선언한 상황에서는 말이다. 사실 **북한**이 플루토늄을 수출할

Concordance 51. A full set of concordance lines of the right pane of ‘**북한*** **핵***프로그램’ [NK* nuclear*programme]

7.2.3 ‘북한* 핵*실험’ [NK* nuclear*test]

Out of a total of 325 concordance lines of ‘북한* 핵*’ [NK* nuclear*], 48 concordance lines feature ‘북한*핵*실험’ [NK* nuclear*test] as a collocate of ‘북한*핵*’ [NK* nuclear*] (Concordance 52). Of these 48 lines, eight are from *CNN Hangeul News* and forty are from *Newsweek Hangukpan*.

A number of countries, proper names and organisations appear in the left pane of the search item, most of which are connected with the US, whether the items concerned are US presidents or government officials such as ‘Bush’ (lines 1, 19, 23 and 38), ‘(Condoleezza) Rice’ (line 19), Obama (lines 19, 20 and 21), ‘Clinton’ (21), ‘Albright’ (34), American (lines 10, 28, 34 and 35), the ‘US’ (lines 8 and 13), the ‘US government’ (lines 6 and 16), the ‘White House’ (line 46) and ‘Obama administration’ (line 21). Similarly, the ‘UN’, an institution of which the US is a permanent and powerful member, features prominently (lines 2, 17, 21, 24, 25, 40 and 41). Together these proper names and US-related items reflect the US’s significant stake in North Korea’s nuclear test(s).

N

Concordance

- 1 2002년 1월 부시가 “악의 축”이란 표현을 처음 쓸 때보다 실제 “악의 축”에 더 근접했다. 그리고 일부 이란 관리는 만일 **북한이 핵실험** 후에도 책임을 모면한다면 자신들도 핵 프로그램에 대한 요구 수준을 높일지 모른다는 점을 시사했다. 라이스 미
- 2 접 북한에 가서 김정일을 만나겠다” 지난주 유엔 회원국들은 반기문 외교부 장관을 제8대 사무총장으로 선출했다. 그러나 그 직전 **북한이 핵실험**을 했다. 반 장관이 오랫동안 막으려 애써왔던 사태가 터진 것이다. 반 장관은 김대중 전 대통령의 외교정책 보좌
- 3 북한의 핵무장은 용인될 수 없음을 강조했다. 북한의 최우방인 중국이 마침내 북한과의 사이에 ‘경계선’을 긋기에 이른 것이다. **북한이 핵실험**을 할 경우(서방 전문가들은 올해 안에 그럴 가능성이 있다고 경고한다) 중국은 북한을 포기하게 될지도 모른다.
- 4 적인 자위 조치를 취하지 않을 수 없다”고 밝혔다. 북한은 이번 핵실험을 강행할 수밖에 없는 상황으로 스스로 몰아간 듯하다. “**북한이 핵실험**을 한 것은 그렇게 하겠다고 말했기 때문”이라고 미 국무부 북한 담당관을 지냈고 북·미 협상에 참여했던 케네스
- 5 제에서 냉엄한 국제현실을 보지 못한다. 한편으로 인권을 외치면서 북한의 인권 문제는 도외시하고 근거 없는 친북 논리를 펼친다. **북한이 핵실험**을 한 마당에 북핵 폐기의 방법을 논의해야 하지만 북한과 전쟁하려 드느냐는 억지 논리를 편다. 안보 문제의 이분
- 6 그러나 국무부의 한 고위 관리는 뉴스위크에 미국 정부는 북한의 핵실험이 임박했다고 생각하지 않는다고 밝혔다. 일부 과학자들은 **북한이 핵실험**을 하면 급수 시설이 전부 오염되기 때문에 그러지 못할 것이라고 했다. 정치적 “비용도 막대할 것”이라고 김성한
- 7 실험의 폭발력을 3-4킬로톤으로 평가했다. 핵무기 조사관이었던 데이비드 올브라이트 과학국제안보연구소 소장은 “이번 **핵실험**을 통해 **북한이** 핵 프로그램을 계속 밀고 나가고 있으며 향상됐음을 증명했다”고 밝혔다. 비교해보면 미국 공군의 자료에 미국이 개발한

8 폭발력은 약 0.5킬로톤이었다. 당시 미 관계자와 전문가들은 **북한 핵실험**을 실패로 생각했다. 미국과 국제 핵 전문가들은 최근 북한의 핵실험의 폭발력을 3-4킬로톤으로 평가했다. 핵무기 조사관이었던 데이비드 울브라이트 과학국제안보연구소 소장은 “이번 핵

9 된 적도 있었다. 2006년 김정일 **북한** 국방위원장은 국제사회에 한마디 통고도 없이 **핵실험**을 강행했다. 그러나 2년 뒤인 지금 북한은 핵프로그램 포기예 합의했다. 왜 이제 와서 이런 양보를 했을까? 국제사회에서 고립된 북한이 국제 원조 형태로 식량과

10 도에 가장 잘 맞는 본보기를 찾을 작정이다. 미국식이 될지, 영국식이 될지는 아직 모른다. **북 핵실험**에 일본의 반응은 어떤가. 북한이 핵 카드를 쓰지 못한다는 점을 보여주려면 국제사회가 긴밀히 협력해야 한다. 외교적 노력을 지속적으로 펼쳐야 한다. 일

11 총리를 역임한 아베 신조는 대학생 대상의 강연회에서 “규모가 작은 한” 핵무기 보유가 일본 헌법에 위배되지 않는다고 주장했다. **북한이 핵실험**을 처음 실시한 2006년, 자민당의 중진 나카가와 쇼이치 의원과 당시 외무장관이었던 아소 다로 총리는 핵 보유

12 **북한**의 **핵실험** 직후 파문 북한이 과연 핵 실험을 준비하고 있을까. 미국 정보분석가들은 지난주 함경북도 길주 부근에서 의심스러운

13 진도는 2006년 이래 핵폭탄의 파괴력을 높여왔다는 북한의 공식 발표가 옳을지 모른다는 점을 말해 준다. 미국은 가장 최근의 **북한 핵실험**을 진도 4.7로, 일본은 5.3으로, 러시아와 한국은 약 5.1로 추정했다 (그에 비해 2006년 핵실험의 경우

14 역할에 주목한다 북한 핵실험은 6자회담 당사국의 분열 유도하고 확실한 양보를 얻기 위한 포석 STEPHEN NOERPER 기자 **북한**의 **핵실험** 직후 일본의 한 일간지 호외에 실린 김정일 위원장 사진. 북한의 5월 25일 지하 핵실험, 그리고 잇단 단거리

15 북한에 더욱 강하게 대응해야 한다는 목소리가 커지고 있다. 그럴 경우 지역적인 군비경쟁이 촉발될 가능성이 크다. 한국의 경우 **북한**의 **핵실험**으로 주식시장과 원화 가치가 동반 하락했고, 그로써 5월 23일 노무현 전 대통령의 서거로 이미 혼란에 빠진 나

16 부근에서 의심스러운 터널 작업이 경찰위성 카메라에 포착됐다고 말했다. 그러나 국무부의 한 고위 관리의 뉴스위크에 미국 정부는 **북한**의 **핵실험**이 임박했다고 생각하지 않는다고 밝혔다. 일부 과학자들은 북한이 핵실험을 하면 급수 시설이 전부 오염되기 때문에

17 다. 그 다음 상황이 어떻게 전개될지 전혀 감을 잡을 수 없었다. 하지만 **핵실험**과 두 건의 유엔 안보리 결의에도 불구하고 이제 **북한**은 핵프로그램 일부(설비)의 불능화에 착수했다. 협상과 외교의 진정한 승리다. 북한이 핵무기를 완전히 포기하리라고 믿지는

18 886호 (2009.06.24) 일본의 핵무장이 불가능한 이유 북한 핵실험이 일본의 핵무기 개발을 불러올 거란 우려는 기우에 불과하다 TAKASHI YOKOTA 기자 **북한이 핵실험**을 다시

19 . 그러자 이제는 물 건너갔다는 대답이 돌아왔다. 그럼에도 라이스 국무장관은 이번 주 러시아와 아시아의 외교책임자들에게 부시는 **북한**의 **핵실험** 이후에도 북한을 협상에 복귀시키는 데 관심이 있다고 전할 계획이다. 부시의 집무실엔 윈스턴 처칠의 청동 흉상이

20 임 연구원이다.] **북한**의 **핵실험**에 대한 ‘오바마의 대북 성명’ 북한은 5월 25일 3년 만에 두 번째 지하 핵실험을 실시했다. 북한의 핵 야망을 저지하려고 당근과 채찍을 혼합한 정책을 수년 동안 추진해 온 미국은 큰 벽에 부딪혔다. 버락 오바마 미국

21 을 선고 받았다). 백악관과 국무부는 그 기자들을 석방시키는 임무를 먼 클린턴의 방북에 침묵했다. 오바마 행정부는 유엔을 통해 **북한**의 **핵 실험**을 비난하며 새로운 제재를 밀어붙였다. 김정일 위원장도 강경노선을 견지했다. 자신의 아들이자 후계자로 점쳐지는

22 5월 2차 핵실험을 감행했다. 2006년 10월 첫번째 핵실험의 폭발력은 약 0.5킬로톤이었다. 당시 미 관계자와 전문가들은 **북한 핵실험**을 실패로 생각했다. 미국과 국제 핵 전문가들은 최근 북한의 핵실험의 폭발력을 3-4킬로톤으로 평가했다. 핵무기 조

23 컵한 사진이었다. 부시의 눈에 그 사진은 “자유를 따라오는 빛과 기회, 독재정권을 따라오는 어둠”을 보여줬다고 휴즈는 말했다. **북한 핵실험**이 실시되기 며칠 전인 2주 전의 로즈가든 기자회견에서 부시는 지난 4월 한 일본 여인을 만난 일을 돌이켰다. 그

24 ‘엄청난 핵전쟁 위협’을 받는다는 이유로 지하 핵실험 실시. 10월 15일 유엔 안보리, 1718호 결의안 채택. 이 결의안은 **북한 핵실험**을 비난하고 무역 제재 조치를 부과하며, ‘운송 수단’을 포함하는 핵무기 프로그램에 관련된 북한의 활동을 금지.

25 반하기로 결심했다”며 “북한이 6자회담에서 약속도 파기했다”고 밝혔다. 2006년 북한의 1차 핵실험 뒤 채택된 유엔 결의안은 **북한 핵실험**을 비난하고 북한에 제재조치를 가했다. 클린턴 장관은 “북한이 이 같은 방법을 선택했으며 중국과 러시아를 포함해

26 설이 전부 오염되기 때문에 그러지 못할 것이라고 했다. 정치적 “비용도 막대할 것”이라고 김성한 외교 안보연구원 교수는 말했다. **북한 핵실험**은 북한을 지지하는 중국, 한국과의 관계 단절을 가져올 수 있다. 일각에선 김정일 위원장이 핵 프로그램 포기 대가

27 핵 초강수 김정일의 본심 정권의 생존에 6자회담 협상보다 핵무기 프로그램이 더 효과적이라 판단한 듯 **북한 핵실험**으로 발생한 인공지진파. 김정일 북한 국방위원장은 미국의 휴일을 망치는 데 일가견이 있는 듯하다. 2006년 7월

28 사회에서 긴장을 고조시켰다. 수잔 라이스 유엔주재 미국 대사는 CNN의 ‘아메리칸 모닝(American Morning)’에서 “**북한 핵실험**과 미사일 발사로 국제사회에 도발적인 행위를 계속한다면 국제사회가 명백히 북한의 이 같은 행동을 용납할 수 없기

29 제 핵실험을 했다. 한국 소식통들은 그것이 히로시마와 나가사키에 투하된 원자폭탄 강도의 3~4배의 파괴력을 지녔다고 추정했다. **북한 핵실험**을 미국의 메모리얼 데이에 의도적으로 맞췄는지는 확실치 않다. 한 가지 이론은 북한이 김정일의 건강 문제를 둘러

30 먹고 갈수록 불안을 야기한다. 그 밖에도 이스라엘-레바논 전쟁, 팔레스타인 평화협상 교착, 중동의 맹주가 되려는 이란의 야욕, **북한 핵실험**, 러시아와 주변국 간의 갈등 증폭이 있다. 같은 기간에 세계 경제는 30년 만에 가장 빨리 성장한 5년간을 체험

31 남측 관계자는 이는 북한이 군사기술력을 계속 과시하고 있는 것으로 보고 있다고 보도했다. 라이스 미 대사는 유엔의 구속력 없는 **북한 핵실험**에 대한 비난 성명을 채택한 뒤 안보리가 현재 강제력 있는 강력한 대북 결의안 마련을 위해 논의하고 있다고 밝혔다

32 사전에 준비를 해야 한다. [필자는 이스트웨스트 연구소(EastWest Institute)의 아시아 담당 선임 연구원이다.] **북한 핵실험**에 대한 ‘오바마의 대북 성명’ 북한은 5월 25일 3년 만에 두 번째 지하 핵실험을 실시했다. 북한의 핵 야망

33 핵무장이 불가능한 이유 북한 핵실험이 일본의 핵무기 개발을 불러올 거란 우려는 기우에 불과하다 TAKASHI YOKOTA 기자 **북한 핵실험**을 다시 강행하면서 비판적 시나리오들이 쏟아져 나왔다. 일본이 핵 보유를 선언하고 아시아에서 핵무기 경쟁이 촉발

34 했다. 한 미국 관계자는 지난주 **북한**이 추가 **핵실험**을 준비하고 있을 가능성이 있다고 밝혔다. 올브라트 소장은 “핵실험을 할수록 북한의 핵무기 기술은 상당히 개선될 수 있다”고 말했다. 지난 수개월에 걸쳐 북한은 또한 단거리, 중거리, 장거리 미사일을

35 국이 동북아에서 계속 수모를 당한다는 사실을 일깨울지 모른다. 낸시 펠로시 미국 하원의장은 지난 25일 중국을 방문한 자리에서 **북한 핵실험**을 금지한 유엔 안보리 결의안 1718호를 “명백히 위반했다”며 “크게 놀랐다”고 말했다. 6자회담 당사국들 사

36 의 보수파는 관광사업의 이득이 과장됐다고 주장한다. 금강산의 남북 주민 접촉은 철저하게 통제되며, 정치적 논의는 금기사항이다. **북한 핵실험**은 금강산 나들이를 꿈꿨던 사람들의 생각을 바꾸었다. 안전상의 이유로 계획을 취소한 사람도 있고, 북한의 자극적

37 소 남성옥 소장이 말했다. 김정일은 지난 5월 2차 핵실험을 서둘러 감행했다. 평소에 우호적인 관계를 유지하던 중국과 러시아가 **북한의 핵실험**을 규탄하자 김정일은 이들 국가를 노골적으로 비난했다. 서울의 일부 소식통은 한국과 미국에 대한 최근의 디도스(

38 지도 모른다. 부시는 “대통령 재임기간에 가장 의미있는 순간 가운데 하나”라고 부른 그 만남으로 가슴이 아팠다고 말했다. 이번 **북한 핵실험**의 규모는 그다지 인상적이지 않지만(0.5kt 이하로 고작 핵 장난감 총에 불과했다) 북한은 여전히 세계 제일의

39 백방으로 강화하기 위한 조치의 일환”이라고 보도했다. 남측에선 이명박 대통령은 오늘 날 긴급 국가 안정보장회의를 소집해 보고된 **북한의 핵실험**에 관한 사태 파악에 나섰다. 일본에서도 아소 다로 총리는 북한의 이번 핵 실험을 주시하고 대응책을 마련하기 위

40 나 차기 유엔 사무총장은 힘든 도전을 앞두고 있다. 반 장관의 유엔 사무총장 당선에 거의 확정된 지 24시간도 채 지나기 전에 **북한이 핵실험** 계획을 발표했다. 그 충격은 세계 도처에 일파만파로 번지고 있다. 반 장관은 지난 수 년간 북핵문제 해결을 위

41 을 접고 종전의 발사유에 상대로 복귀할 것을 요구했다. 게다가 유엔은 제한적인 경제제재 조치에 나섰고, 특히 2006년 10월 **북한의 핵실험**을 계기로 제재 범위를 중화기와 사치품으로까지 확대했다. 그러나 이런 조치 중 어느 것도 북한의 행동을 변화시키

42 594호 (2003.08.21) 한계에 다다른 북, 중 우정 중국은 고집스런 동맹국인 **북한이 핵실험**할 경우 등 돌릴 수 있어 MELINDA LIU 베이징 지국장 기자 그동안 중국측을 단순히 짜증나게 만드는 정도였

43 로써 5월 23일 노무현 전 대통령의 서거로 이미 혼란에 빠진 나라가 더욱 큰 어려움을 겪을지 모른다. 이명박 대통령에겐 이번 **북한의 핵실험**이 개성공단을 둘러싼 최근의 갈등에 이어 더 큰 숙제를 떠안길 듯 하다. 북한 주민과 국제 관측통들에게 김정일이

44 은 결코 아니다. 만약 5년 전에 내가 지금 같은 일이 있을 것이라고 예측했다면 아무도 믿지 않았을 것이다. 2006년 10월 **북한은 핵실험**을 강행했다. 아주 심각한 상황이었다. 그 다음 상황이 어떻게 전개될지 전혀 감을 잡을 수 없었다. 하지만 핵실

45 752호 (2006.10.25) 당근 없는 채찍만으로 효과 기대 어렵다 FAREED ZAKARIA 국제판 편집장 기자 **북한이 핵실험**까지 강행한 게 누구 탓인지를 두고는 의견이 분분하지만 그 다음 단계에 관해서는 국제사회가 한목소리를 낸다. 경제

46 4월 5일 장거리 미사일 발사로 시작된 북한의 ‘3연승 단식 경기’의 대미를 장식했다. 백악관은 이례적으로 새벽에 성명을 내고 **북한의 핵실험**을 강하게 비난하며 유엔 안전보장이사회에 대한 “명백한 도전”이라고 지적했다. 이번 핵실험으로 인해 북한에서 ‘

47 TAKASHI YOKOTA 884호 (2009.06.10) 중국, 러시아의 역할에 주목한다 **북한 핵실험**은 6자회담 당사국의 분열 유도하고 확실한 양보를 얻기 위한 포석STEPHEN NOERPER 기자 북한의 핵실험 직

48 최고위 지도자들을 상대한다. 김 위원장이 좀 이상한 사람일지 모른다는 말이 있다. 하지만 세계의 여러 지도자를 만나지 않았다. **북한의 핵실험**은 2005년 미국이 마카오의 방코델타아시아 은행에 제재를 가한 데 대한 반발이라는 주장도 있다. 방코델타아시아

Concordance 52. A full set of concordance lines of ‘북한* 핵*실험’ [NK* nuclear*test]

The analysis of the right pane of ‘북한* 핵*실험’ [NK* nuclear*test] reveals the same trend discussed in the previous analyses of ‘북한* 핵*무기’ [NK* nuclear*weapon*] and ‘북한* 핵*프로그램’ [NK* nuclear*programme]. There is a strong negative prosody, evident in items such as ‘책임모면’ [avoid responsibility] (line 1), ‘고립’ [isolation] (line 9), ‘불능화’ [disable] (line 17), ‘핵야망’ [nuclear ambition] (lines 20 and 32), ‘갈등’

[conflict] (lines 30 and 43), ‘규탄’ [denounce] (line 37), and ‘분열’ [divide/split] (line 47). The negative framing of North Korea’s nuclear test(s) is reinforced through recurrent appearances of ‘비난’ [criticise/blame] (six times - lines 21, 24, 25, 31, 37 and 46) and ‘제재’ [sanction] (five times - lines 21, 24, 25, 41 and 48).

Concordance lines that feature ‘비난’ [criticise/blame] and ‘제재’ [sanction] are worth analysing in more detail because they should offer an insight into ways of dealing with North Korean nuclear test issues. An analysis of the concordance line of ‘비난’ [criticise/blame] reveals that it is the ‘US’ that is in a position to blame North Korea for conducting nuclear tests: ‘Obama administration’ (line 32), the ‘UN’ (UN/UN Security Council) (lines 24, 25 and 31), and the ‘White House’ (line 46). Although ‘Kim Jong Il’ appears as the active party who blames others in one line (line 37), he blames ‘China’ and ‘Russia’ – not the US – for criticising North Korea’s nuclear test(s).

A similar pattern emerges from the analysis of the concordance lines of ‘제재’ [sanction]. The US plays a central role in relation to North Korea or is projected as the powerful party in the Korean translations. It is predominantly the ‘US’ that sanctions North Korea: ‘Obama administration’ (line 21), ‘the UN’ (UN/UN Security Council) (lines 24, 25, 41) and the ‘US’ (line 48). The types of sanctions imposed are either unspecified (lines 21 and 25); or, if specified, are predominantly economic: ‘무역’ [trading] (line 24), ‘경제’ [economy] (line 41), ‘사치품’ [luxurious items] (line 41), and ‘은행’ [bank] (line 48).

7.2.4 ‘북한* 핵*개발’ [NK* nuclear*development]

Out of 325 instances of ‘북한* 핵*’ [NK* nuclear*], 27 concordance lines of ‘북한* 핵*개발’ [NK* nuclear*development] were found. In terms of institution-specific patterns, *Newsweek Hangukpan* features stronger patterns than *CNN Hangeul News*: only one concordance comes from *CNN Hangeul News*; the remaining 26 are from *Newsweek Hangukpan* (Concordance 53).

The analysis of ‘북한* 핵*개발’ [NK* nuclear*development] reveals the same pattern discussed above. Like the analyses of ‘북한* 핵*무기’ [NK* nuclear*weapon], ‘북한* 핵*프로그램’ [NK* nuclear*programme] and ‘북한* 핵*실험’ [NK* nuclear*test], the left pane of ‘북한* 핵*개발’ [NK* nuclear*development] also features various

entities, with the US being particularly prominent again (e.g. lines 3, 9 and 10). The right pane reveals a strong negative prosody, as evident in items such as ‘포기’ [give up/abandon] (lines 3, 5, 11, 19, 23 and 25) and ‘만류’ [dissuasion] (line 14). The focus is the US’s attempts to ‘dissuade’ North Korea from continuing with the development of its nuclear programme.

N

Concordance

1 비해 ‘왼쪽’으로 이동해 북한측에 크게 유리한 상황이다. 북한이 리비아에 우라늄을 판매했다는 최근의 폭로조차도 국민 대다수가 **북한의 핵 개발** 위협이 과장됐다고 믿는 한국에선 머릿기사가 되지 못했다. 노 대통령은 또 대북 관광사업에 대한 수백만달러의 정

2 의 방북까지 허용했다. 고이즈미의 방북 중 김정일 국방위원장은 북한의 비밀 핵 개발 계획의 재동결 가능성을 어렵게 시사했다. **북한의 핵 개발** 동결은 2002년 북한이 비밀 농축우라늄 계획의 존재를 시인한 뒤 미국과 그 우방들이 줄곧 요구해온 사항이다

3 통령과 노무현 대통령은 지난 10일 워싱턴에서 정상회담을 하기 전에 의례적인 인사말을 주고받았다. 부시 대통령은 한·미 양국이 **북한의 핵 개발**계획 포기를 유도하는 “공통의 목표를 공유”하며 오랫동안 교착상태에 빠진 6자회담이 그 과정에서 “핵심적”이라

4 교착상태에 빠진 6자회담이 그 과정에서 “핵심적”이라는 데 양국의 견해가 일치한다고 말했다. 그러자 노 대통령은 한·미 양국이 **북한의 핵 개발**계획에 대한 대처 방법을 둘러싸고 “한두 가지 사소한 문제”가 있지만 “우리가 대화로 그 문제를 풀어가리라 확

5 상 테이블에 끌어들여 긴장완화와 관계개선을 통해 북한이 얻을 수 있는 이득을 설명하는 것이 단기적으로 유일한 방안이다. 미국이 **북한의 핵 개발**을 포기시키는 데는 강경책뿐 아니라 유인책도 효과적일 수 있다. 미국은 그 두 방법 모두를 사용해야 한다. 이

6 이 그 좋은 예다. 문제의 문구엔 “양국은 한반도 핵문제와 관련된 모든 국제 협정을 준수한다”고 돼 있다. 그러나 지난주 나온 **북한의 핵 개발** 계획 시인은 북한이 1990년대 후반 이래로 핵확산방지 협정을 어겨왔음을 명백히 보여준다. 문제는 고이즈미의

7 을 중단할 생각인가. KEDO는 북한의 핵개발을 저지할 수 있는 가장 현실적이고 효과적인 장치다. KEDO가 존속하기 위해서는 **북한이 핵 개발**계획에 대한 국제사회의 의혹을 불식하고 향후 미사일 개발을 단념해야 한다. 미사일 발사실험이 재개될 경우 일본

8 결된 기본합의 사항을 위반하고 있는 것은 아닌가. 당시 합의에 의하면 미국-한국-일본은 북한에 핵 에너지 기술을 제공하는 대신 **북한은 핵 개발**계획을 중단하도록 돼 있는데.... 그 점을 둘러싸고 의혹이 제기되고 있다. 의혹은 불식돼야 한다. 방법은? 사찰

9 수 없지만 이 위성사진이 북한이 금방이라고 핵실험을 감행할 것임을 나타내지 않는다”고 말했다. 제프 모델 미 국방부 대변인은 **북한의 핵 개발**을 긴밀히 감시하고 있다고 밝혔다. 그는 “항상 북한의 진정한 의도를 분석하려고 노력하고 있다”며 “북한이 미국

10 정부가 1970년대에 ‘평화적’ 핵실험을 실시한 뒤에야 비로소 인도의 핵무기 프로그램을 알게 됐다. 마찬가지로 미국 관리들은 **북한의 핵 개발** 노력에 우려를 표명해 왔지만 북한 정부가 국제원자력기구(IAEA) 사찰단을 추방하고 핵확산금지조약을 탈퇴한 뒤

11 부르는 적색선을 넘어서선 조치로 간주한다는 것은 아니다. “그런 말을 할 생각은 없다”고 그는 말했다. 공식적으로 부시 정부는 **북한의 핵 개발**을 동결시킨 1994년의 클린턴 정부와는 달리 북한의 핵개발을 아예 포기시킬 작정이다. 부시 정부 관리들은 북한

12 지적했다. 5년 단임제인 한국의 독특한 대통령제는 ‘두번째 기회’를 주지 않는다. 노대통령은 부시와의 원만한 관계를 수립하고, **북한의 핵개발**을 막기 위해 미국과 공조해야 하며, 아울러 내년 총선에 앞서 집권당의 역량을 강화하는 방향으로 정치적 현안들을

13 려고 애써온 지난 수년 동안 중국이 한 역할도 의심한다. 중국은 2000년대 초부터 6자 회담 주최국이였다. 그러나 그 협상은 **북한의 핵개발**을 막지 못했고, 중국은 북한에 한번도 엄중한 입장을 취한 적이 없다. 북한은 대화를 통해 시간을 벌면서 이미

14 추적해 그 출처에 책임을 묻는 새로운 억지 장치가 필요하다 GRAHAM ALLISON / 번역: 이원기 기자 2007년 미국은 **북한의 핵개발**을 만류하기 위해 북한 대표를 초청해 협상 테이블에 앉았다. 그러나 북한은 바로 그 순간에도 핵기술과 장비, 물

15 플루토늄 덩어리를 미국으로 향하는 테러리스트 폭탄에 장착하도록 허용하는 일이 일어날 가능성이 있다. 그 못지않게 무서운 점은 **북한이 핵개발**에 몰두하는 다른 정권, 특히 같은 “악의 축” 동료 이란에 넘겨줄 기술이다. 핵시대의 여명기인 제2차 세계대전

16 고 북한의 핵 프로그램은 여전히 날림 수준을 면치 못했다. 결국 핵무기 제조가 쉽지는 않음이 입증됐다. 1990년대 초 미국과 **북한이 핵개발**문제로 전쟁 일보 직전까지 간 뒤 전도사 빌리 그레이엄과 지미 카터가 평화사절로 북한을 다녀왔다. 그 뒤 빌

17 이 무너질 날이 멀지 않았다고 생각한다면 단단한 착각이라고. 송영길 의원이 지적하듯 김정일은 자살할 성격이 아니다. 1994년 **북한의 핵개발**문제로 심각한 대치국면이 조성됐을 때 북한은 서울을 ‘불바다’로 만들겠다고 위협했다. “그러나 사태가 걷잡을

18 2002.10.30 **북한 핵개발**시인으로 고이즈미 망신살 북-일 정상회담 공동선언문의 내용이 거짓인줄 알면서도 서명했다는 비난 쏟아져 고이즈미 총

19 그런 말을 할 생각은 없다”고 그는 말했다. 공식적으로 부시 정부는 북한의 핵개발을 동결시킨 1994년의 클린턴 정부와는 달리 **북한의 핵개발**을 아예 포기시킬 작정이다. 부시 정부 관리들은 북한의 핵프로그램 재가동을 용납하는 협정은 절대 맺지 않을 것이

20 초대를 받고 시찰을 나갔다. 그는 훗날 북한의 화학과 플루토늄 재처리 야금술이 “확실히 유능한 수준”이라고 말했다. 정말이지 **북한의 핵개발** 역사는 “지구상에 인구가 2000만~2500만 명인 나라는 경제를 충분히 짜내기만하면 얼마든지 핵무장을 추진할

21 이상에 불타는 과학자들이 포함됐다. 그들의 제자들은 소련에서 교육받았고, 토종 기술자도 수천 명이 있다. 북한의 강적인 일본이 **북한 핵개발**의 “원조(元祖)”로 간주되는 사람을 대렸다. 작고한 과학자이자 발명가 이성기는 1931년 교토제국대에서 화학공학

22 용의가 있다”고 대답한 것은 잘 알려져 있다. 오바마는 5월 17일 사우스다코타 기자회견담회에서 “북한과 대화하지 않았던 게 **북한 핵개발**로 이어졌다”며 “나는 우리의 동맹국과 친구뿐 아니라 시리아, 이란, 북한, 베네수엘라 같은 우리의 적들과도 강력

23 정부는 북한의 핵개발을 동결시킨 1994년의 클린턴 정부와는 달리 **북한의 핵개발**을 아예 포기시킬 작정이다. 부시 정부 관리들은 북한의 핵프로그램 재가동을 용납하는 협정은 절대 맺지 않을 것이라고 누누이 강조했다. 그러나 일부 분석가들에 따르면 이제 북

24 본 열도 상공으로 미사일 발사실험을 재개할 경우 한반도에너지개발기구(KEDO)에 대한 자금 지원을 중단할 생각인가. KEDO는 **북한의 핵개발**을 저지할 수 있는 가장 현실적이고 효과적인 장치다. KEDO가 존속하기 위해서는 북한이 핵개발 계획에 대한 국

25 명하기 위해 국제원자력기구(IAEA)의 사찰을 허용한다는 약속을 이행하는지 예의주시하고 있다. 사찰에 차질이 있을 경우 미국은 **북한이 핵개발**을 포기하는 조건으로 북측에 공급하기로 한 경수로의 건설을 중단할 가능성이 높다. 남한의 변화는 국민 감정에서

26 이 숨진 사건도 그의 소행으로 여겨진다. 그는 아들 김정일의 교육도 확실히 시켰다. 절대 가까운 권력을 쥔 두 부자가 주도한 **북한의 핵개발** 프로그램에는 놀랄 만큼 많은 사람이 참여했다. 일본제국에서 교육받고 2차대전 후 귀국한 이상에 불타는 과학자들

27 우라늄 보유분을 해외로 내보낼 용의가 있다”고 말한 만큼, 제안은 아직 유효하다. 이처럼 다양한 협상안을 논의할 필요가 있다. **북한의 핵개발** 프로그램에도 이관만큼 신경 써야 하지 않을까? 대화 부족으로 북한은 결국 원자력 연료를 플루토늄으로 바꾸었고

Concordance 53. A full set of the concordance lines of the right pane of ‘북한* 핵*개발’ [NK* nuclear*development]

To sum up, the concordance lines of ‘북한* 핵*’ [NK* nuclear*] reveal that North Korea’s nuclear ambitions are the subject of intense criticism by the US in particular, and that various measures, including sanctions, are used to deter North Korea from pursuing these ambitions. North Korea is constructed as the weaker party throughout, is not given a voice, and is positioned at the receiving end of criticism, sanctions, warnings, and so on.

