THE SENKAKU/DIAOYU ISLANDS DISPUTE BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN: IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES REVEALED THROUGH DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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I. Introduction

An incident related to the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute between Japan and China occurred in the summer of 2010, resulting in massive anti-Japan demonstrations in mainland China. These demonstrations followed the (possibly unlawful) arrest of a Chinese fisherman by the Japanese coastguard in the disputed area. Using Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar as an analytical framework, two texts describing this incident have been analysed to uncover ideological differences encoded in the lexico-grammatical choices made by the authors. These texts were chosen because they describe the same incident, presented in different registers.

Text 1 (Appendix 1) is a 298-word extract from a summary of the incident, published in *The Asia-Pacific Journal* (Wada, 2010). This is a peer-reviewed, open source journal which provides analysis of events in the Asia-Pacific. The author, Professor Haruki Wada, is a native Japanese researcher.

Text 2 (Appendix 2) is a 385-word extract of a newspaper article related to the incident, published by *China Daily* (Wei, 2010). *China Daily* is the only official English language newspaper in China and its reports are ideologically affiliated with the Chinese Communist Party (Scollon, 2000, as cited in Li, 2010). As such, it plays an important role in expressing the nations ideologies to the international community. The author, Wei Tian, is a native Chinese journalist.

Table 1 provides an overview of the two texts. This paper presents the results of a text analysis of the two articles and uncovers the ideological differences reflected in the lexico-

	The Asia-Pacific Journal article October 25th, 2010	China Daily newspaper article September 13th, 2010
Number of words	298	385
Total sentences	13	19
Longest sentence	58 words	38 words
Shortest sentence	12 words	4 words
Average sentence length	22.8 words	20.2 words
Total clauses	28	33
Average clauses/sentence	2.15	1.74
Average clause length	11.4 words	11.8 words

Table 1.	Overview	OF THE	Two	Texts
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grammatical choices made in each.

II. Theoretical Framework

According to Halliday, there are three major functions of language: the ideational, the textual, and the interpersonal (Halliday, 1985). A clause in English is the simultaneous realisation of these three functions. Whenever a text is produced, lexical and grammatical forms are chosen from the whole range of possible options. These choices can be analysed to reveal hidden ideological beliefs.

Using the analytical framework of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), two dimensions of clause grammar: the ideational function (transitivity) and the textual function (lexical cohesion) of language use in the articles is investigated. Thompson (2014) explains that, "Since Systemic Functional Linguistics views language as choices made in context, text comparison helps you to see the patterns of choices that were made in one text but not in the other, and relate the differences to the context" (p.133). SFG can thus reveal "power relations within texts as well as the motivations, purposes, positions, assumptions, and interests of text producers" (Li, 2010). The aim of text analysis is to investigate how the choices construct certain versions of "reality" for the reader. The texts have been analysed using the SFG tools of register, transitivity, and cohesion, each of which are defined below.

According to Thompson (2014, p.40), register has three parts: field, tenor, and mode. Field (the experiential meanings) indicates what is discussed and the role of language in the activity (i.e. the subject matter of the text). Tenor (the interpersonal meanings) is defined as the relationships between participants involved in the communication. Mode (the textual meanings) is how language functions in the interaction.

Halliday's transitivity model, particularly the processes and the participants depicted, can be useful for identifying blame, lack of responsibility, absence, emphasis or prominence of participants (Adampa, 1999). Halliday defines transitivity as the grammar of the clause, or simply "who/what does what to what/whom?". Consequently, there are three components to Halliday's Transitivity analysis: the process itself, the participant(s) in the process, and associated circumstances connected to the process. There are six types of processes: material (processes of doing), mental (processes of sensing), relational (processes of being), behavioural (processes of behaviours), and existential (processes of existing) (Appendix 3).

Li (2010) explains cohesion as the ways in which words in a text are connected with one another to achieve coherence. It is the textual phenomenon indicating the experiential and interpersonal coherence of the text (Thompson, 2014, p.215), recognised by the "unity" between semantic meanings and pragmatic information (Hasan, 1984, as cited in Li, 2010). The main cohesive devices are lexical repetition, and two methods of grammatical repetition: reference and ellipsis. Lexical cohesion is one of the most important devices used to achieve coherence