7.3 Five Kims

This section will discuss differences in the way in which each person is presented in the Korean TTs, focusing on the specific ways each ‘Kim’ is constructed in *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News* articles. As previously mentioned in Chapter Five and Chapter Six, five people playing major diplomatic roles in the context of North Korea have ‘Kim’ as their last names: Kim Il Sung (the founder of North Korea), Kim Jong Il (the late leader of North Korea and the son of Kim Il Sung), Kim Jong Un and Kim Jong Nam (the sons of Kim Jong Il), and Kim Dae Jung (the former President of South Korea). The focus will be on investigating whether the patterns associated with each person in the current corpus are different from those of the English ST sub-corpus, analysed in Chapter Six.

Like the previous analyses of ‘Kim’, the analysis will be carried out without drawing on a collocate list, since the analysis of the collocate list would introduce an unnecessary level of noise; because it would be impossible to establish how each collocate relates to each individual ‘Kim’. To ensure consistency, the same steps are followed in the analysis of these concordances: the default setting for the concordance functions was maintained, and the ‘auto remove duplicate’ option was not activated.

The concordance lines generated using ‘김*’ [Kim*] as a search word returned 1,593 concordance lines. As in earlier analyses, each person’s full name is used as a search word, i.e. ‘김일성’ [Kim Il Sung], ‘김정일’ [Kim Jong Il], ‘김정남’ [Kim Jong Nam], ‘김정은’ [Kim Jung Un], and ‘김대중’ [Kim Dae Jung], rather than only the surname, ‘김’ [Kim], in order to reduce the level of noise, since ‘Kim’ is the most common Korean family name and because it would be impossible to establish how each collocate relates to each individual ‘Kim’.

7.3.1 Kim Il Sung (founder of North Korea and father of Kim Jong Il)

Using ‘Kim Il Sung’ as a search word, a total of 108 concordance lines were retrieved, allowing me to identify a number of potentially interesting patterns. ‘주석’ [premier] (19 instances); ‘아버지’ [father] (11 instances); and ‘지도자’ [leader] (10 instances) proved to be among the most common (Table 26). ‘대통령’ [president] does not feature in the list, which is consistent with the previous analysis of Kim Il Sung discussed in Chapter Six (English ST sub-corpus analysis). Fifteen concordance lines were found in *CNN Hangeul News*, while the majority, 93 instances, were from *Newsweek Hangukpan*.

Item	gloss	Number of concordance lines	% of total concordance lines	Kim Il Sung/ Kim Il-Sung
주석	premier	19	18%	
아버지	father	11	10%	
지도자	leader	10	9%	

Table 26. Patterns associated with Kim Il Sung identified in the Korean TT sub-corpus

(a) Patterns associated with ‘주석’ [premier]

The analysis begins with the strongest collocate, ‘주석’ [premier]: a total of nineteen instances. *Pyojun Kookeo Daesajeon* [Standard Korean Language Dictionary]¹³² (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2012) defines ‘주석’ (‘국가주석’) [the head of state] as ‘a leader who is in the highest position of a party or a nation’; and *Naver Online Korean Dictionary* (2012)¹³³ more specifically defines it as ‘a leader of a socialist state’. Out of a total of nineteen lines, eight lines (lines 4, 9, 13-17 and 19) come from *CNN Hangeul News* and the remaining eleven instances from *Newsweek Hangukpan* (Concordance 54).

¹³² <http://stdweb2.korean.go.kr/main.jsp> [last accessed 10 November 2012].

¹³³ <http://krdic.naver.com/> [last accessed 31 May 2012].

1 열차를 타고 시속 40km로 시베리아 횡단철도(TSR)를 따라 여행한 것이다. 부전자전이다. 김위원장의 이번 여행은 1984년 김일성 주석의 소련 방문 기차여행을 쫓았다. 그해 김주석을 소련 정부에 경제원조와 무기지원을 간청하러 갔다. 그가 소련과

2 80) 전 북한 노동당 비서는 1997년 한국으로 망명했다. 북한의 국가 지도원리 '주체사상' 체계화의 주역인 황씨는 과거 고 김일성 주석, 그리고 김정일 국방위원장의 측근이었다. 망명을 통해 북한 독재체제에 반기를 든 그는 미국으로 건너가 증언하고

3 에 박힌 구호' 등을 말한다. 여기서 말하는 지배적 이념이란 바로 인종적 순수성과 같은 개념이다. 김정일 국방위원장과 고 김일성 주석은 자신들의 정통성을 북한 경제가 잘나간다고 우기는 보고서(이는 주로 대외용이다) 따위에서 찾지 않았다. 그 대신

4 려관광은 오는 10월 25일까지 하는 집단체조 아리랑과 함께 지금이 북한 관광의 최적기라고 제안했다. 고려관광 대변인은 내년이 김일성 주석 탄생 100주년을 위한 준비와 리허설 때문에 아리랑 공연을 할지 불확실하다고 말했다. 10월 아리랑 입장권을 지

5 아버지는 이 철부지 아들에게 공장과 마을을 맡긴 채 세상을 뜨고 만다. 그것이 바로 6년 전의 북한이라고 할 수 있다. 당시 김일성 주석의 돌연한 사망으로 북한의 운명은 53세의 김정일손에 넘겨졌다. 최근까지 한국과 외국의 북한 관측통들은 김정일을

6 김정일의 오른팔 역할을 해왔으며, 김정은이 권력을 승계한 후 섭정에 나서리라 전망된다. 김정일은 1980년 노동당 당대회에서 김일성 주석의 후계자로 공식 발표된 뒤 14년간 아버지의 통치를 지켜보았다. 하지만 김정은의 권력 승계 계획은 그보다 훨씬

7 고 양측은 곧 냉전 대결구도로 선회했다. 김일성과 만난 카터. 1994년 6월: 미국의 지미 카터 전 대통령이 김영삼 대통령과 김일성 주석의 정상회담을 주선해 한반도 긴장완화에 한몫. 1994년 7월: 남북정상회담을 몇 주 앞두고 김일성이 사망하면서

8 보여준다. 공산주의의 허울 뒤에서 북한은 아직도 유교적 충효사상과 결합된 개인숭배 사상에 사로잡혀 있다. '아버지 수령 동지' 김일성 주석은 94년 김정일에게 성공적으로 권력을 승계했다. 그것은 공산권 내에서 진무후무한 권력세습이었다. 장자인 정남은

9 은을 위해 정교하게 기획된 '커밍아웃 파티'라고 평했다. 열병식은 북한 창설자이자 김 위원장의 아버지 김일성 주석의 이름을 딴 김일성 광장에서 시작됐다. 미국은 김정은이 건강이 악화된 김 위원장의 권력을 승계할 것으로 생각하고 있다. 김정은에 대해 알

10 의 방북을 계기로 긴장된 북미 관계의 돌파구가 마련될 것이라는 기대감이 돌고 있다. 카터 전 대통령은 1994년 북한을 방문해 김일성 주석을 면담했고 그로부터 20일 후 제네바 합의를 위한 길이 열린 바 있다. 제네바 합의는 북한의 핵 야망을 다스리기

11 모든 인행이 계획되고 짜여져 있으며 전체국민들이 광란적 숭배의식에 끊임없이 동원된다. 북한의 주석은 아이러니하게도 이미 사망한 김일성이다. 그밖의 모든 공식지도자 자리는 김의 아들 김정일이 맡고 있다. 그가 탄생할 때는 여러가지 신비로운 징조가 나타났다

12 정일의 실체 호색한•테러리스트...아직도 그의 진면목은 종잡을 수 없다 George Wehrfritz 도쿄 지국장 김정일이 생전의 김일성 주석(1994년 사망)에게 수문과 관련한 보고를 하고 있다. 1만 편 이상의 영화를 수집한 것으로 알려진 김정일이 1

13 할을 하게 된다. 장성택은 대학 시절 연인인 김정일의 여동생 김경희와 1972년 결혼한 이후 노동당에서 고속 승진을 시작했다. 김일성 주석은 두 사람의 관계를 탐탁지 않게 여겼지만 김정일은 장성택을 좋아했다. 미 중앙정보국(CIA)에서 극동문제 분석가

14 정책을 도입했다. 붉은 기 정책은 김일성 주석의 주체사상과 결합된 스탈린주의보다 전투적 측면이 강화됐다. 김 위원장은 아버지 김일성 주석으로부터 절대적인 통치자의 역할을 물려받았다. 김 주석은 1994년 심장마비로 사망했다. 김 주석은 자신을 '위대

15 으며 수행한 사진도 없다. 김정은은 김 위원장의 셋째이자 막내아들로 올해 27살 또는 28살이 됐다. 김 위원장은 그의 아버지 김일성 주석 옆에서 20년간 후계 수업을 받았다. 그러나 현재 68살이 김 위원장은 뇌졸중으로 건강이 악화되어 정치전문가들은

16 한국전에 참전한 군인들이 30세가 채 안된 김정은을 새로운 지도자로 받아들일지도 불확실하다”고 밝혔다. 김 위원장은 아버지인 김일성 주석 옆에서 20년 동안 후계자수업을 받았다. 현재 68세인 그는 뇌졸중으로 건강상 안 좋은 상황이기 때문에 북한 전

17 곧 사망한다면 이는 매우 불확실하게 될 것”이라고 말했다. 김 위원장은 1996년 붉은 기 정책을 도입했다. 붉은 기 정책은 김일성 주석의 주체사상과 결합된 스탈린주의보다 전투적 측면이 강화됐다. 김 위원장은 아버지 김일성 주석으로부터 절대적인 통치

18 했다. 서울의 장로교 신자들은 거의 300만 달러를 지원해 평양의 봉수교회를 재건 중이다. 침례교 단체들도 그 인근의 칠골교회(김일성 주석의 어머니가 다녔다고 한다) 개축에 비슷한 액수를 투자할 계획이다. 남한의 기독교인들은 북한에서 선교를 더 많이

19 제를 밝혀내고 있다”며 “핵융합 기술을 알아내면 미래에 발전소 건설을 막을 수 있을 것”이라고 밝혔다. 조선중앙통신은 핵융합이 김일성 주석의 생일인 지난 4월 15일, 태양절에 성공했다고 보도했다. 안보 전문가인 고려대학교의 김병기 박사는 “노동신문의

Concordance 54. A full set of concordance lines of ‘Kim Il Sung’ associated with ‘주석’ [premier]

The above concordance suggests that Kim Il Sung is mostly reported in relation to his son, Kim Jong Il, and ‘premier’ is exclusively used to refer to Kim Il Sung: fourteen instances feature Kim Jong Il (lines 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17) and Kim Il Sung together, with the exception of five lines (lines 4, 7, 10, 18 and 19) in which Kim Il Sung is discussed in his own right, as ‘premier’. No particular negative or positive semantic prosody relating to ‘premier’ Kim Il Sung is identified. Although a set of items feature a negative semantic prosody, e.g. ‘테러리스트’ [a terrorist] and ‘호색한’ [a lecher] in line 12, they refer back to Kim Jong Il, not Kim Il Sung. In terms of semantic preference, a prominent set of collocates signal Kim Il Sung’s death: ‘고’ [late] (lines 2 and 3); ‘사망’ [dead] (lines 5, 7, 11, 12 and 14); and ‘생전의’ [was still alive] (line 12). In terms of time-specific patterns, more than a half of all instances – twelve, out of nineteen – appeared in 2010 while the others are distributed across the period between 2000 and 2008: 2000 (lines 7 and 12), 2001 (line 1), 2003 (lines 2 and 8), and 2008 (line 18).

(b) Patterns associated with ‘아버지’ [father]

The second strong collocate is ‘아버지’ [father]: Concordance 55 shows the total set of eleven instances, which are relatively evenly distributed between *CNN Hangeul News* (five lines - lines 1, 4, 5, 6 and 11) and *Newsweek Hangukpan* (six lines – the remaining

lines). ‘아버지 김일성’ [father Kim Il Sung] appears to be a fixed designation in all eleven lines. The focus of reporting is not Kim Il Sung, but Kim Jong Il: Kim Jong Il is mentioned in all eleven instances (underlined in Concordance 55).¹³⁴ This pattern suggests that Kim Il Sung is not reported in his own right, but as a subsidiary element of the discussion of Kim Jong Il, which is consistent with the findings of the previous analysis of the English ST sub-corpus (Chapter Six), where Kim Il Sung was referred to as ‘Kim Jong Il’s father’ in fifteen times out of sixteen concordance lines.

No particular negative or positive semantic prosody is identified. In terms of temporal spread, a specific pattern is revealed on closer analysis: the eleven concordance lines were published in 2000 (line 3), 2003 (lines 2 and 9), 2006 (line 8) and 2010 (the remaining seven lines), showing an overwhelming dominance in 2010. This raises no surprises given the extent of the historical and political conflict between the North and the South during 2010: (i) a barrage of artillery shells and rockets was fired at Yeonpyeong Island of South Korea by North Korea; (ii) the South Korean corvette, Cheonan, was sunk by a torpedo fired from a North Korean submarine; and, (iii) 2010 was a transition period when the handover of control from Kim Jong Il to Kim Jong Un was effected.

N

Concordance

1 최 대위원을 총리로 선거한 이유를 즉시 밝혀지지 않았다. 미국 조지아대학교의 박한 교수는 “최영림 내각총리는 김정일의 아버지 김일성과 함께 일했으며 김정일 가족의 측근”이라며 “이는 후계 구도에 영향을 미칠 수 있다”고 설명했다. 박 교수는 “사실

2 의 희생자를 낼 군사력을 보유하고 있다”고 말했다. 약 1 백 20 만명을 무장시켰고 그 70%를 전진배치시킨 김정일은 그의 아버지 김일성이 한국전쟁을 일으켰을 때처럼 기습적인 남침을 감행할 수도 있다. 김정일은 몇개의 핵폭탄을 보유한 것이 확실시될 뿐 아

3 점을 시사했다. 그는 1970 년대 중국의 덩샤오핑처럼 공식적인 이념의 테두리 밖에서 해결책을 찾으려 하고 있다. 바로 아버지 김일성이 주창했던 주체사상을 탈피하는 일이다. 현재 북한은 외국투자 유치에 위해 애쓰는 한편 자본주의체제를 원용한 경제특구를

4 념일은 차기 지도자인 김정은을 위해 정교하게 기획된 '커밍아웃 파티'라고 평했다. 열병식은 북한 창설자이자 김 위원장의 아버지 김일성 주석의 이름을 딴 김일성 광장에서 시작됐다. 미국은 김정은이 건강이 악화된 김 위원장의 권력을 승계할 것으로 생각하고

5 정책을 도입했다. 붉은 기 정책은 김일성 주석의 주체사상과 결합된 스탈린주의보다 전투적 측면이 강화됐다. 김 위원장은 아버지 김일성 주석으로부터 절대적인 통치자의 역할을 물려받았다. 김 주석은 1994 년 심장마비로 사망했다. 김 주석은 자신을 ‘위대

¹³⁴ ‘그’ [he] in line 3 refers back to Kim Jong Il. The extended concordance of line 3 is as follows: “김정일은 전세계를 향해 실패한 공산정권이 생존을 위해선 변화가 불가피하다는 점을 시사했다. 그는 1970년대 중국의 덩샤오핑처럼 공식적인 이념의 테두리 밖에서 해결책을 찾으려 하고 있다. 바로 아버지 김일성이 주창했던 주체사상을 탈피하는 일이다”.

6 으며 수행한 사진도 없다. 김정은은 김 위원장의 셋째이자 막내아들로 올해 27 살 또는 28 살이 됐다. 김 위원장은 그의 **아버지 김일성** 주석 옆에서 20 년간 후계 수업을 받았다. 그러나 현재 68 살이 김 위원장은 뇌졸중으로 건강이 악화되어 정치전문가들은

7 한국 소식통의 말을 인용해 김정일이 8 월 26 일 새벽 기차를 이용해 중국으로 들어갔다고 전했다. 양 매체는 김 위원장이 **아버지 김일성**이 어린 시절 다녔던 학교를 방문하려고 중국 서북부의 지린(吉林)성에 들렀다고 보도했다. 그러나 김 위원장이 지난 5 월

8 납치 동기는 종종 불분명하지만 북한 정권은 수준 높은 간첩 양성을 목표로 납치 프로그램을 가동한 듯하다. 70 년대 중반 **아버지 김일성**이 살아 있을 당시 김정은은 첩보 공작을 책임졌다. 그는 북한 공작원이 자신의 표적들과 잘 어울리려면 자본주의자처럼 보

9 동안 쇼를 연출하면서 어떻게든 관심과 존경을 받아내려고 애써 왔다. 김정일이 일곱살 때 그의 어머니가 사망한 후 그의 **아버지 김일성**은 그를 “개처럼 대했다”고 미국 중앙정보국(CIA) 베이징 지부장과 주한 미국 대사를 역임한 제임스 킬리는 말했다(킬

10 강경노선으로의 전환을 알리는 신호탄일 가능성이 크다는 점이다. 북한 스탈린주의 정권의 마지막 권력승계 과정에서 김정은이 **아버지 김일성**으로부터 권좌를 물려받은 이후 유례가 없었던 일이다. 이 시나리오가 그렇게 끔찍한 까닭은 외부 세계(북한의 가장 가까운

11 한국전에 참전한 군인들이 30 세가 채 안된 김정은을 새로운 지도자로 받아들일지도 불확실하다”고 밝혔다. 김 위원장은 **아버지인 김일성** 주석 옆에서 20 년 동안 후계자수업을 받았다. 현재 68 세인 그는 뇌졸중으로 건강상 안 좋은 상황이기 때문에 북한 전

Concordance 55. A full set of concordance lines of ‘김일성’ [Kim Il Sung] associated with ‘아버지’ [father]

(c) *Patterns associated with ‘지도자’ [leader]*

The final collocate of Kim Il Sung to be examined is ‘지도자’ [leader], with a total of ten concordance lines (Concordance 56). Interestingly, all concordance lines are found in *Newsweek Hangukpan* only, with no occurrence attested in *CNN Hangeul News*. This pattern is consistent with the previous analysis: one of the strong collocates of Kim Il Sung identified in the analysis of the English ST sub-corpus was ‘leader’, where again all fourteen concordances were drawn from *Newsweek* (no concordance lines were found in the *CNN* corpus).

N Concordance

1 강력한 종교적 우상화체제에 더 가까워 보였다. 묘향산 입구의 국제천선전람관을 찾았을 때 그런 사실이 확연히 드러났다. 그곳은 **김일성** (사후인 지금도 여전히 최고 **지도자**)과 그의 아들 김정일 국방위원장이 그동안 해외 인사들에게서 받은 수천 점의 선물이

2 모든 언행이 계획되고 짜여져 있으며 전체국민들이 광란적 숭배의식에 끊임없이 동원된다. 북한의 주석은 아이러니하게도 이미 사망한 **김일성**이다. 그밖의 모든 공식 **지도자** 자리는 김의 아들 김정일이 맡고 있다. 그가 탄생할 때는 여러가지 신비로운 징조가 나타났

3 목사의 타계한 부인 루스는 10 대 시절인 1920 년대 평양에서 기독교 계열 기숙학교에 다녔다. 또 원래의 ‘위대한 지도자’인 김일성도 독실한 기독교 가정에서 태어났다). 1950 년 한국전쟁이 터지자 북쪽의 기독교인 약 500 만 명이 남쪽으로 피란했다

4 으로의 확산을 차단할 보다 효과적인 방법 찾아야 베를린에서 북한 외교관들을 알아보기란 어렵지 않다. 한결같이 ‘위대한 지도자’ 김일성의 초상화가 그려진 배지를 달기 때문이다. 중요한 인물일수록 배지의 크기도 커진다. 그러나 핵무기 제조에 필요한 기술을

5 아들 모두 자신의 혈통을 무엇보다 중시한다. 북한에서는 그 혈통이 모든 권력의 근원이다. 북한 권력을 세운 ‘위대한 지도자’ 김일성은 처음엔 일본군, 그 다음 한국전쟁에선 미군이라는 제국주의와 투쟁한 공로로 정통성을 인정 받았다. 그의 뒤를 이은 ‘

6 가 어떻게 생겼습니까?”였다. 그보다 더 고통스러운 사실은 동포와 동맹국들의 눈에 비친 자신은 결코 존경받는 “위대한 지도자” 김일성 (신장이 180 cm에 가까웠으며, 1930 년대에 항일 유격전을 벌였다)의 업적에 비교가 되지 않는다는 두려움이었다. 여러

7 참느라 진땀깨나 뺐다. 그러나 북한 사람들은 그 방에 들어갔다 나오면서 감정에 북받쳐 눈물을 흘렸다. “그들에겐 위대한 지도자 김일성 동지를 직접 만난 거나 진배없다”고 한 안내원이 숙연하게 설명했다. 그런 기이함 속에서 사는 북한 사람들은 현실이 아

8 수학문제에서까지 체제 교육 북한에서는 어려서부터 체제 선전 교육이 시작된다. 북한 어린이들은 유치원에서부터 ‘위대한 지도자’ 김일성과 그의 아들 김정일 국방위원장의 눈부신 영광에 대해 배운다. 게다가 인민학교(초등학교) 수학 교과서의 연습 문제에도

9 이 현실 속 박물관은 돌아볼 만한 가치가 있다. Ride: 지하 110m 까지 내려가는 세계 최고 깊이의 지하철. 위대한 지도자 김일성을 그린 정교한 벽화로 장식돼 있다. 관광객 방문이 허용되는 역은 부흥과 영광뿐이다. Climb: 150m 높이의 주체

10 학하는 귀한 기회를 얻었다. 수십명의 북한 청년들이 자판을 두드리고 있었는데 당국이 검열하는 그 사이버 공간에는 위대한 지도자 김일성의 교시만 가득했다. 그러나 안내원 김동람은 “우리는 머지않아 진짜 인터넷도 갖게 될 것”이라고 주장했다. 과연 그럴까

Concordance 56. A full set of concordance lines of ‘김일성’ [Kim Il Sung] associated with ‘지도자’ [leader]

The most striking pattern is ‘위대한 지도자 김일성’ [great leader Kim Il Sung] – underlined in Concordance 56 above. As in the analysis of the English corpus and English ST sub-corpus, the word ‘leader’ strongly collocates with ‘Great’: a total of eight concordance lines out of ten, the odd lines out being lines 1 and 2. With the exception of three instances (lines 7, 9 and 10), ‘위대한 지도자’ [great leader] is again surrounded by inverted commas (lines 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8), as in the English corpus and English ST sub-corpus, signalling that it is used as a title, or a designation, similar to ‘Dr.’; or demonstrating an attempt to undermine the designation or distance the newspaper from it.

Two occurrences (lines 1 and 2 in Concordance 56 above) feature items relating to Kim Il Sung’s death: ‘김일성 (사후인 지금도 여전히 최고 지도자다)’ [Kim Il Sung, even now in death, is still the great/best leader] (line 1); and, ‘북한의 주석은 아이러니하게도

이미 *사망*한 김일성이다’ [Ironically, the premier of North Korea is the dead man named Kim Il Sung] (line 2). No particular semantic prosodies or time-specific patterns were identified in this set of data.

In addition to the previous analyses, the concordance lines of Kim Il Sung featuring the lexical item ‘독재자’ [dictator] were also retrieved in an attempt to compare them with the patterns identified in the English ST sub-corpus. ‘Dictator’ formed a strong cluster with ‘Kim Il Sung’ in the English ST sub-corpus analysis: a total of six instances, and the use of ‘dictator’ in referring to Kim Il Sung was always found in *Newsweek*. Interestingly, however, only two instances were found in the Korean TT sub-corpus, both from *Newsweek Hangukpan*. Two concordances are not enough to reveal any strong pattern or to examine a semantic prosody, but it is striking that there is a relatively large discrepancy in the number of concordance lines featuring in the English ST and Korean TT sub-corpora – a total of four lines. This merits further investigation to identify any meaningful translational shifts.

Whereas ‘dictator Kim Il Sung’ was used as a fixed designation in a total of six concordance lines from *Newsweek* in the English ST sub-corpus, of the two instances of ‘독재자’ [dictator] referring to Kim Il Sung in the Korean TT sub-corpus only one was a direct translation of the English ST. In the second instance, ‘dictator’ replaced another choice in the ST (*Newsweek Hangukpan*). A total of five occurrences of ‘독재자’ [dictator] were omitted in the Korean TTs. Extract 3 presented below exemplifies the addition of ‘dictator’ in the Korean TT. Kim Il Sung was originally described as a ‘strongman’ in the English ST, but was translated into ‘독재자’ [dictator] in the Korean TT. Another minor point is that the year written in the ST – 1945 – was changed to 1948 in the Korean TT.

Extract 3¹³⁵

ST

After the World War II defeat of Japan, which had occupied Korea, the regime was created by Stalin in 1945 out of the northern half of the Korean Peninsula, and Moscow propped up *Kim Il Sung* as a *strongman*.

TT

일본이 2차대전에서 패한 뒤 한반도 이북에서는 1948년 스탈린이 세운 정권이 탄생했다. 소련 정부는 *김일성* [Kim Il Sung]을 독재자 [dictator]로 밀었다.

¹³⁵ Back-translations are provided whenever there are significant or meaningful differences between the STs and TTs.

Gloss

After the World War II defeat of Japan, the regime was created in the northern part of the Korean peninsula by Stalin in 1948. The Soviet Union government propped up Kim Il Sung as a dictator.

In Extract 4, two instances of ‘dictator’ are changed into another item, ‘leader’, resulting in a toning down of the negative semantic prosody signalled in ‘dictator’. Note that ‘위대한 지도자’ [great leader] appears within quotation marks. In Extract 5, part of the sentence – ‘a protégé of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin’ – is deleted, whereas a negative reference which foregrounds the image of Kim Il Sung as a dictator – ‘founding patriarch’ – is downgraded to ‘premier’ and ‘father Sureyong Dongji’ (the word-for-word translation of ‘father Sureyong Dongji’ can be ‘father head comrade’). Here, Kim Il Sung is not a ‘father’ of Kim Jong Il, but a ‘father’ of North Korean people.

Extract 4

ST

Not only are toddlers taught the unparalleled glories of former *dictator Kim Il Sung* and his son and heir Kim Jong Il, but even math textbooks are written to emphasize their nation's might.

TT

북한에서는 어려서부터 체제 선전교육이 시작된다. 북한 어린이들은 유치원에서부터 ‘**위대한 지도자**’ [‘great leader’] **김일성** [Kim Il Sung]과 그의 아들 김정일 국방위원장의 눈부신 영광에 대해 배운다. 게다가 인민학교 (초등학교) 수학 교과서의 연습문제에도 국력을 과시하는 내용이 들어있다.

Gloss

North Korean children start to get schooling dedicated to propaganda dissemination since they are little. They learn the unparalleled glories of ‘great leader’ Kim Il Sung and his son, CNDC Kim Jong Il. Even exercise questions featuring in math text books for elementary school are written to show off the national power.

Extract 5

ST

Built by *founding patriarch Kim Il Sung, a protege of Sovietdictator* Joseph Stalin, it allowed him to hand power to his son, Jong Il, in 1994 in the communist bloc's first and only hereditary succession.

TT

‘**아버지 수령동지**’ [father Sureyong Dongji (literal translation: father head comrade)][Ø] **김일성** [Kim Il Sung] **주석** [Premier]은 94 년 김정일에게 성공적으로 권력을 승계했다. 그것은 공산권 내에서 전무후무한 권력세습이었다.

Gloss

The premier Kim Il Sung, father Sureyong Dongji, successfully handed his power to Kim Jong Il in 1994. This is the first and only hereditary succession in the communist bloc.

Extracts 6 and 7 exemplify cases where the lexical item ‘dictator’ is deleted (Extract 6); or a whole ST sentence that featured ‘dictator’ is omitted (Extract 7). Extract 7 consists of four sentences from the beginning of an English ST, where Kim Il Sung is caricatured in the choice of ‘shock-haired’, and ‘dictator’ further reinforces a negative image of Kim Il Sung. However, these four sentences disappear in the translated Korean TT.

Extract 6

ST

A growing number of young Koreans see *dictator Kim Il Sung* as the victim of a cold-war confrontation between the USA and the Soviet Union, not a madman who launched an unprovoked invasion of the South.

TT

[Ø] 김일성 [Kim Il Sung]을 도발당하지도 않았는데 먼저 남침한 광인으로 보지 않고, 미,소 냉전구도의 희생자로 간주하는 신세대가 점점 증가한다.

Gloss

A growing number of young Koreans see Kim Il Sung as the victim of a cold-war confrontation between the US and the Soviet Union, not a madman who launched an unprovoked invasion of the south.

Extract 7

ST

The Buick assembly-line tour was not the most startling part of Kim Jong Il's unannounced trip to Shanghai last week. After all, the *shock-haired* NK leader has a well-known love for big, fancy cars. But what would the late *dictator* Kim Il Sung have said about his son's enthusiastic visit to the Shanghai Stock Exchange? For that matter, what would the son himself have once said?

TT

[Ø]

The analysis of the concordance lines of ‘Kim Il Sung’ in the Korean TT sub-corpus discussed so far can be summarised as follows: (i) the concordances of ‘주석’ [Premier] Kim Il Sung revealed that Kim Il Sung in most cases was not reported in his own right, but was treated as a subsidiary element of the discussion of his son, Kim Jong Il. As in the English ST sub-corpus analysis, a related pattern concerns semantic preference and the prominence of a set of items indicating Kim Il Sung’s death; (ii) the analysis of the concordances of the second strong collocate ‘아버지’ [father] revealed little evidence of translation shifts: Kim Il Sung in both English ST and Korean TT sub-corpora was treated more as a subsidiary subject of Kim Jong Il, where he was frequently referred to as Kim Jong Il’s ‘father’. This suggests that Kim Il Sung was

reported only as a backdrop to the discussions of Kim Jong Il, rather than being reported in his own right; (iii) little difference was found, either in terms of translation shift in the case of ‘지도자’ [leader]. ‘Great Leader’ was identified as a recurrent pattern, and it appeared in quotation marks in both the English ST and Korean TT sub-corpora; however, (iv) a relatively significant result has been found in the number of concordances of the third collocate ‘독재자’ [dictator]. ‘Dictator’ was added or deleted in a few Korean TTs, either in part or in as a whole sentence.

In terms of the last point summarised above, it seems that *Newsweek Hangukpan* does not replicating the texts of *Newsweek*, but attempts to take a certain degree of control over the text. This is also revealed in other studies, including Kang (2010: 177), where she argues that a certain *Newsweek Hangukpan* article “backgrounds, and even nullifies in certain parts, its direct ties to the Newsweek article and foregrounds its ties to the speech event (interview), thus invoking divergent intertextual relationships and blurring the boundaries between the source and target texts”.

7.3.2 Kim Jong Nam and Kim Jong Un (sons of Kim Jong Il)

The Korean TT sub-corpus features fifteen instances of Kim Jong Nam and 123 for Kim Jong Un. As in the English ST sub-corpus, this imbalanced volume of reporting, in favour of Kim Jong Un, reveals the South Korean media's ideological preference, and who they consider to be more newsworthy. The analysis begins with Kim Jong Nam. In terms of institution-specific patterns, five instances (lines 1, 3, 4, 5 and 15) come from *CNN Hangeul News* and ten (the remaining lines) from *Newsweek Hangukpan* (Concordance 57).

N	Concordance
<p>1 김정남 북한 3대 세습 반대 북한 김정일 국방 위원장의 장남이 자신의 가족들의 권력세습에 반대했다. 김정남은 12일 일본 TV</p> <p>2 가 너무 나약해 후계자가 되기는 어렵다고 생각했다. 한때는 장남 김정남이 후계자로 가장 유력하다고 알려졌다. 그러나 2001년 김정남은 위조된 도미니카 여권을 사용한 혐의로 도쿄에서 발각돼 추방되는 물의를 일으켰다. 그는 도쿄 디즈니랜드에 가려고 했다</p> <p>3 여러 곳에서 김정은이 후계자가 될 것이라는 추측설이 난무했다. 2009년 초부터 김정은이 후계자로 지명된 정조들이 나타났다. 김정남은 중국에서 지난 9일 가진 TV아사히와의 인터뷰에서 "김정은이 후계자가 된 것은 부친의 결단이 있었기 때문이라고 생각</p> <p>4 던 김정남은 위조 여권을 사용해 일본 도쿄 디즈니랜드로 여행을 몰래 갔다가 일본 경찰에 체포되면서 김 위원장의 눈 밖에 났다. 김정남은 "동생이 북한 주민들을 위해, 북한의 윤택한 생활을 위해 최선을 다했으면 좋겠다"며 "해외에서 동생이 필요로 할 때</p>	

5 김정남 북한 3대 세습 반대 북한 김정일 국방 위원장의 장남이 자신의 가족들의 권력세습에 반대했다. **김정남**은 12일 일본 TV아사히와의 인터뷰에서 "개인적으로 3대 세습을 반대한다"며 "그러나 북한의 내부적 요인이 있다고 생각

6 951호 (2010.10.27) “아버지가 그 결정을 내렸다고 생각한다. 나는 전혀 관심이 없다.” **김정남**, 김정일의 장남 그의 동생에게 정권을 물려주려는 움직임이 진행될 동안 북한의 3대 세습에 반대한다며,

7 사용한 혐의로 도쿄에서 발각돼 추방되는 물의를 일으켰다. 그는 도쿄 디즈니랜드에 가려고 했다. 과제 중에 당뇨 환자로 의심되는 **김정남**은 그 이래 기자들에게 정치엔 관심이 없다고 말했다. 사실 그는 치장용 고급 액세서리를 구입하거나 착용하는 데 관심이

8 자신들의 지도자가 유고를 당하면 아마도 김의 세 아들 중 한 명을 얼굴로 내세우고 일종의 집단지도 체제를 구축할 가능성이 있다(**김정남**(37), 김정철(27), 김정운(24) 등 김의 세 아들은 모두 권력기반이 없다). 서로 기능이 겹치고 동시에 적대적

9 피랍한다는 내용이다. 일부의 전언에 따르면 김정일 위원장은 그가 너무 나약해 후계자가 되기는 어렵다고 생각했다. 한때는 장남 **김정남**이 후계자로 가장 유력하다고 알려졌다. 그러나 2001년 김정남은 위조된 도미니카 여권을 사용한 혐의로 도쿄에서 발각돼

10 카메라에 잡혔다. 대다수 북한 주민은 설사 에릭 클랩튼을 안다고 해도 그저 꿈에서만 공연 구경을 다닐 뿐이다. 올 초엔 장남 **김정남**씨가 마카오에서 호화판 파티를 벌인 사실이 기자들에게 알려진 뒤 거처를 옮겼다. 아마도 그곳에 더 이상 머무르지 말라는

11 정운을 ‘영명한 동지’라고 부르도록 지시 받았다고 한 서방 정보 관리가 말했다(민감한 정보라는 이유로 익명을 요구했다). 장남 **김정남**도 막내 동생 정운이 아버지에 의해 후계자로 지명됐다는 보도에 대해 “사실이라고 생각한다”고 말했다. “아버지가 일단

12 권력투쟁 여지도 EVAN THOMAS, SUZANNE SMALLEY 기자 / 번역·이원기 김정일의 세 아들 (왼쪽부터) 장남 **김정남**, 2남 김정철, 후계자로 알려진 막내 김정운 (김정운은 실제 그의 사진이 아닐 가능성도 있다). 일반적으로 북한 정권

13 임자로 가장 유력한 인물은 김정일의 매제며 국방위원회 위원 겸 노동당 행정부장인 장성택이다. 그는 한때 부패문제로(어쩌면 장남 **김정남**과 너무 가깝다는 이유로) 숙청됐지만 재기해 현재 북한의 금과 무역 대부분을 통제한다. 김정일이 살아 있는 한 그의 휘

14 를 모시고 있는 여인을 지칭한다. 따라서 그녀는 모스크바에서 망명생활 도중 지난해 사망한 것으로 알려진 배우 출신 성혜림(장남 **김정남**의 생모)이 아니라 현재의 부인인 부용가 출신 고영희일 것이다. 김정일은 그녀가 낳은 차남 정철(22)을 후계자로 세우

15 때문이라고 생각한다"며 "원래 후계에 대해 유감도 없고 관심도 없기 때문에 전혀 개의치 않는다."고 밝혔다. 한때 후계자였던 **김정남**은 위조 여권을 사용해 일본 도쿄 디즈니랜드로 여행을 몰래 갔다가 일본 경찰에 체포되면서 김 위원장의 눈 밖에 났다.

Concordance 57. A full set of concordance lines of ‘김정남’ [Kim Jong Nam]

The most recurrent pattern was found to be ‘장남’ [the eldest son]/‘아들’ [son] of Kim Jong Il. Like Kim Il Sung, and as in the English ST sub-corpus, Kim Jong Nam is not considered newsworthy in his own right. He is referred to as the ‘son’ of Kim Jong Il in a total of eleven instances (lines 1, 2, 5, 6, 8 and 10 to 14), out of fifteen. More specifically, he is referred to as the ‘eldest’ son of Kim Jong Il in nine concordance lines (lines 1, 2, 5, 6 and from 10 to 14).

‘후계자’ [successor] is another prominent collocate of Kim Jong Nam, with seven occurrences (lines 2, 3, 9, 11, 12, 14 and 15). However, on closer examination, ‘후계자’ [successor] appears to refer back mostly to his younger brothers, either Kim Jong Un (lines 3, 11 and 12) or Kim Jong Cheol (line 14). Whenever Kim Jong Nam is referred to as an heir, ‘once’ is always featured, i.e. ‘한 때(는) 후계자’ [once an heir (-apparent)]: three instances (lines 2, 9 and 15). As discussed in detail in Chapter Six, Kim Jong Nam was removed from the line of succession in 2009, although he was once favoured to replace his father Kim Jong Il. His younger brother, Kim Jong Un, became the heir-apparent in 2010, contrary to expectations. The discrepancy between Kim Jong Nam’s political stance and the prevailing political dogma, explained in Chapter Six, is evident in the recurrent appearance of ‘세습반대’ [opposing the hereditary succession] – in three concordance lines: lines 1, 5 and 6. The reference here is to Kim Jong Nam’s publicly opposition to the hereditary succession system in North Korea. Other than that, no dominant negative or positive semantic prosody is identified.

In terms of time-specific patterns, most instances are found in 2009 and 2010, with three concordance lines each. The remaining three lines were published in 2003, 2007 and 2008. It has already been explained that 2009 and 2010 were crucial years for North Korea, because by 2010 Kim Jong Nam had lost favour with Kim Jong Il and Kim Jong Un emerged as heir-apparent, and Kim Jong Un was officially nominated to become the leader of North Korea in 2010.

The analysis now moves on to the concordances of his brother, Kim Jong Un. Following his father’s death in 2011, Kim Jong Un was officially anointed as North Korea’s leader; however, until then, he had been kept hidden from view, being protected by North Korean government. Although general information about his political and official status in North Korea, his social history, physical appearance, his educational background and his personality was available and circulated in various news outlets around the world, it was mostly based on speculation, to such an extent that there was even doubt about his name at one point, which led to confusion in many Korean media outlets. Indeed, both ‘김정은’ [Kim Jong Eun] and ‘김정운’ [Kim Jong Un] are found in earlier reporting in various South Korean news outlets. After Kim Jong Un was first mentioned in the North Korean state-run media in 2010 (Sudworth 2010), all South Korean outlets began to use the former transcription, ‘김정은’, not ‘김정운’, although the

latter form of his name [Kim Jong Un] is more widely used in the English-speaking world.

Thus, both forms – ‘김정은’ and ‘김정운’ – were used as search words in order to capture all relevant concordance lines. A total of 123 concordances were returned, with *CNN Hangeul News* featuring more lines than *Newsweek Hangukpan* – 66 and 57 instances respectively. This imbalance appears to be more significant when seen in relation to the total size of each corpus, as the *CNN Hangeul News* corpus (33,684 tokens) is much smaller than the *Newsweek Hangukpan* corpus (226,598 tokens).

As with Kim Jong Nam, Kim Jong Un is also reported in relation to Kim Jong Il, i.e. he is often referred to as the ‘son’ of Kim Jong Il. However, the strongest pattern involves the collocate ‘후계’ [success*], which includes ‘후계’ [success] and ‘후계자’ [successor]. It is frequently associated with Kim Jong Un, appearing in 32 out of the 123 concordance lines. This is consistent with the analysis of the English ST sub-corpus analysis. The most distinctive pattern identified in the previous analysis also featured the collocate ‘success*’. In terms of institution-specific patterns, *CNN Hangeul News* tends to use ‘success*’ more frequently – twenty instances – than *Newsweek Hangukpan* – twelve.

N

Concordance

1 대해 아는 바가 없다고 밝혔다. 이번 김 위원장의 방중으로 2년 전부터 뇌졸중 증세가 있는 김 위원장(68)이 자신의 후계자인 **김정은**에게 공식적으로 권력을 넘길 준비를 하고 있다는 추측이 일고 있다. 한편 카터 미국 전 대통령이 미국인 아이잘론 고프즈의

2 RFA에서 김정훈 감독이 노동당원 자격을 박탈당하고 강제노동을 하라는 징계를 받았다고 전했다. 김정훈 감독은 김정일의 후계자인 **김정은**의 믿음을 배신했다는 비난을 받고 있다고 전해졌다. 제프 블래터 FIFA 회장은 11일 싱가포르에서 가진 기자회견에서

3 의 육체적, 정신적 능력이 떨어졌다. 그는 2008년 뇌졸중을 앓은 뒤로 건강이 악화돼 왔다고 전해진다. 그의 3남이자 후계자인 **김정은**은 군대 경력이 부족하다(최근 독단적으로 대장 지위에 오르기는 했다). 그리고 자신이 차기 최고지도자가 될 만한 자격이

4 TAKASHI YOKOTA 기자 지난 10월 조선노동당 창건 65주년 경축 행사에 참석한 김정일 국방위원장(오른쪽)과 후계자 **김정은**(왼쪽에서 둘째). 지난 화요일(11월 23일) 남북한이 수백 발의 포탄을 주고받아 남측 해병대원 두 명과 민간인 두

5 안 좋은 것으로 보인다. 이 때문에 남한 등 여러 곳에서 **김정은**이 후계자가 될 것이라는 추측설이 난무했다. 2009년 초부터 김정은이 후계자로 지명된 징조들이 나타났다. 김정남은 중국에서 지난 9일 가진 TV 아사히와의 인터뷰에서 "김정은이 후계자가

6 따르면 북한의 도움으로 핵프로그램 개발에도 나선 듯하다. 북한에선 김정일 국방위원장이 병으로 휴약 해졌고 그가 후계자로 점찍은 **김정은** 중앙군사위 부위원장은 아직 검증되지 않았다. 대다수 분석가에 따르면 북한 군부는 막후에서 실권을 장악해 가는 중이다.

7 김정일 북한 국방위원장은 이번 주 열리는 조선노동당 대표자회에서 3남 **김정은**을 주축으로 하는 후계 구도를 공식화할 전망이다. 김정은은 수수께끼 같은 인물로 외부에는 생김새조차 확실히 알려지지 않았다. 하지만 그의 뒤에는 더 수수께끼 같은 인물이 숨어

8 도 인민군 대장 칭호를 부여했다고 북한 국영 조선중앙통신이 보도했다. 김정은이 아버지 김 위원장의 후계자라는 추측들이 있었지만 **김정은**에 관한 자세한 내용은 북한 내부와 외부에도 알려진 바가 거의 없다. '북핵문제: 인사이드 스토리'의 저자인 마이크 치

9 . 2009년 초부터 김정은이 후계자로 지명된 징조들이 나타났다. 김정남은 중국에서 지난 9일 가진 TV 아사히와의 인터뷰에서 "**김정은**이 후계자가 된 것은 부친의 결단이 있었기 때문이라고 생각한다"며 "원래 후계에 대해 유감도 없고 관심도 없기 때문에

10 중앙 군사위원회의 부위원장에 선임됐다고 북한 국영 통신이 28일 보도했다. 북한의 친애하는 지도자 김 위원장의 후계자로 예상된 **김정은**이 당 중앙위원회 위원으로도 임명됐다. 앞서 중앙통신이 노동당 대표자회 동안, 김정은이 4성 장군이 됐다고 전했다. 조

11 않았기 때문에 북한 외부 언론들은 시종 그의 사진 2장만 유포하고 있다. 북한의 친애하는 지도자 김 위원장의 후계자로 예상된 **김정은**은 당 중앙위원회 위원으로도 임명됐다. 앞서 북한 국영 조선중앙통신은 김정은이 4성 장군이 됐다고 보도했다. 김정은이

12 역할도 강화하는 것이 목적이며 조국과 국민들의 위대한 미래를 전파하기 위한 큰 의미가 될 것"이라고 말했다. 후계자로 예상되는 **김정은**에 대해 알려진 것이 거의 없다. 그가 공식적인 자리에 있는지조차 확실하지 않지만 그가 아버지의 권력을 승계할 것으로

13 북한 열병식에 김정은 등장...후계 공식화 북한 지도자 김정일 국방 위원장이 10일 막내아들인 **김정은**과 함께 북한 최대의 행사인 대규모 열병식에

14 인용, 박남기가 지난주 평양에 있는 사격장에 총살됐다고 전했다. 화폐개혁 실패로 인플레이션이 일어나고 식량부족사태가 악화됐으며 **김정은** 후계체제에도 악영향을 미치자 이에 대한 책임을 물어 그를 처형했다고 연합뉴스는 전했다. 연합뉴스는 박남기는 전 노동당 계획재

15 는 여동생 김정희의 남편인 장성택은 국방위원회의 부위원장으로 북한군의 최고 권력자가 됐다. 김성한 교수는 그의 부위원장 승진은 **김정은** 후계구도를 추진하겠다는 것과 당 조직과 군 조직간의 교섭에서 중요한 역할을 한다는 것을 의미한다고 말했다. 이날 최고

16 중반 이후 북한의 실세이자 2인자인 김영남 당 중앙위 정치국 상무위원이 당대표자회의 개최와 폐회를 선언했다. 김영남 상무위원은 **김정은**이 김 위원장의 후계자로 예정됐어도 북한의 대외적인 면을 계속 담당하게 될 것이다. 김영남 상무위원은 김 위원장을 조선

17 나돌았었다. 김 위원장의 여동생인 김정희 노동당 경공업부장도 인민군 대장 칭호를 부여했다고 북한 국영 조선중앙통신이 보도했다. **김정은**이 아버지 김 위원장의 후계자라는 추측들이 있었지만 김정은에 관한 자세한 내용은 북한 내부와 외부에도 알려진 바가 거의

18 중 김정일 국방위원장이 발표한 30여명의 군 장성급 승진 인사 중에 그의 삼남 김정은도 포함됐다고 북한 국영통신이 보도했다. **김정은**이 건강이 악화된 김 위원장의 후계자가 될 것이라는 소문이 나돌았었다. 김 위원장의 여동생인 김정희 노동당 경공업부장도

19 화하고 있다. 다음 주 열릴 북한 노동당 당대표자회의에 앞서 강 부상의 승진이 발표됐다. 당대표자회의에선 김 위원장의 막내아들 **김정은**이 후계자로 지명될 것으로 예상되고 있다. 국영 조선중앙통신은 또한 이날 북한의 6자회담 수석대표인 김계관이 강석주의

20 함께 일했으며 김정일 가족의 측근"이라며 "이는 후계 구도에 영향을 미칠 수 있다"고 설명했다. 박 교수는 "사실 후계자가 될 **김정은**은 김정일의 아들이자 김일성의 손자이기 때문에 권력의 정통성이 개인의 능력이나 지도력이 아닌 세습에서 비롯된다"고 말했다

21 북한 장성택 승진...후계구도 본격화 이번 주 단행된 북한 지도부의 극적인 개편은 **김정은** 후계구도를 위한 상황을 조성하는 것으로 보인다는 분석이 나오고 있다. 김정일 위원장의 매제이자 최측근인 장성택이 북한의

22 확고히 하려는 조치로 보이기 때문이다. 당 내부의 선전에 따르면 북한의 화폐개혁은 사실상 김 위원장의 후계자로 유력시되는 3남 **김정은**(27)의 작품이었다. 그 실패(구권을 100 대 1의 가치로 신권으로 교환해 대규모 물가폭등을 야기했다)를 박부장의

23 948호 (2010.10.06) 김정일의 후계 구도 베일 벗다 3남 **김정은**이 표면에 나서고 매제 장성택이 막후에서 통치하는 시나리오 유력 JERRY GUO 기자 김정일 북한 국방위원장은 이번 주

24 막후에서 통치하는 시나리오 유력 JERRY GUO 기자 김정일 북한 국방위원장은 이번 주 열리는 조선노동당 대표자회에서 3남 **김정은**을 주축으로 하는 후계 구도를 공식화할 전망이다. 김정은은 수수께끼 같은 인물로 외부에는 생김새조차 확실히 알려지지 않

25 위원장은 뇌졸중으로 건강이 악화되어 정치전문가들은 후계 작업이 가속화되고 있다고 분석했다. 남한 정보 당국은 2009년 1월 **김정은**이 후계자가 될 것이라는 해외 주재 북한 대사관들 사이에서 회자되는 정보를 입수했다. 그 이후로 이에 대해 북한이 공식

26 때마다 과거의 크렘린 관측통들이나 지금의 평양 관측통들은 눈코 뜰 새 없이 바빠진다. 선택된 후계자(김정일의 경우는 3남인 **김정은**으로 알려졌다)가 실제로 권력을 물려받게 될까? 당 원로들은 어떻게 행동할까? 장성들은 가만히 있을까? 모두가 허를 찔

27 SMALLEY 기자 / 번역-이원기 김정일의 세 아들 (왼쪽부터) 장남 김정남, 2남 김정철, 후계자로 알려진 막내 **김정은** (김정은은 실제 그의 사진이 아닐 가능성도 있다). 일반적으로 북한 정권은 하나의 거대한 범죄조직으로 비친다. 이 ‘은둔의

28 스타들, 에릭 클랩튼 (영국 기타리스트 겸 팝 가수), 디즈니랜드를 무척이나 좋아한다. 그 중에서 가장 베일에 싸인 인물이 막내 **김정은**이다. 어쩌면 그가 후계자로 지목됐기 때문에 신변을 보호하기 위한 의도 일지도 모른다. 그러나 그가 국제적인 불량국가로

29 고위 관리들과 알려지지 않은 북한 전문가들의 말을 토대로 한 그 보도는 한국정부가 입수한 “정보”에 따르면 김정일이 막내아들 **김정은**을 후계자로 뽑을 전망이라고 자신있게 주장했다. 그렇다면 우리는 어떻게 생각해야 하나. 우리가 읽는 북한관련 소식은

30 북한 **김정은**, 후계수업 시작 북한 지도자 김정일 국방위원장은 강력한 국가기구인 국방위원회에 지도원으로 임명했으며 분석가들은 이같은

31 북한의 핵실험을 비난하며 새로운 제재를 밀어 붙였다. 김정일 위원장도 강경노선을 견지했다. 자신의 아들이자 후계자로 점쳐지는 **김정은**의 입지를 강화하려는 포석인 듯하다. 하지만 클린턴의 방북은 김정일 위원장으로서 중요한 계기였다. 10년 이상 고대해

32 작 북한 지도자 김정일 국방위원장은 강력한 국가기구인 국방위원회에 지도원으로 임명했으며 분석가들은 이같은 북한의 움직임은 후에 **김정은**을 김정일의 후계자로 만들기 위한 조치라고 보고 있다고 한국 국영언론이 보도했다. 연합뉴스는 대북소식통의 말을 인용

Concordance 58. A full set of concordance lines of ‘Kim Jong Un’ featuring ‘후계/후계자’ [success*]

No particular negative or positive semantic prosody was identified in the analysis of concordance lines of Kim Jong Un from the English ST sub-corpus (Chapter Six). However, a strongly negative semantic prosody appears salient in the Korean TT sub-corpus, as evident, for example, in collocates such as ‘세습’ [hereditary] (line 20) in Concordance 58 above. Although the referential meaning of ‘hereditary’ in Korean is neutral – ‘hereditary’ means “fortune, social status or profession is passed from a parent to a child” (*Pyojun Kookeo Daesajeon* [Standard Korean Language Dictionary] (The

National Institute of the Korean Language 2012) published by the national institute of the Korean language) – it also signals a negative prosody, in that succession can mean that a child can inherit regardless of his/her achievements while more qualified children might lose out. ‘Hereditary’ in this concordance attracts collocates such as ‘power’ and ‘three-generation’, in particular. ‘Hereditary’ features in a total of four concordance lines: ‘권력세습’ [transfer of/inherit power] (lines 1 and 4), ‘3 대세습’ [three generation hereditary succession] (line 2) and ‘세습’ [inherit] (line 3): Concordance 59.

N Concordance

1 주장이다. 일본과 미국 등 안보리 결의안을 지지하는 나라 중 다수는 다른 의도가 있다고 그는 말했다. 신 대사는 김정일의 아들 김정은의 권력세습 가능성, 북한의 핵 야욕, 북한 월드컵 팀의 전망은 거론하지 않았다. 북한 축구팀도 언론의 조명을 거북스러

2 조 관람이 허용됐다. 언론인과 취재기자들도 북한을 관광 목적으로 방문해도 엄격한 통제를 받는다. 최근 김정일 국방위원장의 아들 김정은이 인민군 대장으로 승진하면서 북한의 3 대세습 가능성에 대한 보도들이 나오고 천안함 침몰로 한반도 긴장이 고조됐지만 1

3 북 김정은, 당요직 입성... 세습 본격화 북한 김정일 국방 위원장의 막내아들이 당 중앙 군사위원회의 부위원장에 선임됐다고 북한 국영

4 을 급히기는커녕 그 반대 현상이 벌어지는 듯하다. 아들로의 위태로운 권력세습을 무사히 마치려는 김정일의 바람 때문으로 보인다. 김정은은 군대 경력이 없지만 지난 9 월 이례적으로 열린 노동당 대표자 회의에서 인민군 대장으로 승격됐다. 최근의 도발은 6 자

Concordance 59. A full set of concordance lines of ‘김정은’ [Kim Jong Un] featuring ‘세습’ [hereditary]

Other items relating to the issue of succession include ‘이양’ [transfer] (lines 5, 6, 8 and 15), ‘이어받다’ [inherit/take over] (line 20), and ‘승계’ [succession] (lines from 1 to 7, from 9 to 18): Concordance 60. Together, all these items constitute a strong pattern of semantic preference. It is worth highlighting that these lexical items strongly collocate with ‘권력’ [power]. Eighteen lines (all instances except lines 7 and 20: underlined) feature ‘power’ (the underlined part in Concordance 60) in which ‘권력승계’ [transfer of power/power succession] is used more as a fixed statement, as ‘power succession’ appears in all lines except one line (line 7), out of seventeen concordance lines featuring ‘succession’. The frequent use of ‘power succession’ reveals the South Korean media place more emphasis on, and pay more attention to, the transfer of power structure in North Korea, compared with other Kim Jong Un-related issues, such as his educational background.

- 1 김정은보다 장성택을 더 주목해야 할 듯하다. 김정일 위원장의 매제인 장성택은 지난 2년 동안 김정일의 오른팔 역할을 해왔으며, 김정은이 권력을 승계한 후 섭정에 나서리라 전망된다. 김정일은 1980년 노동당 당대회에서 김일성 주석의 후계자로 공식 발표
- 2 다. 김정일은 1980년 노동당 당대회에서 김일성 주석의 후계자로 공식 발표된 뒤 14년간 아버지의 통치를 지켜보았다. 하지만 김정은의 권력 승계 계획은 그보다 훨씬 급하게 진행됐다. 스위스에서 교육 받은 김정은은 권력기반이나 카리스마 측면에서 아버지
- 3 주석의 이름을 딴 김일성 광장에서 시작됐다. 미국은 김정은이 건강이 악화된 김 위원장의 권력을 승계할 것으로 생각하고 있다. 김정은에 대해 알려진 바가 거의 없다. 그는 27~28세로 해외에서 교육을 받은 것으로 여겨지고 있다. 그는 영어, 독일어,
- 4 . 학교에선 학생들에게 김정은의 이름이 언급되지 않지만 그를 칭송하는 '발자취(Footsteps)'라는 노래를 가르치고 있다. 김정은이 권력을 승계할 경우 북한이 핵 프로그램과 군사력 증강에 돈을 붓는 동안 주민들은 기아로 고통 받아도 김정은이 할아버
- 5 그는 뇌졸중으로 건강상 안 좋은 상황이기 때문에 북한 전문가들은 권력승계가 가속화될 것이라고 분석했다. 치노이는 "김 위원장이 김정은에게 몇 년 동안 자신의 권력을 통합해 안보기구, 군부, 노동당의 인맥을 구축한다면 원만한 권력이양을 점쳐볼 수 있다"
- 6 국이 어떻게 대응해야할지 말하기는 성급하다고 말했다. 미 행정 고위 관계자 2명은 이는 예상했던 일이며 마지막에는 김 위원장이 김정은에게 권력이양을 하기 위한 포석을 까는 작업이라고 밝혔다. 치노이는 이번 군 승진 인사 발표가 권력승계를 위한 기반을
- 7 을 가진 바 있다. 코리아 헤럴드는 TV 방송사 YTN의 보도를 인용, 김 위원장이 중국 고위관계자들과 만나 그의 셋째 아들인 김정은으로의 승계를 논의할 수도 있다고 보도했다. YTN은 김 위원장이 이번 방중에 김정은과 동행했다고 정부관계자의 말을 인
- 8 승진했다고 밝혔다. 리용호 신임부상은 6자회담의 또 다른 주요 대표로 일해 왔다. 북한의 정치 지도부가 김정일 위원장이 아들 김정은에게 권력을 이양할 준비를 하고 있다는 추측이 나오고 있다. 북한은 노동당이 오는 28일 40여년만에 당대표자회의를 열
- 9 소장은 "김정일의 후계자가 발표되지 않을 수 있다"며 "나중에 발표될 수 있지만 예를 들어 김정은이 당 중앙위원으로 선출된다면 김정은으로의 권력승계가 진행된다는 것을 알게된다"고 밝혔다. 조선 노동당의 당대표자회가 40여년 만에 열리게 된다. 북한 국
- 10 가 배후에서 조종했다고 한다. 그 공격으로 탑승자 115명 전원이 사망했다. 이런 냉전시대 전술의 재등장은 장성들이 부상하면서 김정은에 대한 통제를 강화한다는 신호다. 권력승계 루머가 새나오기 시작한 지난해 이후 평양의 대외 공식성명에서 비교적 은근한
- 11 뒤 14년간 아버지의 통치를 지켜보았다. 하지만 김정은의 권력 승계 계획은 그보다 훨씬 급하게 진행됐다. 스위스에서 교육 받은 김정은은 권력기반이나 카리스마 측면에서 아버지 김정일과는 비교가 안 된다. 특히 영향력이 막강한 북한 군부에서 어떤 역할도
- 12 옷 파티'라고 평했다. 열병식은 북한 창설자이자 김 위원장의 아버지 김일성 주석의 이름을 딴 김일성 광장에서 시작됐다. 미국은 김정은이 건강이 악화된 김 위원장의 권력을 승계할 것으로 생각하고 있다. 김정은에 대해 알려진 바가 거의 없다. 그는 27~
- 13 이 발언했다. 이는 공식 언론을 통해 그가 처음 동생 이름을 언급했다. 김정은은 중앙군사위원회의 부위원장에도 선임됐다. 미국은 김정은이 건강이 악화된 아버지 김 위원장의 권력을 승계할 것으로 예상한다고 로버트 게이츠 미 국방장관이 밝혔다. 2008년
- 14 , 중국 남부, 러시아로 향하는 이상적인 통로를 확보했다. 북한의 경제개방에는 이유가 있다. 병든 김 위원장이 자신의 막내아들 김정은에게로 권력승계를 준비하는 듯하다. 김정은은 지난주 김 위원장의 전격적인 중국 방문에 동행했다고 전해진다. 북한 정권이

15 북한 당 대표자회 개최...권력승계 가능성 북한 지도부가 이달 드물게 열리는 회의에 모여 김정일 국방위원장이 막내아들 김정은에게 권력을 이양할 사전준비를 할 것이다. 미국의 정치 연구단체인 브루킹스연구소의 리처드 부시 동북아정책연구소장은 “김정

16 통로를 확보했다. 북한의 경제개방에는 이유가 있다. 병든 김 위원장이 자신의 막내아들 김정은에게로 권력승계를 준비하는 듯하다. 김정은은 지난주 김 위원장의 전격적인 중국 방문에 동행했다고 전해진다. 북한 정권이 고위층 사이에 휘몰아칠 폭풍우에 대비하는

17 스 연구소의 리처드 부시 동북아정책연구소장은 “김정일의 후계자가 발표되지 않을 수 있다”며 “나중에 발표될 수 있지만 예를 들어 김정은이 당 중앙위원으로 선출된다면 김정은으로의 권력승계가 진행된다”는 것을 알게된다”고 밝혔다. 조선 노동당의 당대표자회가

18 로 중국을 방문한 목적은 그뿐만이 아닌 듯하다. 김정일의 명령에 따라 북한을 통치하는 노동당은 9월 보기 드문 모임을 갖는다. 김정은에게로의 권력승계를 공식화하려는 의도가 아닌가 하는 분석이 많다. 김 위원장은 2008년 뇌졸중을 앓은 뒤로 건강이 크

19 해 고강도 교육을 받았을 듯하다. 미국과 한국의 정보기관들 사이에선 적어도 한 가지 일치된 견해가 있다. 아직 26세에 불과한 김정은이 권력을 이양받을 준비를 하고 있다는 가설이다. 김정일의 충성파들은 김정은을 ‘영명한 동지’라고 부르도록 지시 받았

20 계획의 중추적 역할을 해왔다. 현재 68세인 김정일은 당뇨병과 뇌졸중 후유증으로 건강이 좋지 않다. 따라서 조만간 그의 3남 김정은이 세상에서 가장 비밀스럽고 공격적인 국가인 북한의 지도자 자리를 이어 받을 가능성이 있다. 하지만 장성택이 배후에서 김

Concordance 60. A full set of concordance lines of ‘김정은’ [Kim Jong Un] featuring semantic preference of lexical items indicating ‘세습’ [hereditary]

It was explained above and in Chapter Six on the English ST sub-corpus that Kim Jong Un had not been accessible to the media in 2009 and early 2010, and that his public appearances were rare. This was evident in some concordance lines which signalled media interest in him. The same strong pattern is also found here: six lines featuring the same phrases ‘알려진 바가 거의 없다’ [little is known] (lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 9); two lines of ‘수수께끼 같은/가장 베일에 싸인 인물’ [(most) mysterious] (lines 1 and 8); and one instance of ‘아무도 모른다’ [nobody knows] (line 6): see Concordance 61. In terms of the institution-specific patterns, six lines are from *CNN Hangeul News* while only three instances are from *Newsweek Hangukpan*. Time-wise, the lines in Concordance 61 were published in either 2009 (lines 2 to 7) or 2010 (lines 1, 8 and 9).

The fact that Kim Jong Un worked as an acting Chairman of the National Defence Commission in 2009, promoted to the rank of a four-star general, was declared to be the heir-apparent in 2010 and eventually became a leader of North Korea in 2011 may explain the relatively intense media interest in Kim Jong Un in 2009 (31 instances out of 123 instances) and 2010 (90 out of 123 instances).¹³⁶ This is consistent with the pattern identified in the English ST sub-corpus, since the concordance lines of Kim

¹³⁶ Two other concordances were published in 2007 and 2008.

Jong Un identified in the previous analysis has shown that they were also published in 2009 and 2010. However, some difference was found in the number of concordance lines between the two corpora (i.e. the English ST sub-corpus and the Korean TT sub-corpus): the previous analysis returned a total of six concordance lines which reveal media interest in Kim Jong Un, whilst the Korean TT sub-corpus returns a total of nine lines. Since the three new lines are from three different articles published in *CNN Hangeul News*, this lends support to the suggestion that Korean media, in this case *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News*, selectively give preference to English STs discussing Kim Jong Il, in order to meet the interest of the South Korean public, who are sensitive to events taking place in North Korea.

N

Concordance

1 김정일 북한 국방위원장은 이번 주 열리는 조선노동당 대표자회에서 3남 김정은을 주축으로 하는 후계 구도를 공식화할 전망이다. 김정은은 **수수께끼 같은 인물로** 외부에는 생김새조차 확실히 알려지지 않았다. 하지만 그의 뒤에는 더 수수께끼 같은 인물이 숨어

2 도 인민군 대장 칭호를 부여했다고 북한 국영 조선중앙통신이 보도했다. 김정은이 아버지 김 위원장의 후계자라는 추측들이 있었지만 김정은에 관한 자세한 내용은 북한 내부와 외부에도 **알려진 바가 거의 없다**. '북핵문제: 인사이드 스토리'의 저자인 마이크 치

3 주석의 이름을 딴 김일성 광장에서 시작됐다. 미국은 김정은이 건강이 악화된 김 위원장의 권력을 승계할 것으로 생각하고 있다. 김정은에 대해 **알려진 바가 거의 없다**. 그는 27~28 세로 해외에서 교육을 받은 것으로 여겨지고 있다. 그는 영어, 독일어,

4 역할도 강화하는 것이 목적이며 조국과 국민들의 위대한 미래를 전파하기 위한 큰 의미가 될 것"이라고 말했다. 후계자로 예상되는 **김정은에 대해 알려진 것이 거의 없다**. 그가 공식적인 자리에 있는지조차 확실하지 않지만 그가 아버지의 권력을 승계할 것으로

5 서 중앙통신이 노동당 대표자회 동안, 김정은이 4성 장군이 됐다고 전했다. 조선로동당은 40 여 년 만에 대표의원들을 소집했다. **김정은에 관해 거의 알려진 바가 없다**. 북한 외부 언론들은 시종 그의 사진 2 장만 유포하고 있다. 이는 북한이 그를 언론에

6 키지 않았기 때문이다. 탈북자이자 정치운동가인 장철환은 "북한이 김정은에 관한 정보를 공개하지 않기 때문에 **아무도 모른다**"며 "김정은이 어렸을 때, 스위스 베른에서 있는 엘리트를 위한 학교에 다니며 국제적인 교육을 받았다."고 밝혔다. 27 일 김정은이

7 의 당대표자회의에서 김정일 국방위원장의 삼남 김정은이 중앙 군사위원회 부위원장에 선임된 이후 처음으로 그의 사진을 공개했다. 김정은에 대해 **알려진 바가 거의 없다**. 북한이 그를 언론에 노출시키지 않았기 때문에 북한 외부 언론들은 시종 그의 사진 2 장

8 스타들, 에릭 클랩튼 (영국 기타리스트 겸 팝 가수), 디즈니랜드를 무척이나 좋아한다. 그중에서 **가장배일에 싸인** 인물이 막내 김정운이다. 어쩌면 그가 후계자로 지목됐기 때문에 신변을 보호하기 위한 의도일지도 모른다. 그러나 그가 국제적인 불량 국가로

9 더 많은 듯하다. 그는 마카오에서 아르마니 운동모자에다 버버리와 폴로 랄프 로렌 셔츠, 선글라스를 쓰고 카메라에 잡혔다. 막내 김정은에 관해서는 **알려진 바가 거의 없다** [little is known about (Kim Jong Un)]. 정보에 관련된 문제라며 익명을 요구한 미국 정부 소식통들은 그 역시 어린 나이에

Concordance 61. A full set of concordance lines of '김정은' [Kim Jong Un] featuring media's interests

The analysis of the two sons of Kim Jong Il reveals a relatively similar pattern to that revealed by the ST sub-corpus analysis: (i) South Korean media is more interested in reporting on Kim Jong Un than in reporting on Kim Jong Nam; (ii) Kim Jong Nam is frequently referred to as ‘the son of Kim Jong Il’ in both English ST and Korean TT concordance lines; (iii) Kim Jong Nam attracts more media interest in 2009 and 2010 in both sub-corpora; (iv) the strongest collocate of Kim Jong Un is ‘success*’ in both sub-corpora; (v) expressions such as ‘little is known about Kim Jong Un’ are found frequently in both ST and TT sub-corpora; and (vi) Kim Jong Un also attracts more media interest in 2009 and 2010, around the time when he was declared as the heir-apparent. One difference was found in the use of ‘권력세습’ [power transfer]: it strongly collocated with Kim Jong Un in the Korean TT sub-corpus, but this was not the case for the English ST sub-corpus.

7.3.3 Kim Jong Il (late leader of North Korea and the son of Kim Il Sung)

As explained in Chapters Five and Six, Kim Jong Il was the official leader of North Korea from 1994 to 2011. He was the son of Kim Il Sung (the founder of North Korea) and the father of Kim Jong Nam and Kim Jong Un discussed above. A total of 860 concordance lines of ‘Kim Jong Il’ were retrieved. Of these, 64 are from *CNN Hangeul News* whilst the overwhelming majority of 796 instances are from *Newsweek Hangukpan*. Table 27, below, summarises the most common patterns revealed by the analysis.

Item	Gloss	Number of concordance lines	% of total concordance lines	Kim Jong Il/ Kim Jong-Il/ Kim Jung Il
위원장/ 국방위원장	Chairman/Chairman of the National Defence Commission	339 (209/130)	39%	
정권	Political power/Regime	115	13%	
지도자	leader	80	9%	
독재자	dictator	19	2%	

Table 27. Patterns associated with Kim Jong Il identified in the Korean TT sub-corpus

The analysis begins with the most frequent collocates, namely ‘위원장’ [chairman] (209 instances) and ‘국방위원장’ [Chairman of the National Defence Commission] (130 instances).

(a) Patterns associated with 위원장 [chairman] and 국방위원장 [Chairman of the National Defence Commission]

‘Chairman’ was, and still is, one of the official titles of Kim Jong Il. The Korean Central News Agency in North Korea (KCNA) claimed in 2012 that there were more than 1200 titles for Kim Jong Il (Noh 2012), including ‘the sun of life’, ‘the sun of socialism’, ‘the great master of diplomatic resource’, and ‘the leader of versatile talents’. Even after his death, he is still referred to as a chairman, and, more specifically, as ‘국방위원장’ [Chairman of the National Defence Commission (hereafter CNDC)]: CNDC is defined as ‘the supreme commander of the armed forces of North Korea’ (The Academy of Korean Studies 2012). In terms of institution-specific patterns, the use of ‘chairman’ in referring to Kim Jong Il occurs forty times in *CNN Hangeul News* and 169 in *Newsweek Hangukpan*; 28 concordance lines of ‘CNDC’ are from *CNN Hangeul News* and 102 are from *Newsweek Hangukpan*. No particular negative/positive prosody or semantic preference could be identified.

N

Concordance

1 실어 보내는 일명 “노아의 방주” 계획 반대에 동참했다. 짐바브웨 현지 언론들은 지난주 로버트 무가베 짐바브웨 대통령이 북한 **김정일 국방위원장**에게 1만 4600 km² 규모의 웅기국립공원에 사는 모든 야생동물 한 쌍씩을 선물하기로 했다고 보도했다. 본프리는

2 문이다. 그러나 푸틴은 미국에도 반가운 선물을 선사했다. 지난 21일 빌 클린턴 미국 대통령과의 회담에서 푸틴은 평양 방문 때 **김정일 국방위원장**으로부터 직접 전달받은 북한측 제안의 개요를 설명해줬다. 북한이 ‘연간 한두 차례’의 위성 발사에 국제사회의

3 가장 반긴 곳은 중국 북한이 붕괴할 경우 난민대책까지 구상해뒀던 베이징 지도부 안도의 한숨 베이징 지국장 **김정일 국방위원장**은 남북 정상회담 2주 전 중국을 극비 방문했다. 중국이 안도의 한숨을 내쉬고 있다. 사실상 모든 사람들과

4 특권에는 핵무기 통제권, 어쩌면 궁극적으로 도쿄 아니면 하와이를 겨냥지도 모를 결정권이 포함되기 때문이다. 북한의 현 지도자 **김정일 국방위원장**은 금방이라도 쓰러질 듯 비틀대는 모습이다. 1년여 전 뇌졸중이 왔다고 알려졌고 어쩌면 암을 앓고 있는지도

5 다고 국영언론이 보도했다. 28일 열린 이번 당대표자회는 다음 세대로의 권력승계의 전조였다. 당대표자회가 열리기 직전인 27일 **김정일 국방위원장**은 그의 삼남 김정운을 4성 장군으로 승격시켰다. 김정운은 또한 당 중앙 군사위원회의 부위원장에 선임됐다.

6, 개신교 교회도 두 군데 있다고 자랑한다. 그러나 선친인 김일성과 마찬가지로 국가 주도의 개인 우상화 정책으로 신격화돼 있는 **김정일 국방위원장**은 경쟁자가 될 만한 모든 신앙을 위협으로 간주한다. 미국의 복음단체 ‘순교자의 소리(VOM)’의 토드 넬

7 도 했다(그러나 며칠 뒤 모두 귀환했음이 확인됐다). 하지만 걸보기와 달리 전면전으로 치달을 만한 상황은 아닌 듯하다. 북한의 **김정일 국방위원장**은 걸으로는 호전적인 태도를 고수하지만 막후에선 그의 정부가 전쟁을 피할 방법을 찾으려 고심하는 듯하다. 우

8 북한 김정운, 후계 수업 시작 북한 지도자 **김정일 국방위원장**은 강력한 국가기구인 국방위원회에 지도원으로 임명했으며 분석가들은 이같은 북한의 움직임은 후에 김정운을 김정일

9 김정일-후진타오 정상 회담 북한 지도자 **김정일 국방위원장**은 6 일 중국 베이징에서 후진타오 주석을 만날 것이며 일부에선 북한이 6 자회담 복귀할 것이라고 예상하고 있다고

10 본인을 납치한 기괴한 유괴 사건에 메구미도 포함된 사실을 알았다. 그 후 일본 언론은 요코타 메구미의 사연으로 들끓었다. 북한 **김정일 국방위원장**은 2002 년 고이즈미 준이치로 일본 총리에게 북한 첩보원들이 일본 국민을 납치했음을 인정했다.

11 로 혼란스런 상황일 수도... 파키스탄과 아프간도 비슷한 처지 기자 포스트 김정일 시대에 대비해야 할까? **김정일 북한 국방위원장**은 늘 피짜로 비쳤다. 답수룩한 머리 스타일, 자국민을 굶주리게 하면서 여배우들을 납치하는 기이한 습관

12 간 6 자회담 당사국과 유엔의 주요 회원국이 참여한 지루한 협상의 결과다. 그동안 긴장이 극도로 고조된 적도 있었다. 2006 년 **김정일 북한 국방위원장**은 국제사회에 한마디 통고도 없이 핵실험을 강행했다. 그러나 2 년 뒤인 지금 북한은 핵프로그램 포기

13 되는 경제난과 국제적 압력 속에서 김정일이 택한 서바이벌 전략 기자 **김정일 북한 국방위원장**에 대해 한가지는 인정해줘야 한다. 그가 '진상'을 알고 있다는 점이다. 철저한 정보 폐쇄 정책 때문에

14 과의 협력을 확대, 강화하는 협정을 잇달아 발표하면서 독자적인 '우호의 축'을 구축했다. 지난주 블라디미르 푸틴 러시아 대통령은 **김정일 북한 국방위원장**과의 회담을 위해 극동지역에 있는 블리디보스토크로 갔다(김 위원장은 최근 러시아 정부와의 사업협력 가능

15 양에서 마주한 김정일은 아시아 불한당이 아니라 실용주의자의 모습이였다. 기자 올브라이트 미 국무장관이 **김정일 북한 국방위원장**과 건배하고 있다. 10 만 명이 펼친 군사 매스게임, 약간의 대화가 큰 차이를 만들 수 있다. 북한 지

16 2001.01.17 북한은 정말 알 수 없는 나라 예견하지 않는 것이 상책 수많은 붕괴 시나리오 대입해봐도 해답이 안나와 **김정일 북한 국방위원장** 기자 빌 클린턴 미국 대통령은 북한의 미사일 프로그램을 막기 위한 협정을

17 제에 대한 흥정의 대가로 그럴 수 있다는 뜻으로도 들렸다. 부시팀은 케리의 발언을 즉시 문제삼았다. 부시는 한 연설에서 케리와 **김정일 북한 국방위원장** 사이의 가상의 전화통화를 흉내냄으로써 좌중의 폭소를 자아냈다. "여보세요, 존. 나 김정일이요. 내가

18 뉴스위크 일본판 기자 지난 1 월 23 일 평양을 방문한 왕자루이 중국 공산당 대외연락부장을 접견하는 김정일 북한 국방위원장. 마침내 **김정일 북한 국방위원장**이 생존한다는 증거가 제시됐다. 지난해 8 월 김 위원장이 뇌졸중을 일으

19 루토늄을 보유했으며, 고립이 심화됐다. 이런 사태가 올 줄 알았다. 국제사회는 불량 정권과 마무드 아마디네자드 이란 대통령이나 **김정일 북한 국방위원장** 같은 지도자를 어떻게 다뤄야 하나? 두 가지 기본 문제가 있다. 하나는 사실 지도자와는 무관한 국가

20 반 주민들의 생존 자구책인 장마당과 해외 교역 증가에 그동안 북한 당국은 속수무책이었다 기자 / 번역, 정경희 **김정일 북한 국방위원장**(68)은 지난 4 년 동안 온갖 수단을 동원해 국내의 시장경제 활동을 억제해왔다. 예전에 정치범 수용소

21 있다. 9,11 직후에는 그런 방식이 잘 먹혀들었다. 그러나 세계는 또다시 갖가지 위협이 혼재하는 모호한 지대로 변하고 있다. **김정일 위원장**은 이웃나라들뿐 아니라 자국민들에게까지도 사담 후세인 이라크 대통령 못지 않은 위협적인 존재로 부상하고 있다.

22 한을 테러 지원국 명단에서 제외하면 미국과 세계 안보에 긍정적인 영향을 준다는 사실이다. 그러나 한편으로 친애하는 지도자 동지 **김정일 위원장**은 부시 대통령과 미국을 겨냥한 반항의 상징으로 '악의 축' 회원국 지위를 오히려 즐겼는지도 모를 일이다. DA

23 잠적은 북, 미 간 긴장이 고조되는 시기와 주로 일치했다. 예를 들어 2003 년 그는 미국의 이라크 침공 당시 모습을 감췄다. "**김정일 위원장**은 미국이 자신이나 북한을 공격할 가능성을 우려했을지 모른다"고 최종진 북한대학원대학교 교수가 말했다. 분석가들

24 4 명에 대한 추방 조치와 시리아, 이란 등 ‘불량’ 국가들에 대한 미사일 판매의 중단 등이 그것이다. 조특사는 미국 관리들에게 **김정일 위원장**은 미국이 북한의 영토보전을 보장한다면 관계 정상화를 위해 노력할 것이라고 말했다. 웬디 서먼 미 대북정책조정관

25 앉으려고 무슨 일이든 하려 한다. 스탈린주의 경제로는 약점이 있어 외부 세계의 지원을 우려낼 새로운 방안을 강구한다는 뜻이다. **김정일 위원장**은 되도록 조건이 달리지 않은 돈이 계속 들어오게 할 요량으로 위험한 벼랑끝 전술과 협박을 계속할 가능성이 크다

26 인은 남한 사람들이 김정일의 불길하게 보이는 선글라스에 3.위협을 느꼈다는 사실에 “놀라움과 경악”을 금치 못했다고 밝혔다. “**김정일 위원장**은 누구를 놀라게 하려고 선글라스를 쓴 게 아니다”고 대변인이 말했다. “단지 멋있어 보이려고 그랬다.” 북한의

27 느껴졌다고 말했다. 감동적인 이산가족 상봉에도 불구하고 남한에서는 통일을 추진하기가 쉽지 않을 것이다. 반대세력이 거의 없는 **김정일 위원장**은 남북 협력을 쉽게 밀어붙일 수 있다. 그는 남측 언론사 사장단과 만난 자리에서 주요 남북협력 계획을 비공식적

28 의사는 없다”고 선언했다. 지난 3 월 그는 한발 더 나아가 북한의 경제난 극복을 돕기 위한 정부간 원조를 제안했다. 몇 주 뒤 **김정일 위원장**은 김대통령을 평양으로 초청해 정상회담을 가졌다. 남북한 두 정상의 만남은 그야말로 역사적인 전환점이었다. 김정

29 은 밤늦게까지 일하고 하루 4 시간밖에 자지 않으며 수영과 승마를 즐기고 ‘밤에 나가 인민들을 만나는 것’을 좋아한다고 말했다. **김정일 위원장**은 그동안 북한 정권을 매우 다루기 힘든 대상으로 만들었던 주체적 자존심도 보여줬다. “평양에 앉아 있어도 여러

30 었다. ‘내 아버지는 유령’이라는 제목으로 아버지가 유령인 체하며 자신을 따라다니며 괴롭힌다는 내용이다. 일부의 전언에 따르면 **김정일 위원장**은 그가 너무 나약해 후계자가 되기는 어렵다고 생각했다. 한때는 장남 김정남이 후계자로 가장 유력하다고 알려졌다

Concordance 62. A snapshot of concordance lines of ‘김정일 국방위원장’ [CNDC Kim Jong Il] (lines 1 to 10), ‘김정일 북한 국방위원장’ [North Korean CNDC Kim Jong Il] (lines 11 to 20), and ‘위원장’ [Chairman] (lines 20 to 30)

The default reference to Kim Jong Il is therefore as ‘chairman’. This may be explained by journalistic practices in South Korea in which individuals having a degree of social status are referred to using their occupational designation, e.g. ‘김 대통령’ [President Kim] or ‘김대중 대통령’ [President Kim Dae Jung]. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 84) explains that “news translation can entail the thorough-going transformation of the source text and the production of a new one designed to suit specific audiences according to the journalistic norms of the region”.

It is now useful to look at the style manuals of *Newsweek Hangukpan*, since agency style manuals are “useful codes specifying and regulating the most important operations for the production of news” and they contain “full style guides addressing potentially problematic words” (Bielsa and Bassnett *ibid.*: 70). The convention guidelines issued by The Joong Ang Ilbo in 1997 for *Newsweek Hangukpan* Korean translators clearly state that historical figures and household names can be referred to without their occupational designation, e.g. ‘Churchill’, rather than ‘Churchill, the then prime minister of the UK’. The guidelines also explain that ‘Bill Clinton, the president

of the US' can be simplified to 'President Clinton' or 'Clinton'. If this is so, then, there is some leeway that would predict referring to Kim Jong Il by his first name without mentioning his official title, i.e. 'Kim Jong Il', instead of 'CNDC Kim Jong Il', at least in some instances. Moreover, the collocate 'leader' was among the most frequent in the English corpus, and an examination of concordance lines of 'Kim Jong Il' in the English ST sub-corpus also revealed a strong pattern of collocation with 'leader'. Nevertheless, 'Chairman' is clearly the default term for referring to Kim Jong Il in the Korean TT sub-corpus. This choice reflects the political attitude of the time, specifically the conciliatory, sunshine policy towards North Korea adopted by President Kim Dae Jung (1998-2003) and his successor, Roh Moo Hyun (2003-2008). The Korean TT sub-corpus covers the period 1998 to 2010, which falls within Kim's and Roh's five-year presidencies.

The use of titles such as 'Chairman' and 'Chairman of the National Defense Commission' to refer to North Korean leaders in South Korean media has been heavily contested. Some right-wing and activist groups such as '자유청년연합' [Young's Liberty Union] argue that such journalistic practices have had a significant impact on changing the image of North Korea from being an erratic and rogue country to one that is in need of help. They point out, too, that these practices were maintained even when the South Korean president was being referred to as 'the main enemy' and a 'rebel' by North Korean media. The Young's Liberty Union held a series of protests in 2011 against the media's ill-considered and careless use of titles in connection with Kim Jong Il – specifically, 'CNDC' and 'Chairman' (Kim S. J. 2011). Other groups and individuals have voiced similar protests (Kim S. J. 2011; Koo 2011).

(b) Patterns associated with '정권' [political power/regime]

A total of 115 out of 860 concordance lines of 'Kim Jong Il' feature the collocate '정권' [political power/regime]. Of these, only three instances are from *CNN Hangeul News*, whilst the overwhelming majority of 112 instances are from *Newsweek Hangukpan*. The most common pattern revealed through the analysis of the concordance lines involves two fixed expressions: '김정일(의) 정권' [Kim Jong Il's political power/regime, political power/regime of Kim Jong Il] and '북한정권' [North Korean political power/regime].

Concordance 63 shows the 51 lines retrieved for '김정일(의) 정권' [Kim Jong Il's political power/regime, political power/regime of Kim Jong Il]. Of these, only three

instances (lines 9, 34 and 38) are from *CNN Hangeul News* while the remaining 48 instances are from *Newsweek Hangukpan*. No particularly strong time-specific pattern emerged in the analysis.

N Concordance

- 1 유엔 관리들은 난민들의 증언에 회의적인 시각을 보내면서 평양에 있는 약 1백명의 서방 요원들 보고서를 더 선호한다. 96년부터 **김정일 정권**은 '주체사상'을 완화해 외국 구호 요원들에게 문호를 개방하기 시작했다. 그들은 한 세대 전체가 기아로 인해 발육
- 2 변화의 조짐 감지되는 북한 이제 평양에서는 봄비는 시장, 휴대폰, 교통체증, 광고판 등을 심심치 않게 볼 수 있다. 경제 개혁이 **김정일 정권**을 지속시킬까 아니면 붕괴를 가속화할까. GEORGE WEHRFRITZ 도쿄 지국장 기자 북한에서 해산물 가공 합작
- 3 한다고 쓰여 있다. 나는 두번째 것 다음으로 '적의 정신을 꺾으라'는 것을 추가하고 싶다. 거기에는 대의명분이 필요한 것이다. **김정일 정권**을 제거하는 데는 '인권 문제'라는 확실한 대의명분을 앞세우지 않으면 안 된다. 핵 문제를 둘러싸고 밀고 당기기만
- 4 천하에 드러나게 될 것이기 때문에 그가 자유시장으로의 개혁을 진정으로 시도하지는 않을 것으로 본다. 밀리는 "진정한 경제개혁은 **김정일 정권**을 무너뜨리게 될 것이기 때문에 그가 받아들일 리 없다"고 말했다. 개혁을 이루지 않는다면 북한은 서서히 붕괴하게
- 5 통해 더욱 많은 이익을 쟁길 수 있다고 믿는 듯하다. 그같은 믿음이 현실로 나타날 지는 장담할 수 없다. 북한의 유화 공세는 **김정일 정권**이 미국의 의혹을 불식시키고 핵 개발을 중단했다는 사실을 증명하지 못할 경우 양국 외교 관계를 크게 바꾸지는 못할
- 6 지하는 비중은 헤아릴 수 없을 정도로 크다. 만일 정말로 미국이 탈북자를 1만명, 2만명, 3만명까지 받아들이게 된다면 그것은 **김정일 정권**에 치명적인 타격이 된다. 그것은 어찌서인가. 북한처럼 폐쇄된 엄격한 독재체제에서 한사람의 탈북자가 나온다는 것은
- 7 도 몇가지 있다. 북한 사람들이 하는 말은 대개 지도자의 공식 노선을 반영한다. 반면 남한 관광객들은 극단적 스탈린주의로 기운 **김정일 정권**에 관한 이야기는 입밖에 낼 생각도 하지 못하는 것 같다(그들은 예의를 갖추는 것이라고 말하지만 사실은 몇년 전
- 8 진타오 주석은 검증받지 않은 후계자인 시진핑에게로 권력이양을 준비하면서 막판 돌발사태로 망신을 당하지 않으려 심혈을 기울인다. **김정일 정권**은 중국의 원조와 무역 없이는 오래 버티지 못하지만 중국 정부가 지금 당장 그 생명줄을 끊어놓겠다고 위협해 봤자
- 9 경계를 넘어 북한 중심가로 200km를 날아갈 수 있다. 탈주자들은 이 대북 선전이 북한 주민들을 위해 만들어진 환상을 깨, **김정일의 정권** 핵심에 타격을 주길 바라고 있다. 10년전 북한을 탈출한 권영희는 "형제가 아직 북한에 살고 있다"며 "이
- 10 725호 (2006.04.12) 북한 돈줄죄는 미국의 진짜 노림수 **김정일 정권**의 불법 자금원 단속하는 전략이 효과 발휘 실제 표적은 중국이라는 분석도 CHRISTIAN CARYL 기자 스위스
- 11 하리라고 생각한다"고 미국 외교관 출신으로 한국의 영자신문사 중앙데일리의 편집국장인 존 호그는 말했다. 사실 '요덕 스토리'는 **김정일 정권**의 실상보다 뒤틀린 남북관계에 더 초점을 맞추었다. 이 작품은 탈북자 출신인 정성산 감독이 각본을 쓰고 연출을 맡
- 12 불안 조장을 통해 **김정일 정권**을 전복하는 것이다. 그러나 이 두 노선은 신중하게 통합·조정되지 않으면 상충한다. 부시대통령이 김정일타도라는 소원울이루기위해 노력중이라고 직접 혹은 간접적으로 계속말한다면 김정일은 핵보함정책을고수해나가기
- 13 W 부시 신임 미국 대통령이 아주 다른 대북관의 소유자라는 사실을 깨달았다. 부시는 북미 외교를 전면 중단하면서 직접 대화로 **김정일 정권**에 정통성을 부여할 의도가 없다는 점을 명확히 했다. 2002년 부시는 공화당 상원의원들과 만난 사적인 자리에서

14 리조트타운으로 개발하고자 한다. 내년 중으로 7000만 달러 규모의 골프장이 문을 열 계획이다. 비판 세력은 북한에 보내는 돈이 **김정일 독재정권**의 유지에 도움이 되고, 북한 주민들은 굶주리는 판에 핵무기나 재래식 무기 생산에만 이용됐는지도 모른다고 주장

15 북한 문제는 해결될 것이다. 중·미 관계가 견고하면 일본이나 한국도 무조건 찬성하고 러시아도 찬동할 수밖에 없다. 그렇게 되면 **김정일의 수령 절대주의 정권**은 끝난 거나 다름없다. 북한이 중국식 개혁·개방을 받아들일까. 중국식 개혁·개방은 우선 첫째로

16 아직 살아 있지만 언제든 죽을 각오가 돼 있다. 귀약이 든 작은 비닐봉지를 호주머니에 넣고 다닌다. 최근 18개월만에 두번째로 **김정일 독재정권**에서 탈출한 그는 “북한의 감옥으로 돌아가느니 차라리 자살하겠다. 그동안 겪은 일은 기억하기도 싫다. 생각만

17 교도관들로부터 매를 맞거나 서로 매질을 하도록 강요당한다. 이 과정에서 죽음을 맞는 수감자도 종종 있다. 이 보고서에 따르면 **김정일 정권**은 유전적인 순수성을 중요시한다. 그래서 탈북했다가 임신한 상태로 본국으로 돌아간(자발적이든 북한 당국의 기습적인

18 20% 미만이라고 그는 추산했다(바꿔 말하면, 통상적으로 보도의 진실성을 동전 던지기로 확인하는 쪽이 더 확실하다). 탄코프는 **김정일 정권**이 공산당 당원의 정확한 인원수조차 공표하지 않는다고 강조했다. 하물며 경제 관련 기본통계는 말할 나위도 없다.

19 체제 안정을 계속 저해하지 않기를 원하지만 그것은 매우 힘든 일”이라며 “교역과 체제 안정은 공존하기가 불가능하다”고 말했다. **김정일 정권**은 근래 들어 이 같은 시대적 흐름을 막기 위해 노력해 왔다. 2003년 말 조선노동당은 “비정상적인 기록물과 출

20 이다. 북한의 붕괴가 임박했다고는 생각지 않는다. 지난해 8월 북한은 일본 열 도를 가로질러 신형 대포동 미 사일을 발사했다. **김정일 정권**의 위협은 얼마나 심각한가. 북한은 신형 미사일을 개발 중이며 일부는 실전 배치돼왔다. 핵무기 개발을 둘러싼 의혹

21 히 압력을 가하고 있다. 이에 반대하는 사람들은 김정일이 플루토늄 판매에 의존하게 될 가능성만 높아진다고 말한다. 혹시 부시가 **김정일 정권**이 무너질 날이 멀지 않았다고 생각한다면 단단한 착각이라고. 송영길 의원이 지적하듯 김정일은 자살할 성격이 아니다

22 한 시기다.” 리언 파네타 미 중앙정보국(CIA) 국장 미국 ABC 방송의 ‘This Week’에 출연해 천안함의 폭침이 북한 **김정일 정권**의 권력세습 과정의 일부일 가능성을 언급하며, 성을 언급하며,

23 849호 (2008.10.01) 은둔의 왕을 위한 ‘기도’ 북한 **김정일 정권**은 주민들이나 주변국에 피해를 끼치지 만 그의 갑작스런 실각은 더욱 위험하다 CHRISTIAN CARYL 기자 / 이

24 안내원들도 그렇게 말했다). 따라서 핵무기마저 포기한다면 더 이상 내세울 게 없지 않을까. 하지만 이 모든 압력에도 불구하고 **김정일 정권**의 정치적인 통제력은 여전히 확고하다. 몇몇 전문가가 지적했듯이 북한이라는 국가의 현재 모습은 전통적인 독재체제라

25 와대 요직에 앉아 북한의 “정권교체”를 이루려는 미국의 요구나 기타 핵개발을 축소시키려는 극단적 노력에 반대한다. 그들 생각에 **김정일 정권**을 고립에서 끌어내는 최선책은 장기간의 남북 교류다. “핵위기

26 게는 또 다른 치명타가 된다. 그와 대조적으로 부자들은 중국 인민폐(북한에서 널리 통용된다)나 다른 외화를 사용한다. 실상가상 **김정일 정권**은 주민들에게 사회 안전망도 제공하지 못한다고 윤 위원은 지적했다. “사실 소득 양극화 자체는 큰 문제가 아니다.

27 지난달 북한 방문을 마친 베르티니를 조지 워프리즈 뉴스위크 도쿄 지국장이 만났다. 일부 구호사업 관계자들은 대북한 식량지원이 **김정일 정권**을 지탱해 주면서 개혁에 필요한 변화를 막고 있다고 믿고 있다. 이는 잘못된 주장인가? 그래서 식량 지원을 전면

28 중국인들이 전어물 구입과 해수욕, 그리고 자국에서는 금지된 도박을 즐기기 위해 그곳을 찾고 있었다. 현금이 한푼이라도 아쉬운 **김정일 정권**이 새로운 카지노 개설을 허용한 것이다. 우리 일행의 관광은 김일성이 지난 54년 방문했다는 한 여촌에서 시작됐다

29 것이 많아도 걸어갈 수 있는 것도 아니고, 결정권은 한국 정부가 갖고 있다. 만일 방미가 가능하게 된다면 무력을 행사하지 않고 **김정일 정권**을 제거해야 한다는 점, 중국과의 협력을 증시해야 한다는 점, 그리고 구체적으로 어떤 방법으로 북한을 중국식 개혁

30 라는 점”이라고 덧붙였다. 북한으로서는 평화의 길로 들어서든지, 유례없는 고립의 나락으로 떨어지든지 양자택일하는 수밖에 없다. **김정일 정권**은 미국 일부와 중국·러시아 전역을 사정권 안에 둘 수 있는 미사일 개발로 마침내 갈 데까지 간 셈이 됐다. 한때

31 액수다. 이씨는 “이젠 주민들이 물건을 사고파는 행위가 허용된다. 전에는 물건을 팔면 압수당했다”고 말했다. 2002년 여름 **김정일 정권**은 조심스러운 일련의 경제 개혁에 착수했다. 이것은 상업주의의 폭발로 이어졌다. 경제 개혁이 새로운 상인 계급(주

32 서 갈수록 차이를 드러낸다고 주장한다. 중국과 러시아는 북한의 핵 포기를 원하지만 공산정부가 완전 붕괴할 경우의 혼란을 우려해 **김정일 정권**의 안정을 원한다. 한편 공개적 입장 표명이야 어쨌든 상당수의 미국 관리들은 김정일의 핵 포기 의지를 의심한다. 정

33 자주 방문하는 외국인들은 소비자 상품의 유입으로 북한 사람들이 외부 세계를 훨씬 많이 알게 됐다고 전했다. 한편 윤덕룡 위원은 **김정일 정권**이 중국식의 전면 경제개혁을 원치 않기 때문에 앞으로 문제가 생길 소지가 많다고 지적했다. 윤 위원은 1960년대

34 황장엽 `북 주민 교화할 사상전 필요` 망명한 북한의 전 고위 인사가 군사행동이 아닌 사상전이 **김정일 정권** 붕괴에 도움이 될 것이라고 밝혔다. 황장엽이 지난 31일(현지시간) 미국 워싱턴에서 열린 미국의 싱크탱크인 전략국

35 북한 구제에 들어갈 1조달러의 비용을 감안할 때 남한인들은 통일이 독일처럼 하룻밤새에 이뤄지지 않기를 조용히 기원하고 있다. **김정일 정권**이 몰락하면서 북한인들이 대거 비무장지대(DMZ)를 넘어 내려오는 상황은 남한측으로서는 악몽이 될 것이다. 소련.

36 시간을 벌면서 작은 양보를 하는 데 대해 두둑하게 포상하는 꼴이 될지 모른다. 북한에 절실히 필요한 원조와 통상을 재개함으로써 **김정일 독재정권**의 버팀목 역할을 할 가능성이 있다. 그 절차는 아직 초기 단계다. 2007년 2월의 합의에는 광범위한 경제원

37 이 이번 금융제재를 미국 측의 계산된 행동이라고 본다는 사실을 깨달았다. 미국 정부 내의 지배세력들이 9·19 협약을 저해하고 **김정일 정권**을 압박해 궁극적으로는 강제로 붕괴시키려는 음모라는 얘기다. 내가 여러 관계자와 대화한 결과 지난 7월 북한의 미

38 윤 정치 동맹국이자 최대 무역 파트너다. 중국과 북한간의 무역규모는 남한과의 경제 관계로 인한 거래 규모와 비교하면 매우 적지만 **김정일 정권**의 생존을 위해 중요하다. 매일 북한에 공급되는 석유와 식량의 대부분이 중국에서 수입되고 있다. 미국과 한국은 중

39 ”고 국제경제연구소(워싱턴)의 선임 연구원 마커스 놀런드는 말했다. “좀더 장기적인 의문은 대중 수준에서의 변화가 어느 정도나 **김정일의 정권** 유지에 부합하는 것으로 판명되는지 여부다.” 평양을 방문하는 사람들은 1년 전에는 상상도 못했던 활력을 이야기

40 . 북한에서는 약간의 경제회복 기미도 여파가 클 수 있다. 현재 한국과 중국에 대한 북한의 새로운 포용 정책 때문에 미국 정부는 **김정일 정권**을 봉쇄하기 위한 연합세력 구축에 어려움을 겪고 있다. 또 국제원조를 전제로 한 개혁을 채택하려는 북한의 의향을

41 하고 있는지도 모른다. 그러나 우선 부시가 김정일과의 대화가 필요하다는 것을 수용해야 한다. 북한에 대한 부시 1기의 정책은 **김정일 정권**을 인정하는 상황을 될 수 있으면 피하는 것이었다고 미국 관리들은 말했다. 부시는 로널드 레이건 전 대통령이 옛

42 와 해외무역을 가로막기 때문에 북한의 경제개혁 이행 노력을 심각하게 저해한다. 경제성장 둔화도가 저온다. 그러나 그 제재조치로 **김정일 정권**이 약화된다는 조짐은 전혀 없다. 북한은 안정됐으며 평양의 경제활동은 그동안 내가 봤던 어느 때보다 활발하다. 자

43 지로 막강한 이웃 나라들을 견제하는 균형세력으로 미국을 본다. 내가 볼 때 미국은 제재정책을 끝내고, 북한의 비핵화를 조건으로 **김정일 정권**과 공존하며, 남한의 대북 유화정책을 남북 연방, 그리고 때가 되면 통일 한국을 향한 초석으로 받아들여 지지하는

44 고 돌아온 뒤 ‘평양이 요즘 상당히 팬클럽 보여 놀랐다’고 말해 미국 정가에 작은 파문을 일으켰다”고 말했다. 그같은 증언으로 **김정일 정권**이 돌이킬 수 없을 정도로 고립됐으며 금방이라도 붕괴할 것 같다고 주장하는 부시 행정부 내 강경론자들의 입지가 약

45 거기에는 예멘 등 북한의 수출 상대국들에 대해 해상 봉쇄 등의 압박 조치를 가해 북한의 불법 무기 및 마약 거래를 차단함으로써 **김정일 정권**을 고사시키자는 내용이 포함됐다. 무엇보다 린즈펜드 제안의 핵심은 중국과의 공조 강화를 통해 북한 정권의 붕괴를

46 안간힘을 써왔다. 그러나 상황이 나아지지는커녕 악화일로인 듯하다. 한국은 대북 포용정책을 추구해 왔지만 ‘혈맹’ 미국은 최근 **김정일 정권**에 대한 압박 수위를 한층 더 높였다. 뉴스위크의 이병종 기자가 지난주 반 장관을 만나 핵문제와 미국이 오랫동안

47 을 물어 해군 지휘관을 처벌했을 수도 있다. 다시 말해 이번 위기는 북한이 약속한 ‘전면전쟁’에 크게 못 미칠 가능성이 크다. **김정일 정권**의 운전과는 이 위기에서 즉시 벗어나기를 원하는 듯하다. 북한 지도부는 강경 입장을 고수하면서도 정부 성명에선 호

48 무책에 있다. 다분히 충동적이고 단발적인 목표가 두 가지 있긴 하다. 북한이 핵무기를 단념토록 유도하거나, 불안 조장을 통해 **김정일 정권**을 전복하는 것이다. 그러나 이 두 노선은 신중하게 통합·조정되지 않으면 상충한다. 부시대통령이 김정일타도라는

49 담고 있다.” 한국의 젊은이들을 이해시키기는 쉽지 않은 일이다. 한국인 대다수가 북한에 사는 동포들에게 막연한 호의를 품지만, **김정일 국방위원장의 전체주의 정권** 아래 그들이 처한 실상을 정확히 알거나 깊은 관심이 있는 사람은 얼마 안 된다. 이렇게 된

50 붙어 있었다. 이 모든 점을 고려할 때 북한이 핵무기를 폐기할 의도가 없을지 모른다는 생각을 떨치기 어려웠다. 어쨌든 핵무기는 **김정일 정권**이 국민에게 자랑할 만한 몇 안 되는 업적 중 하나이기 때문이다. 북한은 이제 남한이 경제적으로 더 성공했다는 사

51 이 지난해 말 이미 중국 당국자들에게 시리아의 원자로 시설에 대해 귀뜸했다고 뉴스위크에 밝혔다. 중국 정부는 증거를 검토한 뒤 **김정일 정권**에 더 강경 입장을 취하기로 동의했다고 이 관리는 전했다. MARK HOSENBALL ARK HOSENBALL

Concordance 63. A full set of concordance lines of ‘김정일 정권’ [political power/regime of Kim Jong Il]

As in the analysis of ‘regime’ as a collocate of Kim Jong Il in the English ST sub-corpus, a negative semantic prosody is detectable across the set of concordance lines of ‘Kim Jong Il’s regime’. Two items signalling negative prosody are particularly salient: ‘독재’ [dictatorship] and ‘수령절대주의’ [Suryeong (leader) absolutism]. These form a strong cluster with ‘Kim Jong Il’s regime’ in four instances: ‘김정일(의) 독재정권’ [dictator regime of Kim Jong Il] (line 14, 16 and 36) and ‘김정일의 수령 절대주의 정권’ [Suryeong (leader) absolutism regime of Kim Jong Il] (line 15). Another set of items relate to outside pressure, as evident in collocates such as ‘붕괴’ [collapse] (lines 2, 37 and 44), ‘무너지다’ [collapse] (line 21), ‘무너뜨리다’ [topple] (line 4), ‘제거’ [elimination] (lines 3 and 29), ‘타격’ [blow] (line 9), ‘전복’ [subversion] (lines 12 and 48), ‘끝나다’ [over], ‘몰락’ [demise/crumble away] (line 35), ‘봉쇄’ [blockade] (line 40) and ‘고사’ [wither] (line 45), ‘단속’ [crackdown] (line 10), ‘고립’ [isolation] (lines 27 and 44), ‘압박’ [squeeze/pressure] (lines 37 and 46) and ‘(금융) 제재’ [(financial) sanction] (line 42)¹³⁷.

¹³⁷ ‘제재’ [sanction] in line 42 refers back to ‘금융제재’ [financial sanctions]. The extended concordance of line 42 is as follows: “금융제재의 고통은 어느정도일까. 북한정부의 입장에서 그것은 외자유치와 해외 무역을 가로막기 때문에 북한의 경제개혁 이행노력을 심각하게 저해한다. 경제성장둔화도 가져온다. 그러

This overall pattern is consistent with the analysis of the English ST sub-corpus (Chapter Six).

As in the English ST sub-corpus, the entity that attempts to ‘topple’ the regime of Kim Jong Il is the US: the US (lines 10, 22, 42¹³⁸ and 46); Bush/Bush administration (lines 12, 21, 44 and 48); US government (lines 37 and 40); and Donald Rumsfeld, the 21st Secretary of Defence (line 45).

Another pattern identified in the concordance of ‘Kim Jong Il’ is ‘북한정권’ [North Korean regime]: see Concordance 64. A total of twenty occurrences were found, all of which are from *Newsweek Hangukpan*. No strong time-specific pattern is identified but lexical items foregrounding negative qualities of the North Korean regime include ‘외톨이’ [odd one out] (line 2) and ‘잔인한’ [cruel] (line 15). As with ‘regime of Kim Jong Il’, a set of negative collocates refer to the regime’s collapse in half of the concordance lines – ten out of twenty: ‘격랑’ [upheaval] (lines 4), ‘혼란’ [chaos] (line 7), ‘불안정’ [instability] (line 7), ‘끝나다’ [over] (line 12), ‘교체’ [change] (line 13), ‘불화’ [discord] (line 14), ‘고사’ [wither] (line 17), ‘해체’ [dissolution] (line 18), ‘무너지다’ [collapse] (line 19) and ‘몰락’ [demise/crumble away] (line 20).

N Concordance

1 이 고조됐었다. 그러나 **북한 정권**은 98년 금강산 개방을 시작으로 변하기 시작했다. 그후 남측의 식량원조와 경협 제안에 고무된 김정일 위원장은 폐쇄된 북한 사회를 조금씩 열기 시작했다. 지난해에는 그 이전 50년 동안 받아들이 수보다 더 많은 남측 방

2 정치체제의 움직임은 말할 것도 없고 인민들 일상생활에 대해서도 알려진 게 별로 없다. 북한 관측통들은 정치적 수완 발휘에 나선 김정일의 태도를 한 가지로밖에 해석할 수 없다는 생각이다. 도움을 청하기 위한 절박한 몸짓이라는 것이다. 외톨이 **북한 정권**은

3 지만 **북한 정권**은 수준 높은 간첩 양성을 목표로 남치 프로그램을 가동한 듯하다. 70년대 중반 아버지 김일성이 살아 있을 당시 김정일은 첩보 공작을 책임졌다. 그는 북한 공작원이 자신의 표적들과 잘 어울려서 자본주의자처럼 보이게 옷을 입고 행동할 필

4 IU 기자 김정일(왼쪽)과 후진타오. 2010년 북한이 여러 가지 악행을 저질렀지만 새해에는 더 심해질 가능성이 있다. 독재자 김정일이 살 날이 얼마 남지 않았음을 뒤늦게 깨달아 막내아들 김정은에게 권력을 물려주려 하면서 **북한 정권**에 격랑이 일고 있다

나 그 제재조치로 김정일 정권이 약화된다는 조짐은 전혀 없다”.

¹³⁸ The extended concordance of line 42 is as follows: “...북측이 양보하면 미국은 그 대가로 제재조치 전부 또는 일부를 해제하는 방식을 그는 시사했다 ... 그러나 그 제재조치로 김정일 정권이 약화된다는 조짐은 전혀 없다”.

5 며 금강산을 관광하면서 북한 내부를 힐끗 들여다봤다. 한국 정부는 이 사업을 대성공으로 간주하지만 미국 정부의 시각에선 독재자 김정일의 돈줄로 이미 **북한 정권**에 약 5억 달러를 대어 준 창구다. 지난주 콘 돌리자 라이스 미 국무장관이 서울에서 한국 정부

6 리를 투자한 것으로 추정된다. 연결은 잘됐지만 **북한 정권**은 아직 그것을 일반에 공개하지 않았다. 그 이유는 뭘까? 북한 독재자 김정일은 흡연자, 음악감상을 할 줄 모르는 사람, 그리고 컴맹을 가리켜 21세기의 3대 바보라고 말했다. 그는 2000년 북

7 고 위협해 봤자 소득이 없다. 2011년에 **북한 정권**이 경제혼란과 지역적 불안정을 감당한 능력이 없음은 누구나 알기 때문이다. 김정일 부자가 계속 서방과 대결을 하고자 덤벼든다면 아무도 그들을 막지 못할 듯 하다. 하다.

8 은 밤늦게까지 일하고 하구 4시간밖에 자지 않으며 수영과 승마를 즐기고 ‘밖에 나가 인민들을 만나는 것’을 좋아한다고 말했다. 김정일 위원장은 그동안 **북한 정권**을 매우 다루기 힘든 대상으로 만들었던 주체적 자존심도 보여줬다. “평양에 앉아 있어도 여러

9 하는 마이클 매든은 **북한 정권**이 이렇게 벌어들인 돈을 당 간부 특혜사업(이 사업계획 역시 장성택이 완성했다)에 썼다고 말했다. 김정일에게 충성하는 대가로 당 최고간부들에게 명품 자동차와 수입 주류, 호화 아파트를 상으로 내렸다. 하지만 북한 정치인의

10 모토 이치타 참의원 의원은 “김정일은 미국이 입장을 누그러뜨리고 **북한 정권**의 생존을 보장해주기를 원한다”고 말했다. 김정일은 중국에는 다른 메시지를 보내고 있다. 불과 1년 전 북한은 핵 능력을 갖췄음을 공공연히 시사함으로써 중국으로 하여금

11 “그러나 우리는 꼬마가 아니다. 핵 강국이다.” 따라서 조지 W 부시 미국 대통령이 2002년의 한 공화당 상원의원 모임에서 김정일 비하 발언을 했다는 사실을 듣고 **북한 정권**의 고위층이 어떤 반응을 보였을지는 쉽게 이해된다. 부시는 듣는 사람이 깜짝

12 592호 (2003.08.07) “중-미관계 견고해야 **북한 정권**이 끝난다” 황장엽 전 북한 노동당 비서, 김정일을 어떻게 다뤄야 하는지에 대한 해법 제시 황장엽(80) 전 북한 노동당 비서는 1997년 한국으로 망명했다. 북한의 국

13 은 부시 외교정책의 핵심인 광범한 미사일방어망(MD) 구축을 정당화하는 데 이용될 만한 편리한 약당이였다. 9·11테러 사건은 김정일을 향한 부시의 태도를 굳히게 만들었다. 부시는 **북한 정권**교체 노선으로 선화했다. 특히 도널드 럼즈펠드 국방장관은 테러

14 거리 미사일이 2000마일(3200km)을 날아간 뒤 두 달도 안 된 시점에서 개선된 핵 능력을 넘겨주는 일은 북한의 시각에서는 김정일의 위대한 유산을 마무리하는 작업이다. 그러나 빌 클린턴 전 미국 대통령은 **북한 정권**이 내부 불화를 감추고 있을지 모른

15 켜보던 한국인들에게 북한 사람들은 이제 더 이상 잔인한 **북한 정권**의 얼굴 없는 희생자가 아니었다. 서울 방문단은 위대한 지도자 김정일 동지 덕택에 이렇게 기쁜 날을 맞이하게 된 데 대해 감사하다는 등 다소 세뇌된 것 같았다. 그러나 무엇보다 그들은 가

16 자 지난 9월 평양 김일성 광장에서 열린 **북한 정권**수립 60돌 행사 열병식. 독가스, 세균전 배양균, 핵 폭탄. 북한의 지도자 김정일 국방위원장이 이런 대량살상무기를 마음대로 주무를 수 있다고 생각하면 서방 지도자들은 두 발 뻗고 잠을 자기가 어려울

17 거기에는 예멘 등 북한의 수출 상대국들에 대해 해상 봉쇄 등의 압박 조치를 가해 북한의 불법 무기 및 마약 거래를 차단함으로써 김정일 정권을 고사시키자는 내용이 포함됐다. 무엇보다 럼즈펠드 제안의 핵심은 중국과의 공조 강화를 통해 **북한 정권**의 붕괴를

18 서 “**북한 정권**은 급속도로 해체되고 있다”고 지적하면서 “궁지에 몰린 자는 위험한 짓을 할 수 있다”고 덧붙였다. 어쩌면 최근 김정일의 도발적인 행태는 최후의 발악인지도 모른다. 모든 것은 결국 능력의 문제로 귀결된다. 인명을 파리 목숨만도 못하게 여

19 이다. 이것은 실질적인 성과를 기대할 수 있는 유일한 장기적 전략이다. 장기적으로 **북한 정권**이 무너질 수도 있겠지만 현재로서는 김정일 체제가 존속하는 한 동북아의 평화를 해치지 않도록 만전을 기해야 한다. 미국으로서는 북한을 다시 협상 테이블에 끌어들

20 쯤고 주민은 굶주렸으며 경제는 파탄 상태였다. 그해 김일성의 사망으로 많은 사람은 **북한 정권**도 곧 몰락하리라 예상했다. 후계자 김정일(66)은 북한 사회를 결집시키기엔 역부족으로 보였다. 물론 논객들의 예측은 빗나갔다. 14년이 지난 지금도 김정일 체

Concordance 64. A full set of concordance lines of ‘북한 정권’ [North Korean political power/regime]

Here, too, ‘Bush’ appears as despising Kim Jong Il (line 11¹³⁹) and instigating or attempting to instigate the change/collapse of the North Korean regime, in two lines (line 13). But the majority of lines feature a set of collocates which suggest that the collapse of the ‘North Korean regime’ is a consequence of its ‘internal instability’, rather than being prompted by an ‘outside pressure’: lines 4, 7, 14, 18 and 20. More specifically, this instability is due to the economic crisis and dynastic power transfer within North Korea, e.g. line 4 (Extract 8) and line 7 (Extract 9).

Extract 8

TT – line 4

김정일(왼쪽)과 후진타오. 2010년 북한이 여러 가지 악행을 자질렀지만 새해에는 더 심해질 가능성이 있다. 독재자 김정일이 살 날이 얼마 남지 않았음을 뒤통에 깨달아 **막내아들 김정은에게 권력을 물려주려 하면서 북한 정권에 격랑이 일고 있다.**

Gloss

Kim Jong Il (left) and Hu Jintao. North Korea committed various misdeeds in 2010, but the coming year could be even worse. ***The North Korean regime is in a state of upheaval as dictator Kim Jong Il, belatedly recognizing his own mortality, attempts to transfer power to his youngest son, Kim Jong Un.***

Extract 9

TT – line 7

주민은 굶주렸으며 경제는 파탄상태였다. 그 해 김일성의 사망으로 많은사람은 북한정권도 곧 몰락하리라 예상했다. 후계자 김정일(66)은 북한사회를 결집시키기엔 역부족으로 보였다.

Gloss

Its people were starving and its economy was imploding. When Kim Il Sung died, many predicted the North Korean regime would soon follow. Kim Jong Il, his heir, looked like a lightweight who would be unable to hold things together.

¹³⁹ The extended concordance of line 11 is as follows: “따라서 조지 W 부시 미국 대통령이 2002년의 한 공화당 상원의원 모임에서 김정일 비하 발언을 했다는 사실을 듣고 북한 정권의 고위층이 어떤 반응을 보였을지는 쉽게 이해된다. 부시는 듣는 사람이 깜짝 놀랄 정도로 심한 표현을 썼다. 김정일을 보기 싫은 “난쟁이”라 부르면서 “저녁 식탁에서 버릇없는 꼬마”처럼 군다고 말했다.”

(c) *Patterns associated with ‘지도자’ [leader]*

The third strong pattern of collocation identified in the concordance lines of Kim Jong Il involves ‘지도자’ [leader]. Out of 860 concordance lines of ‘Kim Jong Il’, a total of eighty concordance lines featured ‘leader’ as a collocate. In terms of institution-specific patterns, both *CNN Hangeul News* and *Newsweek Hangukpan* use this term as a designation of Kim Jong Il. However, only twelve lines come from *CNN Hangeul News* whilst 68 are from *Newsweek Hangukpan*.

‘북한지도자’ [NK leader] (26 occurrences, Concordance 65) and ‘친애하는/위대한 지도자/영도자’ [Dear/Great leader] (fourteen instances, Concordance 66) are the most common patterns. ‘북한지도자’ [NK leader] appears eight times in *CNN Hangeul News* and eighteen in *Newsweek Hangukpan*, but all concordance lines of ‘친애하는/위대한 지도자/영도자’ [Dear/Great leader] are from *Newsweek Hangukpan*: no single occurrence is attested in *CNN Hangeul News*. As in the English ST sub-corpus, both expressions appear to be used as a fixed phrase.

Concordance lines featuring ‘NK leader Kim Jong Il’ are characterised by a negative semantic prosody, as in the English ST sub-corpus: ‘타협을 모르는’ [refuses to reach an agreement] (line 14), ‘교착상태에 빠뜨리다’ [deadlock/stalemate] (line 14), ‘불한당’ [rogue] (line 13¹⁴⁰), ‘표리부동’ [duplicitous] (line 16), and ‘겉모양뿐인’ [pseudo-] (line 10): see Concordance 65. No particular time-specific pattern is identified.

N Concordance

- 1 북한 김정운, 후계 수업 시작 **북한 지도자** 김정일 국방위원장은 강력한 국가기구인 국방위원회에 지도원으로 임명했으며 분석가들은 이같은 북한의 움직임은 후에 김정운을 김정일
- 2 북한 김정일 일행 특별기차로 방중 **북한 지도자** 김정일 국방위원장이 중국에 들어간 것으로 보인다고 연합뉴스가 보도했다. 연합뉴스는 한국과 중국에 있는 익명의 소식통을 인용,
- 3 김정일-후진타오 정상 회담 **북한 지도자** 김정일 국방위원장은 6일 중국 베이징에서 후진타오 주석을 만날 것이며 일부에선 북한이 6자회담 복귀할 것이라고 예상하고 있다고
- 4 카터 방북, 김정일 방중, 우다웨이 방한...한반도정세 급변 언론들의 보도에 따르면 **북한 지도자** 김정일 국방위원장이 돌연 중국을 방문하고 지미 카터 전 미국 대통령이 북한에 도착했으며 중국의 6자회담 수석대표가 방한하는 등

¹⁴⁰ The extended concordance of line 13 is as follows: “북한 지도자 김정일은 세계에 은자의 땅을 엿볼 수 있는 기회를 제공함으로써 몇달 사이에 이미지를 완전 쇄신했다. 아시아의 불한당같은 권력자에서 가난에 시달리는 나라의 보잘 것 없는 독재자로 탈바꿈한 것이다”.

5 김정일 26일 새벽 전격 중국 방문 **북한 지도자** 김정일 국방 위원장이 중국을 전격 방문했다고 중앙일보가 26일 외교소식통의 말을 인용, 보도했다. 외교소식통은 "김정일 국방

6 정의 어뢰공격으로 천안함이 침몰해 장병 46명이 희생됐다고 주장했고 미국은 이를 인정했지만 북한은 부인하고 있다. **북한 지도자** 김정일 국방 위원장은 지난 당 후진타오 중국 주석과 만났다. 중국 국영 신화 통신에 따르면 김 위원장이 한반도 긴장 완화를 위

7 교 핵심 3인방 일제히 승진 북핵 프로그램의 기획자가 내각 부총리로 승격됐다고 북한 국영 언론이 23일 보도했다. **북한 지도자** 김정일 국방위원장의 측근인 강석주 외무성 제1부상이 약 20년간 북핵 프로그램 개발을 책임져 왔다. 국제사회는 북핵을 우려해

8 북한 열병식에 김정은 등장...후계 공식화 **북한 지도자** 김정일 국방 위원장이 10일 막내아들인 김정은과 함께 북한 최대의 행사인 대규모 열병식에 이례적으로 자신의 모습을 공개했다.

9 RCUS NOLAND 기자 생존하려면 핵 협상 뒤의 경제적 보상 절실... 한국은 경제지원 늘리면서 영향력도 커질 듯 **북한 지도자** 김정일은 과거 자신의 위대한 미래상을 은막에 재구성할 만한 영화인을 찾지 못하자 남한의 감독과 그의 부인을 납치했다. 그 ‘

10 만 달러를 들여 북한 시멘트회사의 지분 50%를 매입했다. 요즘 평양으로 몰려드는 기업은 오라스콤만이 아니다. 2002년 7월 김정일 **북한 지도자**가 걸모양뿐인 개혁 프로그램을 시작한 이래 영국·독일·한국·중국 등 다양한 지역으로부터 외국인 투자가 늘었

11 감시할 만한 충분한 이유가 있다. 알카에다 같은 테러집단의 위협, 핵무기 보유국인 파키스탄과 인도의 군비 경쟁, **북한 지도자** 김정일 때문이다. 핵 개발 가능성이 가장 높은 이란은 이미 이스라엘을 공격할 만한 미사일을 보유하고 있으며 민수용 핵발전 프로그램

12 하는 동안에도 DJ의 생각은 남북한 관계에 가 있었다. 1998년 뉴스위크와 가진 인터뷰에서 DJ는 “임기 동안 **북한**의 **지도자** 김정일을 만나 남북한에 관련된 문제를 심도 있게 의논할 기회가 있으면 해결책을 찾을 수 있을 것으로 믿는다”고 말했다. DJ

13 정일 북한 국방위원장과 건배하고 있다. 10만 명이 펼친 군사 메스게임. 약간의 대화가 큰 차이를 만들 수 있다. **북한 지도자** 김정일은 세계에 은자의 땅을 엿볼 수 있는 기회를 제공함으로써 몇달 사이에 이미지를 완전 쇄신했다. 아시아의 불한당같은 권력

14 다. 북한은 서울까지 신정가스를 실어보낼 수 잇는 미사일을 약 50기 보유한 것으로 추정된다. 또 타협을 모르는 **북한**의 **지도자** 김정일은 김대중 대통령의 회유책인 ‘햇볕정책’을 교착상태에 빠뜨렸다. 또 무기 확산은 북한의 주특기다. 미사일과 기타 무기들은

15 경에서 불과 수 km 떨어진 지점에 무기급 플루토늄을 생산하는 원자로를 건설했다. 그 소식이 전해지자 외교관들과 핵 전문가들은 김정일 **북한 지도자**의 표리부동에 진저리를 쳤다. 이스라엘은 그 얼마 후 시리아의 원자로 건설 현장을 폭격했다. 그렇다면 지금

16 북한 지도자의 표리부동에 진저리를 쳤다. 이스라엘은 그 얼마 후 시리아의 원자로 건설 현장을 폭격했다. 그렇다면 지금 이 순간 김정일 **북한 지도자**는 무슨 생각을 하고 있을까. 미국 국가안보 관리들에게 초미의 관심사가 바로 그것이다. 얼마 전 로버트 게

17 을 세우는 일이 앞서 말한 세계연합의 시급한 과제다. 그러나 그런 일에는 오랜 협의의 시간이 필요하다. 하지만 우리는 지금 당장 김정일 **북한 지도자**가 핵무기를 테러리스트에게 판매하는 극단적 행동을 못하도록 막아야 한다. 오바마 행정부는 북한이 자국 내에

18 다는 증거물을 한가지씩 가지고 돌아오는 것이다. 그리고 임무에 실패했을 경우엔 그 자리에서 자살하도록 훈련받는다. **북한 지도자** 김정일에 대해 절대적인 충성심으로 무장한 이들은 한국전이 일어날 경우 “남한 전역에서 동시다발적 전쟁을 일으키는 역할을 하게

19 저지를 수 있을까? 지금 한국에 가장 시급한 건 북방정책(Nordpolitik)이다. 10년 전 김대중 대통령은 **북한 지도자** 김정일 국방위원장과 만나 평화 공존을 위한 ‘햇볕정책’의 기틀을 마련했다. 이 정책에 힘입어 김 대통령은 노벨 평화상을 수상

20 특권에는 핵무기 통제권, 어쩌면 궁극적으로 도쿄 아니면 하와이를 겨눌지도 모를 결정권이 포함되기 때문이다. **북한**의 현 **지도자** 김정일 국방위원장은 금방이라도 쓰러질 듯 비틀대는 모습이다. 1년여 전 뇌졸중이 왔다고 알려졌고 어쩌면 암을 앓고 있는지도

21 공격을 이지스함이 방어한다는 계획도 쉽진 않아 FRED GUTERL 기자 지난해 태평양 해상에서 시험 발사된 이지스 미사일 . 김정일 **북한 지도자**는 기분이 언짢을 게 뻔하다. 한, 미 양국의 군인 수만 명이 지난주 연례 군사합동훈련을 실시하자 그는 북한

22 미 군사훈련을 구실 삼아 공격적인 태세를 강화해 왔다. 그러나 이번에는 상황이 더 악화될 가능성이 있다. 예전에는 **북한 지도자** 김정일이 비교적 온건한 외교부를 앞세워 불길이 확산되지 않도록 군대의 고삐를 조였다. 그러나 최근 들어 정책 문제에서 군부의

23 2000년과 2007년 두 차례 남북 정상회담에 참석했고 김정일의 측근 대부분을 직접 만나본 경험을 통해 내린 결론이다. 그는 김정일이 **북한** 최고 **지도자**이긴 해도 북한 사회는 김이 사망해도 잘 굴러가리라 확신한다. 문 교수는 김의 심복들이 일반적인 인

24 북한이 외교관계를 맺고 있는 몇몇 나라의 고관들이 초청됐다. 하지만 특히 하나의 빈자리가 크게 부각됐다. **북한**의 최고 **지도자**인 김정일 국방위원장이 보이지 않았다. 그의 불참은 서방 국가들에서 술한 우려와 추측을 낳았다. 김 위원장이 마지막으로 공개 석

25 자 지난 9월 평양 김일성 광장에서 열린 북한 정권 수립 60돌 행사 열병식. 독가스, 세균전 배양균, 핵폭탄. **북한**의 **지도자** 김정일 국방위원장이 이런 대량살상무기를 마음대로 주무를 수 있다고 생각하면 서방 지도자들은 두 발 뻗고 잠을 자기가 어려울

26 고, 일본은 북한의 무력위협에 일침을 가하려 하며, 유럽은 WFP를 미국의 대북한 정책의 일환으로 보기 때문이다. **북한 지도자** 김정일조차 진짜 사망자 수를 모르고 있을지 모른다. 철사 안 다 해도 밝히려 들지 않을 것이다.

Concordance 65. A full set of concordance lines of ‘Kim Jong Il’ featuring ‘북한 지도자’ [NKn/NK’s leader]

‘Dear/Great leader’ appears in single quotation marks in eleven out of fourteen concordance lines, as in the English ST sub-corpus (Concordance 66). ‘Dear Leader’ and ‘Great Leader’ in the English ST sub-corpus also appeared in capital letters. However, as capital letters do not exist in the Korean language system, the only option left for translators is to use quotation marks.

N Concordance

1 일본군, 그 다음 한국전쟁에선 미군이라는 제국주의와 투쟁한 공로로 정통성을 인정 받았다. 그의 뒤를 이은 ‘**친애하는 지도자**’ 김정일은 10년에 걸쳐 지도자 수업을 거쳐 적수들을 제압하는 방법을 터득했다. 한번은 야심만만했던 이복동생 김평일을 핀란드

2 사람은 많지 않다. 그런 장관을 앞에 뒀지만 중년의 북한인 관광객 한 사람을 뒀 놓고 바라보아야 했다. 북한의 **친애하는 지도자** 김정일 국방위원장 모습을 그대로 흉내 낸 사람이었다. 주름 하나 없는 간편복부터, 선글라스, 위로 빗어 올린 머리 모양까지

3 않는다. 오히려 부친처럼 서방 문물을 끔찍이 좋아한다. 별나긴 해도 크게 해롭지 않은 성향이다. 예를 들어 ‘**친애하는 지도자**’ 김정일 국방위원장은 외국 손님들에게 자신이 소장한 영화가 2만 편이나 된다고 자랑했다. 한번은 유엔 주재 북한 대표부 대사에

4 이 “이제 정치와 경제가 분리됐다”며 순순히 청을 들어준 것이다. 2년 전 공장 설립 이래 처음으로 직공들은 ‘**위대한 지도자**’ 김정일 국방위원장의 무한한 은혜에 대한 이야기를 귀가 따갑도록 듣지 않고 작업을 하게 됐다. 북한이 노선을 바꾼 것일까? 한

5 사실이 무척 가슴에 맺혔다. 왜 그때 이야기를 지금 하느냐고? 한국 YTN의 최신 보도 때문이다. 북한의 ‘**친애하는 지도자**’ 김정일 국방위원장이 채장암에 걸렸다는 소식이었다. 오래 살지 못한다는 의미였다. 브레즈네프 시대 말기처럼 독재자들에 관한 그

6 방을 두려워했기 때문에 소용이 없었다”고 말했다. 이제 서방 세계의 인내심도 한계에 다다르고 있는 것 같다. ‘**위대한 지도자**’ 김정일은 남북을 연결하는 도로와 철도를 복원하고 이산가족의 의미있는 접촉(상봉 및 편지·전화 교환)을 허용하겠다는 약속을 이

7 나진-선봉 지구를 찾았다. 다음은 다카야마 기자가 보내온 인상기다. 중국에서 두만강을 건너자 국경 검문소에서 ‘**위대한 지도자**’ 김정일의 대형 초상화가 우리를 맞았다. 그 초상화는 김정일을 ‘21세기의 태양’으로 칭송했다. 고운 분홍색 코스모스 꽃이 나

8 커보던 한국인들에게 북한 사람들은 이제 더 이상 잔인한 북한 정권의 얼굴 없는 희생자가 아니었다. 서울 방문단은 **위대한 지도자** 김정일 동지 덕택에 이렇게 기쁜 날을 맞이하게 된 데 대해 감사하다는 등 다소 세뇌된 것 같았다. 그러나 무엇보다 그들은 가

9 명은 카드섹션으로 거대한 동영상 쇼를 연출한다. 수천 개의 카드가 장렬하게 나부끼는 것발, 행복해 하는 국민, **친애하는 지도자** 김정일 동지가 탄 배가 험난한 파도를 뚫고 지나가는 광경을 만들어냈다. 특히 북한 농업의 발전상을 보여주는 쇼는 기상천외했다

10 식사대접은 없다는 것이다. 이충재는 지난 4년 동안 김대중 대통령의 ‘햇볕정책’에 줄곧 회의를 표명해 왔다. ‘**위대한 지도자**’ 김정일 북한 국방위원장이 약속을 어기면 어길수록 이충재의 인기를 높아만 갔다. 현재의 여론조사 결과가 그대로만 간다면 이충재

11 독재자 김정일(金正日) 북한 국방위원장의 지시없이 그같은 발언을 함부로 할 수 없기 때문에 서기국의 논평은 ‘**위대한 지도자**’ 김정일이 실제로 한 말을 그대로 옮긴 것은 아닐지라도 그의 시각을 반영한 것일 가능성이 크다. 김정일은 부친의 권력을 승계받

12 기 시작했다는데 의견을 함께 한다. 장기간의 경제 쇠퇴를 뒤집기 위한 임금, 물가, 통화의 과격한 개혁이 심지어 ‘**위대한 지도자**’ 김정일조차 예상하지 못한 방향으로 풀려나가고 있다. “개혁은 모든 인민에게 영향을 미치기 때문에 북한 정부의 해법은 대중정치

13 함께 숙청됐다고 보도했다. 놀라운 얘기처럼 들릴지도 모른다. 그러나 북한 경제의 위태로운 상황을 감안할 때 ‘**위대한 지도자**’ 김정일에게는 자신의 ‘사상누각’이 붕괴되는 것을 막을 수 있는 방법들이 점점 줄어들고 있는지도 모른다. With B. J.

14 563호 (2003.06.30) [0] ‘친애하는 지도자’ 기다리는 국경 도시들 ‘**친애하는 지도자**’ 김정일은 ‘조선의 어머니’로 추앙받고 있는 자신의 생모 김정숙의 고향이기도 한 북한의 국경도시 회령을 방문한 적이 없다고 한다

Concordance 66. A full set of concordance lines of ‘Kim Jong Il’ featuring ‘친애하는/위대한 지도자/영도자’ [Dear/Great leader]

‘Dear/Great leader’ featured sixteen times in the English ST sub-corpus, whereas its Korean equivalent, ‘친애하는/위대한 지도자/영도자’ appears fourteen times. There is therefore little difference in the distribution of this item in both corpora. On the other hand, ‘NKn/NK’s Leader’ appeared forty times in the English ST sub-corpus, whereas its Korean equivalent, ‘북한지도자’ appears 26 times in the Korean TT sub-corpus. Further investigation of the extended concordance lines reveals that ‘북한 지도자’ [NKn/NK’s leader] is added in thirteen instances in *Newsweek Hangukpan* (no instances

were found in *CNN Hangeul News*) and ‘leader’ in the English STs is omitted in 26 instances in the Korean TTs: ten in *CNN Hangeul News* and sixteen in *Newsweek Hangukpan*. This calls for a closer analysis of the relevant concordance lines.

The analysis begins with the thirteen additions. These can be broken down into four categories: (i) ‘NK’s Kim Jong Il/Kim/Kim Jong Il’ are changed into ‘North Korean leader/North Korean Chairman of the National Defence Commission (CNDC)’ in seven instances; (ii) ‘North Korean’ is added to ‘leader’ in the Korean TTs, e.g. ‘supreme leader Kim Jong Il’ in the English ST is translated into ‘*North Korean* supreme leader Kim Jong Il’ or ‘*North Korean* supreme leader CNDC Kim Jong Il’; ‘Dear Leader’, too, is translated in some instances as ‘*North Korean* leader Kim Jong Il CNDC’; (iii) ‘dictator’, an item which triggers a negative prosody, and ‘ruler’, are both replaced with ‘leader’, a neither negative nor positive item, in the Korean TTs. Although ‘ruler’ is defined as a person having official power over an area, it tends to be used with particular reference to a king or queen. Given that North Korea is often called a ‘kingdom’ due to the dynastic power transferred from father to son, the choice of ‘ruler’ in the English ST may be deemed appropriate. The choice of ‘leader’ to replace both ‘ruler’ and ‘dictator’ in Korean suppresses some of these negative meanings, e.g. Extracts 10 and 11; (iv) ‘North Korean leader’ also appears in some instances is part of an extended addition of an entirely new stretch of text (Extract 12). Bold italics in the extracts below signal added material.

Extract 10

ST

The current ***ruler***, Kim Jong Il, seems to be tottering.

TT

북한의 현 ***지도자 [leader]*** 김정일 국방위원장은 [CNDC Kim Jong Il] 금방이라도 쓰러질듯 비틀대는 모습이다.

Extract 11

ST

Since NKn ***dictator Kim Jong Il*** began a program of pseudo-reforms in July 2002, outside investment has increased from places as diverse as Britain, Germany, SK and China.

TT

2002년 7월 ***김정일 북한지도자 [North Korean leader Kim Jong Il]***가 겉모양뿐인 개혁프로그램을 시작한 이래 영국, 독일, 한국, 중국 등 다양한 지역으로부터 외국인 투자가 늘었다.

Extract 12

ST

THREAT: Proliferation is another Pyongyang specialty. Missiles and other weapons are about the only hard-currency exports in famine-ridden NK. Pakistan is a major buyer of NKn missiles.

TT

위협: 미 중앙정보국(CIA)은 북한이 1~2기의 핵무기를 만들기에 충분한 자원을 보유하고 있는 것으로 믿고 있다. 북한 정부는 또 수천대의 탱크와 전투기로 무장한 약 1백만명의 병력으로 남한을 위협하고 있다. 북한은 서울까지 신경가스를 실어보낼 수 있는 미사일을 약 50기 보유한 것으로 추정된다. 또 타협을 모르는 북한의 지도자 김정일은 김대중 대통령의 회유책인 '햇볕정책'을 교착상태에 빠뜨렸다. 또 무기확산은 북한의 주특기다. 미사일과 기타 무기들은 기아에 허덕이는 북한이 외화를 벌어들일 수 있는 거의 유일한 수출품이다. 북한 미사일의 주고객은 파키스탄이다.

Gloss

Threat: *The CIA in the US believes that North Korea has enough resources to produce one or two nuclear missiles. The North Korean government also issues a threat to South Korea by having a million armed troops and thousands of tanks and fighters. North Korea possesses about 50 missiles that can carry nerve gas as far as Seoul. The 'Sunshine Policy' – President Kim Dae Jung's appeasement policy – resulted in deadlock because of the North Korean leader, Kim Jong Il, refusal to reach an agreement with him.* Also, proliferation is another Pyongyang specialty. Missiles and other weapons are about the only hard-currency exports in famine-ridden NK. Pakistan is a major buyer of NKn missiles.

Moving on to cases where 'leader' in the English STs is deleted in the Korean TTs, three patterns may be identified. 'NKn leader/NK's leader' is (i) replaced with 'CNDC' (nineteen instances), out of 26. Some of these instances also include suppressing adjectives describing Kim Jong Il, e.g. 'NK's *supreme* leader' and 'NK's *reclusive* Great Leader', which are all translated into 'CNDC Kim Jong Il', e.g. Extracts 13 and 14; (ii) is suppressed when followed by direct reference to Kim Jong Il in four instances – e.g. Extract 15; and (iii) replaced with 'North Korea' in three instances – e.g. Extract 16.

Extract 13

ST

In 2002, *NK's leader, Kim Jong Il*, admitted to Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi that NKn agents had been abducting Japanese nationals.

TT

북한 김정일 국방위원장 [NKn CNDC Kim Jong Il]은 2002년 고이즈미 준이치로 일본총리에게 북한 첩보원들이 일본국민을 납치했음을 인정했다.

Extract 14

ST

The document calls her "the most faithful of the faithful, who devotes herself to our beloved supreme commander," meaning *NK's reclusive "Great Leader," Kim Jong Il*.

TT

이 문건은 그녀를 ‘경애하는 **최고사령관동지 (김정일국방위원장) [supreme commander (CNDK Kim Jong Il)]**에게 끝없이 충직한 충신 중의 충신’ 이라고 표현했다.

Extract 15

ST

But **Kim Jong Il, NK's leader**, knows that his own hold on power depends on reviving the decrepit northern economy.

TT

김정일 [Kim Jong Il]은 노쇠한 경제를 살리지 못하면 정권유지가 어렵다는 점을 잘 안다.

Extract 16

ST

Left entirely unanswered by the inquiry panel's report, which was released by the SKn president's office: why **the volatile and antisocial regime of NK's ailing "Dear Leader," Kim Jong-il**, would have wanted to fire a torpedo at one of its neighbor's ships — a highly provocative move, which by almost any definition, could be considered an act of war.

TT

그러면 **북한 [North Korea]**이 왜 남한의 초계함에 어뢰를 발사했을까? 거의 전쟁행위로 간주될 만큼 지극히 도발적인 행위로 강수를 둔 이유가 뭘까?

Gloss

Then, why did **North Korea** fire a torpedo at South Korean corvett? What is the reason behind this highly provocative play, which could almost be considered an act of war?

(d) Patterns associated with ‘독재자’ [dictator]

The final collocate to be examined is ‘독재자’ [dictator], with a total of nineteen concordance lines. Only two instances were found in *CNN Hangeul News*; the remaining seventeen are from *Newsweek Hangukpan*. The most common pattern involves ‘독재자 김정일’ [dictator Kim Jong Il], appearing a total of thirteen instances (lines 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18 and 19): see Concordance 67.

A negative semantic prosody is evident and reinforced by collocates such as: ‘똥딸막한’ [pudgy/stumpy] (lines 2 and 3), ‘괴짜’ [oddball] (lines 2 and 3), ‘파악하기 힘든’ [slippery] (line 4), ‘위험한’ [dangerous] (line 4), ‘무자비한’ [cruel] (line 5), ‘잔인한’ [merciless] (line 7), ‘악행’ [evil] (line 10), and ‘흐트러진 머리’ [fuzzy-haired] (line 13), and ‘미치광이’ [wacky] (line 14). No particularly strong time-specific pattern has been identified.

- 1 한 두려움 때문일지 모른다. 모든 **독재자**가 그렇듯 김 위원장도 있을지 모르는 암살 기도를 늘 경계해야 한다. 군부대를 시찰하는 **김정일** 위원장(2006년). 첩보 소식통들은 김 위원장이 항공 여행을 하지 않는 것은 자신이 탄 비행기가 공격의 표적이 될지
- 2 그리고 퇴폐적이고 부도덕한 성문화를 퍼뜨리는 본산지임을 입증하는 계획적인 조롱”이라는 것이다. 북한에서는 땅딸막한 괴짜 **독재자 김정일** 북한 국방위원장의 지시없이는 그같은 발언을 함부로 할 수 없기 때문에 서기국의 논평은 ‘위대한 지도자’ 김정
- 3 그리고 퇴폐적이고 부도덕한 성문화를 퍼뜨리는 본산지임을 입증하는 계획적인 조롱”이라는 것이다. 북한에서는 땅딸막한 괴짜 **독재자 김정일** 북한 국방위원장의 지시없이는 그같은 발언을 함부로 할 수 없기 때문에 서기국의 논평은 ‘위대한 영도자’ 김정일이 실제
- 4 적이 있는 올브라이트 전 국무장관은 “김정일은 파악하기가 힘들고 위험하지만 망상에 빠지지 않는 않았다”고 말했다. 북한 **독재자**인 **김정일**을 ‘포용’할 방법을 찾기 위해 올브라이트는 2000년 10월 평양을 방문해 12시간 동안 ‘대화’를 했다. 올브라이트
- 5 6.30) [0] 부시의 대북한정책 전략이 안 보인다 조지 W. 부시 미국 대통령은 한가지만은 올바로 알고 있다. 바로 북한의 **김정일** 국방위원장이 국민을 억압하고 굶겨 죽이는 무자비한 **독재자**라는 점이다. 한반도 핵 위기를 둘러싼 외교 공방에서 우리는
- 6 다. 하지만 ‘은둔의 왕국’으로 불리는 북한은 매우 폐쇄적이어서 정확한 상황을 파악하기는 여전히 어렵다. 그러나 북한의 **독재자 김정일**은 세계 각지에서 들여온 산해진미를 즐기며, 남다른 미각을 자랑하는 미식가로 알려졌다.
- 7 휴전선 상공을 통과하는 직항로를 이용할 것도 제안했다. 많은 한국인이 잔인한 **독재자**에서 하루아침에 사려깊은 지도자로 탈바꿈한 **김정일**의 이미지 변신에 당혹감을 느낀다. 그가 94년 김일성 사망 이후 정권을 물려받자 많은 북한 관측통들은 그의 괴이한 성
- 8 이유를 분석하고 있다. 북한은 최근에야 스탈린주의 껍질을 깨고 한국 기업들의 투자를 받아들이기 시작했다. 또 북한의 **독재자 김정일**은 여전히 외교 전면에 모습을 드러내지 않고 있지만 보좌관들에게 한국과 미국의 평화제안을 호의적으로 수용·검토하도록
- 9 원을 요청하려는 목적인가, 아니면 그 병든 **독재자**의 건강에 이상이 생긴 건가? 뉴욕타임스와 로이터는 한국 소식통의 말을 인용해 **김정일**이 8월 26일 새벽 기차를 이용해 중국으로 들어갔다고 전했다. 양 매체는 김 위원장이 아버지 김일성이 어린 시절 다녔
- 10 IU 기자 김정일(왼쪽)과 후진타오. 2010년 북한이 여러 가지 악행을 저질렀지만 새해에는 더 심해질 가능성이 있다. **독재자 김정일**이 살 날이 얼마 남지 않았음을 뒤늦게 깨달아 막내아들 김정은에게 권력을 물려주려 하면서 북한 정권에 격량이 일고 있다
- 11 러를 투자한 것으로 추정된다. 연결은 잘됐지만 북한 정권은 아직 그것을 일반에 공개하지 않았다. 그 이유는 뭘까? 북한 **독재자 김정일**은 흡연자, 음악감상을 할 줄 모르는 사람, 그리고 컴맹을 가리켜 21세기의 3대 바보라고 말했다. 그는 2000년 북
- 12 그러나 그는 “요정은 이미 병 밖으로 나왔고, 김정일이 그것을 다시 병 속에 집어넣기는 어려울 것”이라고 돌려 말했다. **독재자 김정일**은 그 어려움을 누구보다 잘 알고 있을 것이다.

13 에 관한 6자회담에 복귀한다고 선언했다. 북한은 지난 13개월간 6자회담을 거부해 왔다. 진행자는 흐트러진 머리 모양의 **독재자 김정일**이 회담 재개를 결심한 배경에 대해 “미국은 북한을 주권국가로 인정하고 침공할 의사가 없으며 6자회담 틀 안에서 [북한

14 MICHAEL HIRSH, MARK HOSENBALL 기자 미사일 발사에 담긴 김정일 메시지는 “날 건드리면 다친다 협상하자” **김정일** 국방위원장은 미치광이일까. 몇 년 동안 그 북한 **독재자**와 얘기해 본 미국 외교관은 없다. 하지만 아주 멀쩡해 보이는,

15 미 금강산을 관광하면서 북한 내부를 힐끗 들여다봤다. 한국 정부는 이 사업을 대성공으로 간주하지만 미국 정부의 시각에선 **독재자 김정일**의 돈줄로 이미 북한 정권에 약 5억 달러를 대어 준 창구다. 지난주 콘돌리자 라이스 미 국무장관이 서울에서 한국 정부

16 건강에 관한 앞뒤가 안 맞는 최근 보도들을 보자. “미국, 김정일 건강에 ‘불안감’ 표명”이라는 머리기사 있다. 기사 내용은 **김정일**이 “한 달 동안 공식 석상에 나타나지 않았다”는 사실을 언급하며 북한 **독재자**가 “당뇨, 심장병, 고혈압”을 앓는다고

17 한 감시가 따른다). 휴대전화를 밀반입하다가 발각되면 감금과 죽음을 각오해야 한다. 모두 북한 사회의 유행이나 기아 등 **독재자 김정일**이 쳐놓은 첩목의 벽을 넘어 새어 나오는 각양각색의 이야기를 세상에 알리려는 노력의 일환이다. 뉴욕타임스 보도에 따르면

18 ‘항장업 암살조’ 징역 10년 선고 북한 **독재자 김정일**을 위해 일하다 탈북한 유명 인사를 암살하려다 구속된 북한군 2명이 1일 남한측 법원에서 징역 10년형을 선고받았다고 남

19 북한 김정일은 영화광 북한 **독재자 김정일** 국방위원장은 주로 2가지에 사로잡혀 있는 것으로 알려져 있다. 첫째는 북한을 보호하고 미국과 적대적 세력의 압박에 저항

Concordance 67. A full set of concordance lines of ‘독재자’ [dictator]¹⁴¹ associated with Kim Jong Il

‘Dictator’ was also identified as a strong collocate of Kim Jong Il in the English ST sub-corpus, with a total of 28 lines. A relatively small number of lines – nineteen – were found in the Korean TT sub-corpus. The discrepancy merits closer analysis.

Not many instances of the English STs match the Korean TTs. Five instances of ‘dictator’ represent additions in the Korean TTs. At the same time, ‘dictator’ is omitted seventeen times. All instances of both addition and omission occur in *Newsweek Hangukpan*. Of these, five occurrences are the by-product of linguistic or stylistic differences between English and Korean. Kim Jong Il is often referred to as ‘Kim’ in a English ST, and this is in most cases translated into ‘Kim Jong Il’ or ‘CNDC Kim Jong Il’ in a Korean TT. Thus, using the full name of Kim Jong Il as a search item when retrieving relevant concordance lines does not return lines featuring ‘Kim’ alone in reference to Kim Jong Il. After examining the extended concordance lines, five

¹⁴¹ Lines 2 and 3 are identical. This is because line 3 is from the whole report while line 2 is featured in the introduction of a cover story, which summarises the whole story and appears at the beginning of the magazine.

instances were retrieved where ‘dictator’ is used in connection with Kim Jong Il in both corpora: for instance, Extract 17.

Extract 17

ST

Many SKns are bewildered by the sudden shift in *Kim*'s image from a merciless *dictator* to a considerate leader reaching out to the South and the world.

TT

많은 한국인이 잔인한 **독재자 [dictator]**에서 하루아침에 사려깊은 지도자로 탈바꿈한 **김정일 [KimJong Il]**의 이미지 변신에 당혹감을 느낀다.

Gloss

Many South Koreans are bewildered by the sudden shift in *Kim Jong Il*'s image from a merciless *dictator* to a considerate leader overnight.

In other cases, the addition of ‘dictator’ serves to replace another term in the ST, more specifically: (i) it replaces ‘strongman’ twice – e.g. Extract 18; and (ii) it replaces ‘evil man’ and ‘tyrant’ once each – Extract 19 and Extract 20.

Extract 18

ST

Since not much emanates from NK without the say-so of Kim Jong Il, the pudgy, oddball *strongman of Pyongyang*, it's a good bet that the Secretariat was expressing the views, if not the actual words, of the "Great Leader," as Kim is known to his people.

TT

북한에서는 땅딸막한 괴짜 **독재자 김정일 북한 국방위원장 [North Korean CNDC dictator Kim Jong Il]** 지시 없이는 그 같은 발언을 함부로 할 수 없기 때문에 서기국의 논평은 ‘위대한 영도자’ 김정일이 실제로 한 말을 그대로 옮긴 것은 아닐지라도 그의 시각을 반영한 것일 가능성이 크다.

Gloss

Since not much emanates from NK without the say-so of Kim Jong Il, the pudgy, oddball *North Korean dictator CNDC Kim Jong Il* , it's a good bet that the Secretariat was expressing the views, if not the actual words, of the ‘Great Leader’.

Extract 19

ST

President Bush is right about one thing--*NK's Kim Jong Il* is an *evil man* who runs one of the most barbaric regimes in the world, suppressing and starving its own people.

TT

조지 W. 부시 미국 대통령은 한 가지 만은 옳바로 알고 있다. 바로 **북한의 김정일 국방위원장 [NK's CNDC Kim Jong Il]**이 국민을 억압하고 굶겨 죽이는 **무자비한 독재자 [a merciless dictator]**라는 점이다.

Gloss

President Bush is right about one thing. *North Korea's CNDC Kim Jong Il* is a *merciless dictator* who suppresses and starving its own people.

Extract 20

ST

One of the reasons for the vanishing act may be simple fear. Like any **tyrant**, **he** has to be constantly on guard about possible assassination attempts. Intelligence sources say he refrains from flying because he's afraid his planes might be targeted.

TT

이런 잠적의 이유 중 하나는 단순한 두려움 때문일지 모른다. 모든 **독재자 [dictator]**가 그럴 듯 **김위원장 [Chairman Kim]**도 있을지 모르는 암살기도를 늘 경계해야 한다. 첩보 소식통들은 **김위원장 [Chairman Kim]**이 항공여행을 하지 않는 것은 자신이 탄 비행기가 공격의 표적이 될지 모른다는 두려움 때문이라고 말한다.

Gloss

One of the reasons for the vanishing act may be simple fear. Like any **dictator**, **Chairman Kim** has to be constantly on guard about possible assassination attempts. Intelligence sources say **Chairman Kim** refrains from flying because he is afraid his planes might be targeted.

In terms of deletion of ‘dictator’, four patterns can be identified: (i) ‘dictator’ is deleted seven times without being replaced with another term – e.g. Extract 21; (ii) ‘dictator’ is replaced with ‘Chairman’ or ‘CNDC’ six times – e.g. Extract 22; (iii) ‘dictator’ is replaced with ‘leader’ three times – e.g. Extract 23; and (iv) one instance involves a rephrasing of ‘dictator-in-waiting’ as ‘while receiving a training for the succession’.

Extract 21

ST

Russian presidential envoy Konstantin Pulikovsky, who met with **NKn dictator Kim Jong Il** several days ago, said that Kim insisted his country should "further develop the nuclear energy sector for peaceful purposes"--a desire Kim directly related to "difficulties in the country's economy."

TT

며칠 전 **김정일 [Kim Jong Il]**을 만난 콘스탄틴 폴리코프스키 러시아 대통령 특사는 김정일이 “평화적 용도를 위해 핵에너지 분야를 더욱 발전시켜야 한다”고 주장하면서 핵 기술 염원을 “어려운 경제사정”과 직접 연관시켰다고 말했다.

Gloss

Russian presidential envoy Konstantin Pulikovsky, who met with **Kim Jong Il** several days ago, said that Kim Jong Il argued/claimed his country should "further develop the nuclear energy sector for peaceful purposes" and related the desire for the nuclear technology directly to difficulties in the country's economy.

Extract 22

ST

Truth, as they say, has no place in diplomacy. Yet blatant falsehoods can also prove damaging. Just ask Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, who is under the gun to explain certain lines in a joint declaration he signed with **NKn dictator Kim Jong Il** at a summit meeting in Pyongyang on Sept. 17.

TT

흔히 외교에는 진실이 들어설 자리가 없다고 하지만 뻔뻔스러운 거짓도 역효과를 볼 수 있다. 지난 9월 17일 평양에서 열린 북, 일 정상회담에서 고이즈미 준이치로 일본총리와 **김정일 국방위원장 [CNDC Kim Jong Il]**이 서명한 공동선언문 중 일부 내용이 그 좋은 예다.

Gloss

Although truth, as they say, has no place in diplomacy, blatant falsehoods would backfire. A good example is part of a joint declaration on which Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi and **CNDC Kim Jong Il** signed.

Extract 23

ST

The Egyptians are by no means the only ones piling into Pyongyang these days. Since **NKn dictator Kim Jong Il** began a program of pseudo-reforms in July 2002, outside investment has increased from places as diverse as Britain, Germany, SK and China.

TT

요즘 평양으로 몰려드는 기업은 오라스콤 만이 아니다. 2002년 7월 **김정일 북한지도자 [the North Korean leader Kim Jong Il]**가 걸모양뿐인 개혁 프로그램을 시작한 이래 영국, 독일, 한국, 중국 등 다양한 지역으로부터 외국인 투자가 늘었다.

Gloss

Orascom is not the only company who flock to Pyongyang. Since the **North Korean leader Kim Jong Il** began a programme of pseudo-reforms in July 2002, various outside investment has increased from places such as the UK, Germany, South Korea and China.

7.3.4 Kim Dae Jung (the former President of South Korea)

Kim Dae Jung was the 15th President of South Korea. He was in office from 1998 to 2003. His ‘sunshine policy’ was a policy of rapprochement, aimed at achieving peace on the Korean peninsula through cooperation to ease tension in North-South relations. The Korean TT sub-corpus returned a total of 74 concordance lines of ‘Kim Dae Jung’. It is interesting that all concordance lines are from *Newsweek Hangukpan*, with no occurrence attested in *CNN Hangeul News*. It is worth noting that in the previous analysis of ‘Kim Jong Un’, *CNN Hangeul News* featured more concordance lines – 66 lines from *CNN Hangeul News* and 57 from *Newsweek Hangukpan*. This confirms that *CNN Hangeul News* is more interested in reporting on Kim Jong Un than in reporting on Kim Dae Jung.

(a) Patterns associated with ‘대통령’ [President]

In the Korean TTs, Kim Dae Jung is referred to as a ‘president’ 66 times out of 74, accounting for 89% of all concordance lines, while, in the English ST sub-corpus, ‘president’ is used 39 times out of a total of 71 concordance lines, accounting for 55% of all concordance lines. All instances come from *Newsweek Hangukpan*, with no

concordance lines attested in *CNN Hangeul News*. No particular semantic prosodies or time-specific pattern are identified in this set of data.

N Concordance

- 1 나왔다. 김정원 세종대 교수는 “북한이 해전 패배로 구겨진 체면을 살리기 위해 민씨를 억류한 것”으로 해석했다. 북한의 도발은 **김대중 대통령**의 내심을 시험하고 있다. 김대통령이 추진하는 햇볕정책은 남북한의 교류를 확대해 긴장을 완화하자는 것이다. 그는
- 2 1998.06.17 “**김대중 대통령** 잘하고 있다” 취임 100 일 성적 합격점 … 재벌-정부 개혁은 추진력 미흡 미국 방문서 갖고 올 ‘추가 경제지원
- 3 있다” 취임 100 일 성적 합격점 … 재벌-정부 개혁은 추진력 미흡 미국 방문서 갖고 올 ‘추가 경제지원 보따리’ 내용에 관심 **김대중 대통령**은 지난 5 일 취임 1 백 일을 맞았다. 한국은 지난 1 월 이후 1 만 개 이상의 기업이 도산했다. 이는 지난해 같
- 4 의 한 대변인은 “그들을 북한에 송환함으로써 중국 정부는 비인도적 범죄를 저지르는 셈”이라고 말했다. 박은 한국의 **김대중 대통령**을 만나고 싶어한다. “김정일이 북한 주민들에게 어떻게 하는지 김대통령에게 말해주고 속지 말라고 경고하고 싶다.
- 5 퇴임 전에 북한을 방문하지 않겠다고 발표했다. 이는 매우 적절한 결정이다. 물론 지난해 6 월 평양에서 열린 김정일 국방위원장과 **김대중 대통령** 간의 남북 정상회담과 10 월 매들린 올브라이트 미 국무장관의 방북 등으로 큰 돌파구가 마련된 것은 사실이다.
- 6 함세환(69)도 장기 복역수였다. 함은 “모든 재소자는 비인간적 대접을 받았다. 자주 맞았고 먹을 것도 모자랐다”고 말했다. **김대중 대통령**은 취임 1 주년을 기념해 이번 특별사면을 발표했다. 그러나 한편으로 이번 조치는 국가보안법 철폐라는 대통령 선거
- 7 빗장을 열었다”며 “다음 차례는 일본과 한국이 될 것”이라고 예측했다. 한국의 대북 관계 개선 노력은 이미 가시화되고 있다. **김대중 대통령**이 98 년 초 햇볕정책을 선언한 이래 10 만명이 넘는 남한 사람들이 북한을 방문했다. 8 월엔 민주 노총 방북 대
- 8 번엔 ‘남풍 카드’ 북풍 피해자였던 김대통령, 정상회담 합의 발표로 17 석 늘리는 성과 지난 3 월 육군사관학교 졸업식에 참석한 **김대중 대통령** 부처. 이병중 서울 특파원 김대중 대통령은 누구보다 ‘북풍’을 실감하는 인물이다. 1987 년 대통령 선거에서
- 9 령, 정상회담 합의 발표로 17 석 늘리는 성과 지난 3 월 육군사관학교 졸업식에 참석한 김대중 대통령 부처. 이병중 서울 특파원 **김대중 대통령**은 누구보다 ‘북풍’을 실감하는 인물이다. 1987 년 대통령 선거에서 그는 북한의 도발이 악재로 작용해 낙선의
- 10 로 첨단 미사일 부품을 구매해 왔다. 현재 아시아에서 북한에 가장 우호적인 나라는 북한과 오랫동안 대치해 온 한국일지 모른다. **김대중 대통령**은 결과에 상관 없이 대북 우호정책인 이른바 ‘햇볕정책’을 추구해 왔다. 지난 6 월 북한 당국이 한국의 가정주부
- 11 여전히 외교 전면에 모 습을 드러내지 않고 있지만 보좌관들에게 한국과 미국의 평화제안을 호의적으로 수용·검토하도록 했다. 또 **김대중 대통령**은 북한과의 관계개선을 목표로 ‘햇볕 정책’을 추진하고 있다. 미국의 윌리엄 페리 대북한정책 조정관은 지난달
- 12 시혜에서는 포격전이 벌어지는 한편 동해에서는 금강산 관광을 하려는 한국 관광객들을 실은 유람선이 오가는 상황이 벌어지고 있다. **김대중 대통령**은 애초 이같은 교류를 가능하게 한 햇볕정책을 견지하겠다고 다짐했다. 서해교전 다음날 한국 정부는 지난달 북한
- 13 지국장 지난주 지구상의 마지막 남은 냉전지대 한반도에 훈훈한 바람이 불었다.북한은 김용순 노동당 중앙위원회 비서 명의로 한국의 **김대중 대통령**을 포함해 각계 인사 1 백 50 명 앞으로 보낸 서한을 통해 남북한 고위급 정치회담을 ‘올 하반기’에 열자고 제안했
- 14 과 한국을 이간시키려 애썼다. 그러나 지난 몇 개월에 걸쳐 게임 양상은 극적인 변화를 겪었다. 미국이 강경발언으로 나아간 반면 **김대중 대통령**이 이끄는 한국 정부는 대대적인 평화공세로 나선 것이다. 여러 차례에 걸친 북한의 도발에도 불구하고 김대중 대통
- 15 나아간 반면 김대중 대통령이 이끄는 한국 정부는 대대적인 평화공세로 나선 것이다. 여러 차례에 걸친 북한의 도발에도 불구하고 **김대중 대통령**은 남북관계 개선을 위해 이른바 ‘햇볕정책’을 고수해 왔다. 미국의 윌리엄 페리 미 국방장관이 의회로부터 클린턴

16 미국의 윌리엄 페리 미 국방장관이 의회로부터 클린턴 정부의 한반도 정책 검토 임무를 부여받고 지난해 12월 한국을 방문했을 때 **김대중 대통령**은 그에게 ‘일괄협상’을 촉구했다.대북한 식량 지원 및 무역 “외교 문제와 더불어 북한의 미사일과 핵무기 개발

17 재의 외교적 교착상태가 북한의 미사일 실험 중단 기간이 만료되는 내년 초부터 무력위협과 극단정책으로 발전할 가능성이 더 높다. **김대중 대통령**은 1998년 ‘햇볕정책’을 선언한 이후 줄곧 남북간의 긴장완화와 평화적 공존, 그리고 궁극적으로는 통일을 제안하

18 시 권력의 중심으로 가는 길은 쉬워보이지 않는다. 이병종 서울 특파원 (위부터 시계바늘 방향으로) 신임장관에게 임명장을 수여한 **김대중 대통령**이 당부의 말을 하고 있고 옆에는 총리유임이 결정된 이한동총리가 앉아있다. 여야의원들이 3일 국회본회의에서 임동

19 간 2인자로서, 또 킹 메이커의 역할을 하면서 험한 정치판에서 생존해 왔고, 권력의 핵심에 남아 있었다. 박정희·김영삼 그리고 **김대중 대통령** 모두가 그 덕분에 권좌에 올랐다. 대신 JP는 이들 밑에서 부동의 2인자 지위를 누릴 수 있었다. 지난주 대통

20 올랐다. 대신 JP는 이들 밑에서 부동의 2인자 지위를 누릴 수 있었다. 지난주 대통령 선거를 15개월 정도 남겨놓고 JP는 김대중 대통령을 저버렸다. 대북한 정책과 협상을 주도하는 임동원 통일부 장관에 대한 해임건의안 투표에서 JP는 야당 편을 들

21 ‘역사 바로잡기’라는 명분을 내건 김영삼 대통령은 과거 유신독재 시절과 깊은 관계를 갖고 있던 JP를 당에서 몰아낸다. 현재의 **김대중 대통령**이 JP의 공조 파트너였다는 점은 너무도 놀라운 일이다. 역시 반체제 인사출신인 김대통령은 경제나 대북 문제에서

22 지난 40년 간 추구해온 것은 그의 신념이나 이상이 아니라 단지 권력이었다"고 성공회대 이남주 교수는 말했다. JP의 앞길도 **김대중 대통령**의 경우처럼 꼭 막혀 있는 막다른 길인 것 같다. .

23 2003년까지로 약속된 탄도미사일 시험발사 유예기간을 연장하기를 바란다. 그리고 ‘햇볕정책’으로 2000년 노벨평화상을 수상한 **김대중 대통령**은 내년 2월 임기가 끝나기 전까지 자신의 업적을 확실히 마무리 짓기를 희망한다. 김대통령은 김위원장이 올해 안

24 조사요구 탄원서만 해도 최소 37건에 이른다. 그러나 가장 고통스러운 것은 한국인들이 서로간에 저지른 만행이 폭로되는 경우다. **김대중 대통령**은 지난주, 1948년 3만 명의 좌익인사 및 그들의 가족이 학살된 제주 4.3 사건에 대한 국회의 진상조사 법

25 김대통령의 햇볕정책이 빚었다 민주화와 냉전 종식을 위한 노력이 새천년 첫 노벨평화상 수상자로 선정되는 영광을 안게 했다 **김대중 대통령**의 고향인 전남 하의도 주민들이 김대통령이 노벨 평화상 수상자로 선정됐다는 소식을 듣고 환호하고 있다.

26 근 러시 아워인 오후 6시 정각. 광주 시민들은 노르웨이의 노벨 위원회가 새 천년의 첫 평화상 수상자로 광주 민주화운동 영웅인 **김대중 (DJ) 대통령**을 선정했다는 뉴스를 접했다. 그 발표는 1980년 DJ의 체포로 촉발된 광주 항쟁의 비극적인 기억을

27 말했다. 그렇더라도 통일의 공로는 김대통령에게로 돌아갈 것이다. 그는 언제나 완고한 낙관론자였다. 민주주의를 위해 바친 일생 **김대중 대통령**은 수십 년 동안 정권을 잡은 군부에 항거하면서 수감생활, 살해 위협, 망명생활 등 고초를 치렀다. 이제 그는

28 . 1990년대 중반 러시아가 관세를 인하한 이후 1999년과 2000년에는 화물 수송량이 두자릿수의 증가율을 보였다. 한국의 **김대중 대통령**은 햇볕정책의 구체적 성과로 TSR의 연장을 원한다. 그러나 이 철도에 대한 한국의 야심에는 정치적 요인 못지

29 선을 따를지는 누구도 장담할 수 없다. 그러나 베이징과 서울의 일부 분석가들은 그가 개혁의 길을 가리라 확신하고 있다. 지난주 **김대중 대통령**은 북한이 “제2의 중국을 지향하고 있는 것으로 보인다”고 말했다. 그러한 극적 전환이 이루어진다면 세계적으로

30 뇌된 것 같았다. 그러나 무엇보다 그들은 가족과 직업을 갖고 있으며 감정을 표현할 줄 아는 살아 숨쉬는 인간이었다. 지난 6월 **김대중 대통령**과 김정일 국방위원장은 남북 화해를 위한 역사적 공동선언에 서명했다. 지난주의 이산가족 상봉은 외교 전략으로 여

Concordance 68. A snapshot of concordance lines of Kim Dae Jung featuring ‘대통령’ [president]

Comparison of the number of concordance lines featuring ‘president’ in the English ST sub-corpus and the Korean TT sub-corpus reveals that ‘대통령’ [president] is added in a total of 33 Korean translations, as in the Extracts from 24 to 27; whereas it disappears in two concordance lines (Extract 28 and Extract 29). A tentative explanation for the absence of ‘SK’s’ in the Korean TT (Extract 24) and rendering of ‘Roh’s forerunner’ into ‘former’ (Extract 27) might be that ‘SK’s’ and ‘Roh’s forerunner’ were spelled out in the STs only to provide background information for US readers. For the Korean target audiences, however, the information is redundant.

Extract 24

ST

Yes, last year produced extraordinary breakthroughs: the June summit in Pyongyang between NK’s Kim Jong Il and *SK’s Kim Dae Jung*, and USA Secretary of State Madeleine Albright’s visit in October.

TT

물론 지난 해 6월 평양에서 열린 김정일 국방위원장과 *김대중 대통령 [President Kim Dae Jung]* 간의 남북정상회담과 10월 매들린 올브라이트 미국무장관의 방북 등으로 큰 돌파구가 마련된 것은 사실이다.

Gloss

Of course, it is true that the inter-Korean submit (North-South Korean submit) held between CNDC Kim Jong Il and *President Kim Dae Jung* in Pyongyang in June and US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright’s visit in October produced extraordinary breakthroughs.

Extract 25

ST

Kim’s goal: use money, not guns, to coax Pyongyang toward moderation.

TT

무기가 아니라 돈으로 북한의 태도를 누그러뜨리는 것이 *김 대통령 [President Kim]*의 목표였다.

Gloss

President Kim’s goal was to soften North Korea’s attitude using money, not weapons.

Extract 26

ST

Yet Kim did admit worries about his health back in 2000 at a meeting with Roh’s predecessor, *Kim Dae Jung*.

TT

하지만 그는 2000년 남북정상회담 당시 *김대중 대통령 [President Kim Dae Jung]*에게는 자신의 건강에 대한 우려를 털어놓았다.

Gloss

However, he did admit worries about his health to *President Kim Dae Jung* in 2000 at the inter-Korean submit.

Extract 27

ST

Kim Dae Jung, Roh's forerunner, also ended his tenure deeply unpopular, despite his deft response to the Asian financial crisis and a breakthrough visit to NK.

TT

김대중 전 대통령 [the former President Kim Dae Jung] 역시 인기가 바닥인 상태로 임기를 마쳤다. 그가 아시아 금융위기를 극복하고 역사적인 북한 방문으로 남북관계에 돌파구를 마련했는데도 그랬다.

Gloss

The former President Kim Dae Jung also ended his tenure deeply unpopular, although he overcame the Asian financial crisis and made a breakthrough in the relationship between North Korea and South Korea by paying a historical visit to North Korea.

Extract 28 and Extract 29 are examples of the omission of 'President' in the Korean TTs. This pattern is far less frequent.

Extract 28

ST

The injection of young blood was conceived by **President Kim Dae Jung's** ruling Millennium Democratic Party, which hoped fresh faces would help beat the opposition Grand National Party, the current majority holder. The strategy worked initially, as young candidates rode high on the popular civic movement to drive out old politicians. But the opposition party came up with its own 386 candidates, too. The election's outcome is unclear, and much is at stake. If the ruling party loses, **President Kim** may have trouble pushing his economic reforms and efforts to improve relations with Pyongyang.

TT

집권 **[the ruling]** 새천년민주당(민주당)은 젊은 피 수혈을 내세웠다. 다수당인 한나라당을 앞지르는 데 도움이 될 만한 신선한 인물을 원했던 것이다. 처음에 젊은 피 수혈 전략은 잘 먹혀 들었다. 젊은 후보들이 구세대 정치인을 축출하자는 시민 운동 덕을 톡톡히 볼 수 있었기 때문이다. 그러나 야당인 한나라당도 386세대를 앞세웠다. 현재 총선 결과는 아무도 장담할 수 없다. [Ø]

Gloss

The injection of young blood was conceived by **the ruling** Millennium Democratic Party, which hoped fresh faces would help beat the opposition Grand National Party, the current majority holder. The strategy worked initially, as young candidates rode high on the popular civic movement to drive out old politicians. But the opposition party came up with its own 386 candidates, too. Nobody can say the election's outcome for sure at the moment.

Extract 29

ST

Fewer than 1 in 10 South Koreans has access to a gas mask. The chemical-biological weapons threat could undermine support for **President Kim Dae Jung's** "sunshine policy," an initiative to improve inter-Korean trade, travel and investment as a means to build a lasting peace. Until this decade, Pyongyang's chemical and biological warfare programs were small-time operations.

TT

또한 국민 가운데 방독면 사용이 가능한 인구는 10%도 채 안된다. [Ø] 북한의 화생전 계획은 10년 전까지만 해도 미미한 단계에 불과했다.

Gloss

Fewer than 1 in 10 South Koreans has access to a gas mask. [Ø] Until this decade, Pyongyang's chemical and biological warfare programmes were small-time operations.

Like any other translation processes, a news story is also melted and moulded in accordance with linguistic and stylistic constraints; news translation is largely constrained by the target norms. Journalistic norms loom larger in news translation, in that “cultural understanding and knowledge of the target norms are seen as more crucial than the actual stage of interlingual transferral” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 15). As a result, the journalistic norms preferred in South Korea, by which individuals are referred to by their occupational designations, may partly have an impact on this frequent addition of ‘President’ in referring to Kim Dae Jung.

(b) Patterns associated with ‘햇볕정책’ [sunshine policy]

Another strong collocate of Kim Dae Jung is ‘햇볕정책’ [sunshine policy]. ‘햇볕’ [sunshine] and ‘정책’ [policy] appear 21 and 28 times respectively out of a total of 74 concordance lines of Kim Dae Jung (Concordance 69); as in the earlier analysis of Kim Dae Jung in Chapter Six, ‘sunshine’ clusters very strongly with ‘policy’, resulting in ‘sunshine policy’ appearing as a fixed phrase. This is not surprising given the fact that ‘sunshine policy’ was the main diplomatic policy initiated by Kim Dae Jung, which finally enabled him to win the Nobel Peace Prize. In terms of institution-specific patterns, all concordance lines are found in *Newsweek Hangukpan* only, with no occurrence attested in *CNN Hangeul News*.

Concordance lines featuring ‘sunshine policy’ reveal a positive semantic prosody, realised through items such as the following: ‘협력’ [cooperation] (line 1); ‘새로운’ [new] (line 1); ‘화해’ [reconciliation] (line 2); ‘관계 개선’ [fence-mending] (lines 5 and 8); ‘우호’ [friendship] (line 6); ‘교류확대’ [mutual exchange] (lines 7, 18 and 20); ‘긴장완화’ [detente] (lines 9, 18 and 20); ‘평화’ [peace] (lines 9 and 21); ‘공존’ [coexistence] (lines 9 and 21); ‘통일’ [reunification] (line 9); and ‘포용/껴안다’ [tolerance/engagement] (lines 19 and 20). In the previous analysis of the English ST sub-corpus, ‘sunshine’ also strongly clustered with ‘policy’, and the concordance lines featuring these two items

together revealed a positive semantic prosody, attracting collocates such as ‘engagement’, ‘peace’ and ‘warm’.

In terms of time-specific patterns, the distribution of the concordance lines which reveal a positive semantic prosody is as follows: 1999 (lines 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 and 19), 2000 (line 11), 2001 (lines 12 and 13), 2002 (lines 9, 10, 15 and 16), 2003 (lines 4 and 20), 2006 (lines 2, 3 and 14), 2007 (line 1) and 2010 (line 21), showing a strong positive pattern in 1999. The concentration of a positive semantic prosody and of instances of ‘sunshine policy’ in 1999 may be explained by the fact that the late South Korean President Kim Dae Jung was in office from 1998 to 2003, and ‘sunshine policy’ was his most significant, appeasement diplomatic policy towards North Korea.

N Concordance

1 고 서울에서 직항기를 이용한 백두산 관광을 추진하기로 했다. 한반도의 긴장이 완화되기 시작한 때는 1990년대 후반이다. 당시 김대중 대통령이 대결보다 협력을 중시하는 새로운 “햇볕정책”을 선언하면서 냉전시대의 얼음을 깨뜨렸다. 지난 10년 동안 20

2 가지 유망한 요소들이 남아 있다.” 대북 화해정책인 자신의 ‘햇볕정책’에 관해 구세주 같은 열정에 사로잡혀 있던 당시 한국의 김대중 대통령 역시 워싱턴으로 달려가 자신의 주장을 피력했다. 바로 그때 사건이 터졌다. 파월은 북한에 관해 무책임한 발언을

3 턴의 정책이 계속됐다면 오늘날 북핵문제는 해결되었을 것이라고 확신한다. 그 점을 아쉽고 섭섭하게 생각한다.” 부시 팀은 파월과 김대중이 너무 앞서나갔다고 말한다. 대통령에 취임한 지 얼마 되지 않은 부시에게 햇볕정책을 너무 강요했다는 뜻이다. 당시

4 김정일 국방위원장의 측근이었다. 망명을 통해 북한 독재체제에 반기를 든 그는 미국으로 건너가 증언하고 싶다는 희망을 피력했지만 김대중 정부의 ‘햇볕정책’으로 뜻을 이루지 못했다. 이제 그가 올 가을 처음으로 미국을 방문해 의회에서 증언할 가능성이 높아

5 빗장을 열었다”며 “다음 차례는 일본과 한국이 될 것”이라고 예측했다. 한국의 대북 관계 개선 노력은 이미 가시화되고 있다. 김대중 대통령이 98년 초 햇볕정책을 선언한 이래 10만명이 넘는 남한 사람들이 북한을 방문했다. 8월엔 민주 노총 방북 대

6 로 첨단 미사일 부품을 구매해 왔다. 현재 아시아에서 북한에 가장 우호적인 나라는 북한과 오랫동안 대치해 온 한국일지 모른다. 김대중 대통령은 결과에 상관 없이 대북 우호정책인 이른바 ‘햇볕정책’을 추구해 왔다. 지난 6월 북한 당국이 한국의 가정주부

7 시해에서는 포격전이 벌어지는 한편 동해에서는 금강산 관광을 하려는 한국 관광객들을 실은 유람선이 오가는 상황이 벌어지고 있다. 김대중 대통령은 애초 이같은 교류를 가능하게 한 햇볕정책을 견지하겠다고 다짐했다. 서해교전 다음날 한국 정부는 지난달 북한

8 여전히 외교 전면에 모습을 드러내지 않고 있지만 보좌관들에게 한국과 미국의 평화제안을 호의적으로 수용·검토하도록 했다. 또 김대중 대통령은 북한과의 관계개선을 목표로 ‘햇볕 정책’을 추진하고 있다. 미국의 윌리엄 페리 대북한정책 조정관은 지난달

9 재의 외교적 교착상태가 북한의 미사일 실험 중단 기간이 만료되는 내년 초부터 무력위협과 극단정책으로 발전할 가능성이 더 높다. 김대중 대통령은 1998년 ‘햇볕정책’을 선언한 이후 줄곧 남북간의 긴장완화와 평화적 공존, 그리고 궁극적으로는 통일을 제안하

10 2003년까지로 약속된 탄도미사일 시험발사 유예기간을 연장하기를 바란다. 그리고 '햇볕정책'으로 2000년 노벨평화상을 수상한 김대중 대통령은 내년 2월 임기가 끝나기 전까지 자신의 업적을 확실히 마무리 짓기를 희망한다. 김대통령은 김위원장이 올해 안

11 25. 김대통령의 '햇볕정책'이 빛났다 민주화와 냉전 종식을 위한 노력이 새천년 첫 노벨평화상 수상자로 선정되는 영광을 안게 했다 김대중 대통령의 고향인 전남 하의도 주민들이 김대통령이 노벨 평화상 수상자로 선정됐다는 소식을 듣고 환호하고 있다. Geor

12 . 1990년대 중반 러시아가 관세를 인하한 이후 1999년과 2000년에는 화물 수송량이 두자릿수의 증가율을 보였다. 한국의 김대중 대통령은 '햇볕정책'의 구체적 성과로 TSR의 연장을 원한다. 그러나 이 철도에 대한 한국의 야심에는 정치적 요인 못지

13 운다"고 그는 하소연했다. 대북 관계에 관한 한 탈북자와 그들의 후원자들은 대다수 한국인들보다 더 보수적 성향을 띤다. 그들은 김대중 대통령의 '햇볕정책'을 비난한다. 한국 정부가 신규 대북 투자를 봉쇄하고 인권문제에서 양보를 얻어내야 하며중국에 탈북자의

14 한 고위관리는 뉴스위크와의 인터뷰에서 페리가 가장 염두에 두었던 것은 "이미 공인된 남북대화의 필요성"이었다고 말했다. 페리는 김대중 대통령의 정책에 크게 공감했다. 북한에 경제적 지원을 제공하는 것을 골자로 하는 김대통령의 '햇볕정책'은 김정일을 공

15 은 서울까지 신경가스를 실어보낼 수 있는 미사일을 약 50기 보유한 것으로 추정된다. 또 타협을 모르는 북한의 지도자 김정일은 김대중 대통령의 최유책인 '햇볕정책'을 교착상태에 빠뜨렸다. 또 무기확산은 북한의 주특기다. 미사일과 기타 무기들은 기아에

16 가' 북한에 대한 이회창식 길들이기 철학을 집약한 것이다. 더 이상의 공짜 식사대접은 없다는 것이다. 이창재는 지난 4년 동안 김대중 대통령의 '햇볕정책'에 줄곧 회의를 표명해왔다. '위대한 지도자' 김정일 북한 국방위원장이 약속을 어기면 어길수록 이

17 중인 관광지 주유소에 서 북한 노동자들이 건축자재를 나르고 있다. 현대그룹은 북한에 관한 한 가장 과감한 기회 탐색 기업이다. 김대중 대통령 이 지난해 집권한 이후 투자 "무역 및 기타 분야에서 북한을 끌어들이기 위해 '햇볕 정책'을 선언하자 현대는

18 나왔다. 김정원 세종대 교수는 "북한이 해전 패배로 구겨진 체면을 살리기 위해 민씨를 억류한 것"으로 해석했다. 북한의 도발은 김대중 대통령의 내심을 시험하고 있다. 김대통령이 추진하는 '햇볕정책'은 남북한의 교류를 확대해 긴장을 완화하자는 것이다. 그는

19 영해 안에 들어가 있다. 과거에도 양측 해군은 NLL로 잦은 충돌을 빚었지만 이번처럼 심각한 경우는 없었다. 이번 사태 초기에 김대중 대통령은 북한의 침략에 강력히 대응하지 않는다는 이유로 야당의 공격을 받았다. 김대통령의 대북포용정책인 이른바 '햇볕정책'

20 교류 확대와 군사긴장 완화의 대가로 대규모 경제지원을 약속하는 '햇볕정책'을 전면내 내세우며 북한을 겨냥했다. 2000년에는 김대중 대통령과 김정일 위원장이 평양에서 역사적인 남북 정상회담을 열었다. 그리고 몇달 후 김대통령은 대북 포용정책을 추진한

21 . 북한 말고 누가 그런 일을 저지를 수 있을까? 지금 한국에 가장 시급한 건 북방정책(Nordpolitik)이다. 10년 전 김대중 대통령은 북한 지도자 김정일 국방위원장과 만나 평화 공존을 위한 '햇볕정책'의 기틀을 마련했다. 이 정책에 힘입어 김

Concordance 69. A snapshot of concordance lines of Kim Dae Jung featuring '햇볕정책' [sunshine policy]

7.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter investigated the Korean TT sub-corpus, consisting of Korean translations that are originally produced in English between 1998 and 2010 for *Newsweek* and between 2008 and 2010 for *CNN*. As in the previous chapter, ‘North Korea’ and the individual names of ‘Kim’s were used as search words.

Examination of the collocational profiles of the ‘North Korea’ and the five ‘Kims’ in this corpus has shown that countries with close historical and political ties to North Korea, such as China and Japan, which featured as strong collocates in the English corpus and English ST sub-corpus, continued to hold prominent positions and even appeared higher up on the collocate list. Some items such as ‘South and North Korea’, which did not appear on the English ST sub-corpus collocate list, made an appearance on the Korean TT sub-corpus collocate list and featured as strong collocates of North Korea. The US, again, appeared as playing a dominant role in dealing with North Korean issues. However, interestingly, the Korean TT sub-corpus revealed a subtle difference, in that North Korea did not appear as a totally passive party but seemed to play a more active role in attempting to exert some degree of control over its negotiations with the US.

The collocational profiles of the five ‘Kims’ proved distinct from those of the English ST sub-corpus. Although Kim Il Sung mostly featured as a subsidiary element in reports that focused on Kim Jong Il, as in the English corpus and the English ST sub-corpus, he was much more frequently referred to as ‘premier’. Unlike the English and English ST sub-corpora, the Korean TT sub-corpus analysis has shown that ‘chairman’ and ‘CNDC’ (Chairman of the National Defence Commission) were used as the default terms to refer Kim Jong Il in the Korean translations, just as ‘president’ was widely used to refer to Kim Dae Jung. A number of translational shifts involving addition and deletion of ‘leader’ and ‘dictator’ in relation to Kim Jong Il were also identified.

The following chapter will offer an overview of the overall findings of the study, an assessment of its strengths and limitations, and some suggestions for future research.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

As I write this concluding chapter of the thesis, in early December 2012, North Korea is reported to have confirmed it would use a “three-stage rocket to launch a satellite into orbit” (Tisdall 2012) between 10 and 22 December, which “constitutes a test of long-range missile technology banned under UN resolutions” (BBC 2012). North Korea’s preparation for a missile launch has long been a source of concern to many countries, and its regional and international repercussions have been significant. Neighbouring countries such as South Korea, China, Japan and Russia as well as powerful nations such as the US have taken immediate measures in response to the latest announcement. For instance, the Japanese government set up defences by equipping its military with an advanced detect-and-destroy weapons system, and repositioned its forces in locations along the coastal areas facing the Korean peninsula (The Telegraph 2012), while the US deployed naval ships armed with radar and other ballistic-missile defence systems to monitor the potential missile launch by North Korea (BBC 2012). South Korea, China and Russia also urgently appealed to North Korea to abandon its launch plans. According to AFP (2012), “the United States and its allies insist the launches are disguised tests for an inter-continental ballistic missile capable of carrying a nuclear warhead”.

The latest reporting on North Korea continues to project the country as a threat to the international community and to world peace: the ‘threat theme’ still dominates news reporting on the country in general and the latest missile launch in particular, with all related issues being constantly subjected to detailed analysis, translated and circulated through various media. The findings of the current study, which has investigated the particular ways in which discourses on North Korea are projected and constructed by US mainstream media, and examined the extent to which they are mediated in Korean translations through the lens of corpus-based CDA, have to be understood within this evolving context.

In this chapter, the main objectives and the set of research questions formulated and articulated at the beginning of this study are revisited. The main findings and

conclusions are summarised and assessed in terms of their shortcomings as well as implications.

8.1 Main findings and implications

This study set out to examine US and South Korean news stories published in mainstream media in the period 1998 to 2010, in order to identify specific discursive patterns that reveal each country's and each news outlet's approach to North Korea and how these patterns are mediated in translation. It attempted to provide insights into the ways in which a particular discourse is constructed, outcomes are projected, and reality is mediated and framed through a particular subsection of news media, in the belief that it is important to alert news consumers to the hidden subtexts of news reporting and encourage them to approach all media reporting cautiously and critically. News recipients, mostly lay people, are not necessarily aware of any subtle (linguistic) devices employed by various news outlets to promote a particular representation of a country, a group or an individual. Readers subconsciously internalise such representations and are susceptible to being influenced by news outlets' skillful and subtle use of various linguistic and non-linguistic devices. Translators may be similarly unaware of the power of media translation and of the kind of discourse to which they are contributing, and that they construct or evoke, and for which they may be held ethically responsible. The analysis carried out in this study reveals some of the linguistic devices and mechanisms by which news outlets generate representations and hence, it is hoped, sensitises both consumers and media translators to the power of discourse.

This study also attempted to make a contribution to CDA-informed corpus-based studies of translation, by adopting a methodology that has not been previously employed in translation studies. The combined approach of CDA and corpus linguistics has been applied in various research areas, but not to the study of translation. This research, therefore, is a first attempt to incorporate two approaches and harness their combined power in the field of translation studies.

The study set out to address the following overarching research question:

What does a combined quantitative and qualitative approach informed by Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis reveal about the ways in which discourses on North Korea are elaborated in mainstream US media outlets and the ways in which they are mediated in translation in South Korean media outlets?

The above broad research question was further divided into a set of more specific and interconnected questions, and these questions were addressed by compiling and analysing a corpus consisting of two sub-corpora: an English corpus made up of US news texts on North Korea and a translation corpus consisting of texts published originally in English and their corresponding Korean translations. The sub-questions that guided the analysis of the data are discussed below, together with the findings related to each question.

1. What does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discourses on North Korea elaborated in mainstream US media, as evident in a corpus of English texts from *CNN*, *Newsweek* and *The New York Times*?

The most obvious finding to emerge from the examination of the English corpus was that US media divide the world into specific sets of countries, based on those countries' political positions towards the US rather than any geographical or historical relations among the countries themselves. This finding is compatible with other studies that revealed the prevalence of polarisation in the discourse of political news coverage, where people or groups are categorised into either the in-group (self/us) or out-group (others/them) (e.g. Van Dijk 2004, Jackson 2005, Oddo 2011). In particular, US media, at least the three news outlets investigated in this thesis (i.e. *The New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and *CNN*), associate North Korea with Iran, and to a lesser extent with Iraq and Pakistan, and construct these countries as a source of threat to the international community.

Herman and Chomsky (1988) provide a plausible explanation for why media outlets adopt such practices. Applying a propaganda model that focuses on the "inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices" (ibid.: 2), they argue that media serves societal purposes, and that these societal purposes include the need to "inculcate and defend the economic, social, and

political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state [...] through selection of topics, distribution of concerns, framing of issues, filtering of information, emphasis and tone, and by keeping debate within the bounds of acceptable premises” (ibid.: 298). Although the standard conception of the media is that they are “cantankerous, obstinate, and ubiquitous in their search for truth and their independence of authority” (ibid: 298), this is, in fact, a romantic, ideal and simplistic conception, as the Glasgow University Media Group argue in studies that demonstrate that news coverage can be “‘economical’ with the truth, and even misleading” (Tolson 1996: 19). In the US media outlets analysed in this study, North Korea and Iran, as well as other countries, are framed as serious threats in the context of various types of crisis and conflict. Concerns relating to their ‘suspect’ practices are widely circulated in order to serve the interests of certain powerful, privileged groups, in this case, groups based in the US.

The second major finding emerging in terms of the five Koreans who have played major political roles in both countries (North and South Korea) was that Kim Jong Il is generally placed at the centre of discussion and associated with a negative semantic prosody. Kim Jong Il’s father – Kim Il Sung – and his two sons – Kim Jong Nam and Kim Jong Un – are in most cases not reported in their own right, but treated as subsidiary elements of the discussion of Kim Jong Il. While ‘president’ is overwhelmingly used in referring to Kim Dae Jung, the former South Korean President, Kim Jong Il is consistently referred to as a ‘dictator’. Such naming practices are intended to undermine the authority of the leader in question; in this case, the leader of North Korea. Such derogatory and dismissive naming practices serve to demonise and to perpetuate polarisation, ultimately exacerbating conflict between the countries concerned.

2. What does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discourses on North Korea elaborated in the subset of English texts selected as source texts for translation into Korean by *CNN Hangeul News* and *Newsweek Hangukpan*?

The investigation of the English ST sub-corpus revealed that English news texts that were selected and translated into Korean offered a distinct picture of North Korea, including its relations with South Korea, that diverged from that elaborated in the English corpus in subtle ways. It showed that Korean media institutions (*Newsweek*

Hangukpan and *CNN Hangeul News* in particular) give preference to English source texts that discuss domestic issues and focus more on the relations between North Korea and South Korea. This is reflected, for instance, in the downgrading of countries such as Iran and Iraq on the collocate list, as discussed under question six below.

It goes without saying that not all news is reported, nor is all news material translated. The content of news reports is also subject to monitoring and ‘censoring’ by institutionalised communication channels, commonly known as a ‘gate’. Fujii (1988: 32) explains that this ‘gatekeeping’ means “controlling the quantity of message flowing through a channel, and this message controlling function is characterized by a decision about whether a specific message should flow through the gate or not”. This controlling process is heavily influenced by factors such as institutional values, norms, and beliefs. In this sense, the texts selected for translation by *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News* reflect their institutional values; and, as values may differ from one media institution to another, news are reframed according to the relevant norms of the particular institution.

Nevertheless, the texts selected and translated by Korean news outlets do not and cannot suppress all traces of the original values communicated in the STs and their embeddedness in a specific world view elaborated by US media. Examination of the English ST sub-corpus, for example, revealed an asymmetry of power between the US and North Korea, whereby North Korea is projected as the voiceless object of commentary and weak body, and the US as the powerful party. The recurrent employment of war-related lexis, which signals types and sources of threat ascribed to North Korea, is accompanied by patterns that undermine North Korea as a trustworthy party. For example, the credibility of information emanating from North Korea’s state-run news agency is routinely questioned.

Patterns associated with each of the five people bearing the surname ‘Kim’ showed that Kim Jong Il’s father (Kim Il Sung) and the two sons of Kim Jong Il (Kim Jong Un and Kim Jong Nam) are, again, discussed as a backdrop to events involving Kim Jong Il. In terms of the two sons of Kim Jong Il, the overwhelmingly disproportionate volume of reporting is in favour of Kim Jong Un. This reveals which of the two sons South Korean news media regard as more newsworthy in their own

context, as well as South Korean media's ideological preferences. Kim Jong Il strongly collocates with 'Dear' and 'Great', with 'Great leader' or 'Dear leader' used as self-proclaimed titles, as distinct from 'president', a role associated with a particular democratic procedure and reserved for the South Korean leader, Kim Dae Jung.

Kim Dae Jung also collocates strongly in the English ST sub-corpus with 'policy' and 'sunshine', even though these collocations are not evident in the English corpus. Holland (2006: 230), who examines two original versions of the public statement of Habibie, the then President of Indonesia, argues that "the means of gathering and disseminating news largely remain concentrated in a handful of big, western-based institutions", and these institutions have an "overwhelmingly powerful voice in deciding what is – and is not – 'newsworthy' and in representing 'the news' to the world". This is a convincing argument. However, it is not necessarily restricted to global news media institutions, and may be extended to include any institution that has sufficient authority to gate-keep and prioritise what is to be circulated in a given society. As Herman and Chomsky argue, power may have an impact on filtering out the news, marginalising dissent and allowing "[any] government and *dominant private interest* to get their messages across [to] the public" (1988: 298, my emphasis). In this case, the process of gate-keeping, including what is selected for translation, is not controlled by the US media but by the local news agencies (*CNN Hangeul News* and *Newsweek Hangukpan* in Korea). The 'context' or the environment in which the translations are produced is different, and the criteria applied to prioritise what is newsworthy shift accordingly. Thus, it is not surprising to see 'sunshine policy', the reference to the dominant policy of the South Korean government during the period under discussion, appear as a strong collocate in the English STs selected by South Korean media. The findings of the analysis of the English ST sub-corpus thus reveal that the media does indeed reflect the interests and values of the target society in terms of how a ST is selected, framed, and adapted for a new audience.

3. What does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discourses on North Korea elaborated in a corpus of the Korean translations published in *CNN Hangeul News* and *Newsweek Hangukpan*?

Analysis of the translation corpus revealed that politically and geographically neighbouring countries of North Korea, such as China and Japan, continued to hold

prominent positions and even appeared higher up the collocate list of North Korea, while other countries, including Iran and Iraq, appeared further down the collocate list, or did not appear at all. ‘South and North Korea’, which did not appear on the English ST sub-corpus collocate list, was also newly introduced as a single collocate. In the concordance lines of North Korea featuring in the Korean TT sub-corpus, the US also appears to play a significant role in dealing with North Korean issues. North Korea’s ambitious nuclear (weapons) programme features as the subject of intense criticism and concern. Nevertheless, interestingly, in the Korean TT sub-corpus, North Korea does not appear as totally powerless, but as a more active party that attempts to exert some degree of control over its negotiations with the US, and in its attempt to get hold of what it is determined to acquire, such as food and energy.

The examination of various occurrences of ‘Kim’ returned interesting results, too. Far less pejorative terms are used to refer to North Korean leaders. These include ‘Chairman’ and ‘CNDC’ (Chairman of the National Defence Commission) as the default term for referring to Kim Jong Il and ‘Premier’ for Kim Il Sung, with ‘president’ still reserved for Kim Dae Jung. Here, the Korean TTs construct a distinct narrative of events from the English STs, and the traditional ST and the TT relationship is challenged, in that the TT does not limit itself to the designations adopted in the ST. Rather, the TTs in this study tend to be relatively independent of the Source-Target chain. This is compatible with the findings of Kang (2010), who analysed a small number of translated articles from *Newsweek Hangukpan*. Her investigation reveals that the very concepts of source and target texts become “fluid, multi-layered, inconsistent and contradictory concepts”, and one specific *Newsweek Hangukpan* article she analysed not only constructs a different narrative but also “evokes a distinct and independent NWH [*Newsweek Hangukpan*] voice which explicitly comments on and questions the NW [*Newsweek*] article” (176-177). Therefore, the findings of the current study challenge the traditional concept of the source and target text relationship, also highlighting the need to revisit, redefine and rearticulate this relationship, which has long been subject to discussion in the translation studies literature.

4. What does a CDA-informed analysis of concordance lines reveal about semantic prosodies and semantic preferences in the English corpus, English ST sub-corpus and Korean TT sub-corpus?

In the English corpus, specific adjectives were frequently and consistently employed to construct a negative identity for North Korea, including ‘rogue’ and ‘unpredictable’. Patterns generating negative semantic prosody were more prevalent in *The New York Times* (NYT) coverage. Negative semantic prosody examined in the English ST sub-corpus related to sources of threat caused by North Korean nuclear activities, and extended to doing business with North Korea, the latter featuring negative lexis such as ‘undesirability’ and ‘difficulty’.

Branding a particular country a ‘rogue state’ is not a new practice in politics or the media. The term has often been used in recent times; one example dates back to the 1998 Iraq crisis, when “Washington and London [...] declared Iraq a ‘rogue state’, a threat to its neighbours and to the entire world, an ‘outlaw nation’ led by a reincarnation of Hitler who must be contained by the guardians of world order” (Chomsky 2000: 12). More importantly, as Jackson (2005) argues, the appellation discursively evokes certain meta-narratives, such as the cold-war narrative. For instance, the ‘axis of evil’, repeatedly used by Bush, was in fact an “ingenious new hybrid construction” that became associated with the meta-narratives of World War II, where “the Allied fought the Axis powers (Germany, Japan and Italy), and the cold war struggle against the Soviet Union – which Reagan famously referred to as the ‘evil empire’” (ibid. 44). In this sense, the term ‘rogue state’ is a carefully calculated appellation that serves to link the North Korean issue to Iraq in the late 1990s. Indeed, as Chomsky argues, the term ‘rogue state’ is not randomly used, but is a ‘highly nuanced concept’ reflecting the influence of powerful governments, in that “Cuba qualifies as a leading ‘rogue state’ because of its alleged involvement in international terrorism but the US does not fall into the category despite its terrorist attacks against Cuba” (2000: 29).

Semantic preferences found in the English ST sub-corpus were reflected in the semantic groups that featured ways of controlling North Korean nuclear production sites and programme (e.g. ‘deter’ and ‘tolerate’), and revealed the imbalance of power between North Korea and the US. Another important pattern of semantic preference features North Korea being construed as a defendant and the US as jury. In the Korean

TT sub-corpus, negative semantic prosodies reflected through sets of semantic preference were consistent. Some related to the urgency of taking action against the North Korean nuclear programme and the need to disable and stop it (e.g. ‘halt’, ‘eliminate’, ‘shutdown’ and ‘disable’).

In both the English ST and Korean TT sub-corpora, negative semantic prosodies were attested in the environment of Kim Jong Il, in relation, for example, to his appearance – hair style, and his relatively short height, both of which are caricatured in the media. By contrast, a positive semantic prosody was identified in the concordance lines of Kim Dae Jung, which feature collocates such as ‘engagement’, ‘rapprochement’, ‘peace’ and ‘warm’, specifically with reference to his ‘sunshine policy’.

5. To what extent are patterns identified in the English corpus, English ST sub-corpus and Korean TT sub-corpus institution-specific?

Analysis of the English corpus reveals that *NYT* consistently attempts to associate North Korea with Iran, and repeatedly constructs them as threats to world peace. This is compatible with the findings of Izadi and Saghaye-Biria (2007, see section 5.3).¹⁴² In terms of the English ST sub-corpus, North Korea attracts negative associations in STs selected by both *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News*. *CNN*’s position on the spectrum of ‘conservative’ and ‘liberal’ has shifted over time (see Chapter Four), but analysis of the data used in this study suggests that its narratives are now as conservative as those of *Newsweek*. Nevertheless, the Korean TTs translated by *Newsweek Hangukpan* tend to focus more heavily than those selected by *CNN Hangeul News* on North Korea’s nuclear activities; this is evident in repeated patterns such as ‘North Korean nuclear test’, ‘North Korean nuclear development’ and ‘North Korea’s (nuclear) weapons’ in the *Newsweek Hangukpan* sub-corpus.

¹⁴² As explained in Chapter Five, Izadi and Saghaye-Biria examine the ways in which web-news headlines of three different US newspapers (*NYT*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post*) frame the issues that relate to the Iranian nuclear dispute and argue that none of the three US newspapers “challenged the underlying assumptions that Iran has a clandestine nuclear weapons program, that the Islamic nature of its government is a threat, and that it should not be trusted with sensitive nuclear technology” (2007: 161-162).

In terms of institution-specific patterns associated with the various ‘Kim’s, portrayal of Kim Il Sung was found to be negative across the all news outlets (i.e. *NYT*, *Newsweek* and *CNN*) in the English corpus. Both *Newsweek* and *NYT* especially adopt a negative attitude towards both Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, for example through the frequent use of the derogatory term ‘dictator’, but this pattern is stronger in *Newsweek*. Although *NYT* denies that it is either ‘conservative’ or ‘radical’ in orientation (see Chapter Four), the current study suggests that it does adopt a more conservative attitude to North Korea, at least compared to other US news outlets.

In the English ST sub-corpus, the use of ‘dictator’ to refer to Kim Il Sung, the founder of North Korea is common in the STs selected by *Newsweek Hangukpan*. Kim Jong Il, the son of Kim Il Sung and the late leader of North Korea, is also commonly referred to as a ‘dictator’ in STs selected by both *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News*. References to Kim Jong Il as ‘Dear leader’ or ‘Great leader’ are exclusively found in STs selected by *Newsweek Hangukpan*. Interestingly, no concordance lines of Kim Dae Jung were found in STs selected by *CNN Hangeul News*.

In the case of the Korean TT sub-corpus, *Newsweek Hangukpan* seemed to employ particular designations that were specific to each of the Kims. ‘Premier’, a term that was not used in the English STs, was found more frequently in *Newsweek Hangukpan* than in *CNN Hangeul News* in referring to Kim Il Sung. *Newsweek Hangukpan* used ‘Chairman’ and ‘CNDC’ for Kim Jong Il more often than *CNN Hangeul News*. ‘Dictator’ was also more often used in referring to Kim Jong Il by *Newsweek Hangukpan*. In terms of the two sons of Kim Jong Il, *Newsweek Hangukpan* featured more reporting on Kim Jong Nam, whereas *CNN Hangeul News* reported on Kim Jong Un more often.

Examining time-specific patterns is important, given that news reporting is extremely time and event-sensitive. In general, and as is to be expected, the analysis confirmed that the volume of reporting on North Korea increases whenever an event that leads to political conflict or generates serious political consequences takes place, and the patterns that emerge from this reporting reflect an institution’s position with respect to that event. For example, instances of ‘dictator Kim Jong Il’ are clustered around the period 2001 and 2003 in the English ST sub-corpus, around the time when

the second battle of Yeonpyeong (the Yellow Sea Battle) between South Korea and North Korea broke out. Critical reporting on North Korea in the English ST sub-corpus similarly intensified in 2008 and 2012, when the then president Lee, who took a tough line towards North Korea, was in office.

6. What does a CDA-informed analysis of collocational profiles reveal about discursive shifts in the translated Korean texts?

The English corpus and the English ST sub-corpus display similar patterns, for obvious reasons. For instance, Kim Il Sung, the father of Kim Jong Il, is frequently referred to as Kim Jong Il's father and very rarely discussed in his own right in both corpora. Nevertheless, some differences were identified between the English corpus and the English ST sub-corpus, as discussed at various points in this chapter. More importantly, a number of shifts could be identified in the Korean TT sub-corpus, and these sometimes amplified subtler differences between the English corpus and the English ST sub-corpus. For instance, some countries were marginalised, whereas others were central to discussions in the English ST sub-corpus, compared to the English corpus. These differences become more obvious in the Korean TT sub-corpus (see Table 28 below).

N	English Corpus	English ST sub-corpus	Korean TT sub-corpus collocates
1	NK PYONGYANG	NK PYONGYANG YONGBYON	NORTH KOREA □
2	IRAN	USA WASHINGTON AMERICAN	USA
3	USA AMERICAN WASHINGTON	SK SEOUL SKN YEONPYEONG	CHINA
4	CHINA CHINESE BEIJING	CHINA CHINESE BEIJING	KOREA
5	IRAQ	IRAN	JAPAN
6	SK SKN SEOUL	JAPAN JAPANESE	IRAN
7	JAPAN JAPANESE	IRAQ	SOUTH KOREA YEONPYEONG ISLAND
8	LIBYA	RUSSIA	KOREAN PENINSULA
9	SYRIA	KOREAN	RUSSIA
10	RUSSIA	LIBYA	IRAQ
11	CUBA	PAKISTAN	SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA
14	PAKISTAN		

Table 28. Comparison of the collocate list of the three corpora

In selecting news materials to be translated, *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News* appear to have given preference to texts that focus more directly on countries that are more closely connected with North Korea. This is particularly evident in the appearance of ‘Yongbyon’ and ‘Yeonpyeong’ at the top of the list. The appearance of Yongbyon, a county in a North Korean province where a major nuclear complex is situated, was newly introduced in the collocate list of North Korea in the English ST sub-corpus. Furthermore, Yeonpyeong, the name of an Island in South Korea which was subject to a violent attack by North Korea in 2010, also occupied a prominent position in the English ST sub-corpus collocate list whereas it did not appear at all in the English corpus. These differences lend support to the argument that news translation is not merely a process of objective transfer of a text from one language to another, but a complex, multi-layered process whereby a text is carefully selected, mediated and tailored to the interests and values of audiences in the target society. Using a variety of means, news material may be deconstructed and reconstructed according to the particular norms of a media institution or of a given society. As Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 63) argue:

News translation entails a considerable amount of transformation of the source text which results in the significantly different content of the target text. On the other hand, the process of news translation is not dissimilar from that of editing, through which news reports are checked, corrected, modified, polished up and prepared for publication.

Another very interesting and distinct shift found whilst examining the concordance lines of North Korea was that North Korea, both in the English corpus and the English ST sub-corpus, was projected as a voiceless party subjected to a ‘judicial’ process in which the US acts as a judge and pronounces on its [North Korea’s] ‘suspicious’ acts, as discussed briefly under question four above. In the Korean TTs, by contrast, North Korea appears to exert some control in a process of ‘negotiation’ with the US, further supporting the idea that the purpose of news translation is “to adapt texts to the needs of different publics, which requires not only reorganizing and contextualizing information, but also an exercise of *subtle rewriting* in order to *heighten the effectiveness of the original text in the new context*” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 104, my emphasis). Subtle rewriting to foreground or suppress certain attitudes and implications often relies on the pervasive multiplicity of interpretations characteristic of

all text. As Tolson (1996: 17) argues, where there is more than one possible interpretation, a text will attempt to make one meaning dominate – i.e. its preferred reading. This ‘preferred’ reading might vary across cultures, settings, times, and according to the beliefs and norms circulating in a given society.

This argument is directly connected to another shift found in the analysis of ‘Kim’. As explained earlier, Kim Il Sung, the father of Kim Jong Il, is frequently referred to as ‘leader’ or ‘dictator’, both in the English corpus and the English ST sub-corpus. However, the default designation assigned to him in the Korean TTs is ‘Premier’, which is a far less negative and more respectful term. Similarly, like his father, Kim Jong Il is frequently referred to as ‘leader’ or ‘dictator’ in the STs, but is almost always referred to as ‘Chairman’ or ‘CNDC’ (Chairman of the National Defence Commission) in the Korean TTs, with similar implications. As mentioned in Chapter Seven, these shifts may be partly the result of adopting general Korean journalistic norms, or may be part of a process of recontextualisation, whereby a text is rewritten in subtle ways in order to promote a particular view of the world. Kang (2010), who examined an interview article in *Newsweek* and its corresponding Korean version, published in *Newsweek Hangukpan*, discovered a shift in the image of the then president Roh between the ST and the TT, where, according to her, *Newsweek Hangukpan* adapted a problematic news article for a different cultural audience.

As mentioned in Chapter Seven, the effect of such relatively minor cumulative shifts is that North Korea is perceived by a South Korean audience as a country in ‘dire need of humanitarian help’ rather than an ‘enemy’ who consistently carries out a series of provocative acts against their country. Given that these news texts are circulated by the media, one of the most powerful institutions in any society, news translation significantly influences the way in which people interpret the world around them. Thus, whatever the guidelines given to translators and editors by media institutions, they must ethically engage with the task of translating news texts, because, as the title of Bolinger’s work (1980) alerts us, language can be, and often is, a loaded weapon.

8.2 Assessment of the study

The current study draws on at least three research areas (CDA, corpus-based linguistics and translation studies), and is thus interdisciplinary in nature. It is also situated within a field of translation studies, that is itself interdisciplinary and welcomes contributions that draw on different methodologies and areas of knowledge.

By drawing on CDA and corpus linguistics and focusing on the increasingly important area of ‘media discourses’, this study attempted to move beyond the mechanics of translation – and beyond such topics as culturally bound words and syntax – in order to examine the larger social and political context of translation, while simultaneously offering analyses of micro-level patterns that play a role in shaping that context. Although the micro-level findings emerging from corpus analysis are specific to shifts in English-Korean news translation in the context of the North Korea/US conflict, at the macro level the study has revealed the possibility of reconciling the differences between linguistics, sociology and translation studies by drawing on CDA, which has attracted a great deal of interest from researchers seeking to examine the power inherent in the process of translation. To the best of my knowledge, this study is the first attempt in translation studies to offer a sustained analysis of media discourse using the conceptual and methodological tools of both corpus-linguistics and CDA. Inevitably, there are some limitations and shortcomings that must be acknowledged.

First, one of the main criticisms that could be raised in connection with this study relates to the restricted amount of data used for *CNN* analysis. It was unfortunate that only translations of *CNN Hangeul News* published after October 2008 were available via the newspaper’s website, because it was not possible for the newspaper to obtain the relevant copyright permission due to an agreement between the mother company *CNN* and *CNN Hangeul News*. Had I been able to incorporate into the corpus translations produced before 2008, the findings might have been different and/or the arguments supporting the current findings might have been more convincing and robust. The picture emerging from the analysis would have been more comprehensive.

This is linked to another crucial issue – the variation in size of the different components of the overall corpus. There is an obvious disparity in the size of the three

sub-corpora that constitute the English corpus (*CNN*, *Newsweek* and *NYT*). This is inevitable, given the different types of news outlets covered in this study – i.e. *Newsweek* is a weekly magazine and *NYT* a daily newspaper, while *CNN* offers an around-the-clock news service and is constantly updated.

Third, as mentioned in chapters Four and Six, and documented in a personal email communication (appendix I), technical difficulties posed additional restrictions on the corpus-building process. Some English STs selected by *Newsweek Hangukpan* could not be traced because of a limit imposed on accessing the archives at the time of building the corpus, while the website was being constructed with the aim of launching the digital version of the magazine. As a result, the size and content of the English ST sub-corpus was inevitably determined by the availability of the corresponding Korean translations; eventually, the size of the translation corpus ended up being smaller than I had initially planned. Had the missing articles been available and incorporated into the corpus, the patterns identified in both the English ST and Korean TT sub-corpora might have proved different, or perhaps stronger.

Another limitation of this study concerns the adopted methodology. Relying on (semi)automatic analysis meant that, for example, as pointed out in Chapter Five, only full names of individuals playing key roles in dealing with North Korean issues (e.g. Kim Jong Il) could be selected as search items to generate concordance lines. Although there were a number of cases where ‘Kim’ was used to refer back to Kim Il Sung or Kim Jong Il, capturing such instances would have required a considerable amount of manual analysis and an investment in time that could not be justified within the scope of a doctoral study. Under different circumstances, and with a more generous time frame, investigating all concordance lines obtained by using ‘Kim’ as a search word might return somewhat different, and perhaps more interesting findings. The same applies to the term ‘North Korea’, because North Korea is often referred to as ‘the North’. The latter was not used as a search word, for the same reasons outlined above.

A further limitation of this study concerns the analysis of positive and negative semantic prosody, given that this type of analysis is to some extent inevitably subjective. For instance, I argued in chapter seven that ‘abandonment’, ‘freeze’ and ‘stop’ (see 7.2.2) signal a negative semantic prosody in the concordance lines of ‘NK*

nuclear*programme'. However, the same items can be interpreted differently, depending on the viewpoint of the analyst and the intricacies of the individual context, with consequences for the overall findings of the study. Nevertheless, in the final analysis this study draws on critical discourse analysis, which makes no claims of objectivity in the traditional, positivist sense, and requires the analyst to engage with the data from a particular perspective rather than maintain a detached, neutral position.

8.3 Avenues for future research

This chapter concludes by looking forward to potential avenues for complementing and expanding the present study. Like many other studies, the research model adopted in this project has the potential to be extended to various research strands, across different languages and cultures.

The current research can be expanded by looking at more extended concordance lines, possibly by way of an individual text being examined in detail to establish what a CDA-informed close textual analysis might reveal about discursive shifts in selected Korean translations in the corpus. Due to space and time restrictions, it has not been possible to carry out a CDA-informed close textual analysis of a text or number of texts from the corpus, although this was included in the initial plan. Analysing longer stretches of text would address one of the criticisms levelled at CDA by a number of scholars, such as Stubbs (1994, 1996 and 1997), namely, that CDA rarely analyses whole texts and contents itself instead with investigating short texts or text fragments.

Indeed, closer qualitative analysis of full texts would shed more light on some findings that remain under-explored, such as those relating to omissions identified in the analysis of the English STs and Korean TTs, including omission of 'dictator' (Chapter Seven), for example. Because the examples of additions and omissions were obtained through analysis of sets of concordance lines, based on retrieval of specific search items in the STs and matching stretches in the TTs, instances that do not feature the search word (e.g. 'dictator') in the ST remain unexamined, together with stretches in the TT where some form of compensation may well have taken place. The addition of 'part-of-speech' tags would also enhance the analysis of some of the names and verbs offered in this study.

Interviews with editors could provide further insight into some of the translation decisions identified in this study, which may be explained by editorial practices and guidelines. The literature on media translation, limited as it is, does suggest that translation is always subjected to a revision and editing process. The complexities and implications of this process can be captured and described through interviews with editors and translators.

Future work could also examine different semantic sets from those examined in this study. The current study focused specifically on sets of countries and cities as a target for the analysis of the collocational profiles of North Korea in the different corpora, in addition to a number of other semantic sets. It did not pursue other potentially interesting semantic groups such as: the ‘war group’, which included the following items: ‘military’, ‘weapon(s)’, ‘war’, ‘bombs’, ‘terrorism’, ‘terrorist’, ‘terror’ and ‘missile(s)”; the ‘nuclear group’, which included ‘nuclear’, ‘uranium’ and ‘plutonium’; and what we might call the ‘humanitarian/human rights group’, with items such as ‘help’, ‘aid’, ‘peace’, ‘human’, ‘freedom’ and ‘free’. Examination of different semantic sets might either support the broad argument made in this research, or tell a somewhat different story about North Korea.

One important area that has received considerable attention in CDA but has not been addressed in this study is transitivity. Although I argued that North Korea is projected as the passive party and the US as the active party in control of setting the agenda, this argument was based on patterns of collocation and would gain far more credibility if supported by a comprehensive analysis of transitivity, which is particularly revealing of the way in which an actor is represented, either actively or passively.

Another potential area for further research that might be considered complementary to the approach taken in this study would involve an examination of the patterning of ‘North Korea’ in a comparable corpus – i.e. a corpus of non-translated and translated Korean texts, possibly within the same news outlet. Restricting the corpus to one Korean news outlet in this case may resolve the problem of imbalance in size, evident in the current study in the case of *Newsweek Hangukpan* and *CNN Hangeul News*. *YTN* can be a good candidate as a source of data, as it is widely acknowledged as ‘CNN in Korea’. Given that *YTN* is a ‘news-only’, around-the-clock broadcaster in

South Korea, it can provide a considerable volume of news reports for building the corpus; it is also likely to produce more reporting about North Korea than any other media outlet in the world. As long as the study is less concerned with investigating the particular style of each institution but more concerned with identifying recurrent discursive patterns in ‘US’ and ‘Korean’ news outlets; it is reasonable to assume that supplementing *CNN Hangeul News* translations with material from *YTN* will not produce skewed results for the purposes of research.

Another avenue for future research is comparing the collocational profiles identified through the analysis of the corpus developed in this study with collocational profiles of the same search words in other reference corpora such as the British National Corpus (English) and 21st Century Sejong Project corpus (Korean). Chen (2006) suggests that some interesting tendencies may emerge when a specialist corpus is analysed against the backdrop of a larger reference corpus, such as the British National Corpus (ibid.: 177). Rayson et al. (1997) and Stubbs (1995) also state that it is common practice in corpus linguistics to use a reference corpus as the source of comparative data for isolating features that are specific to the corpus under investigation.

Finally, but importantly, the diachronic approach adopted in this study can be further developed in future research. For instance, there have been ups and downs in the relationship of South and North Korea and also of North Korea and the US. Major conflicts can be seen as cut-off points, and the overall period covered by the corpus built for this study (1998 to 2010) may be divided into a number of sub-sets of periods, based on these crucial historical moments – for instance, North Korea’s missile test in 2006, its bombs hitting Yeonpyeong Island in South Korea in 2010, and its sinking of the South Korean warship Cheonan in 2010 might all be considered good candidates for setting up small diachronic corpora. Examining the way in which the discourse on North Korea in US media has developed, fluctuated and changed over the entire period will offer us a better understanding and more concrete examples of the way in which news media construct and project North Korea, among other countries and groups.

Despite the shortcomings of this study, as acknowledged above, I believe it has highlighted some of the ways in which North Korea is projected and framed by mainstream US and Korean media. I trust, therefore, that the study will contribute to

developing an innovative research strand not only in translation studies, but also in CDA, corpus linguistics and media studies. I also hope that this research will enhance our understanding of some of the ways in which media discourses are mediated and reframed in the course of translation.

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Appendix 1: Email communication with *Newsweek*

Amsterdam, 25/11/2011

Dear KIM,

Thank you for your e-mail.

We wish to confirm that due to our digital version of the magazine being launched in 2012, there will be a limit to accessing the archives on our website. Please accept our apologies for any inconvenience that this may have caused.

If we can be of any further assistance, do not hesitate to contact us.

Yours sincerely,

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Mr Ridwaan Salie

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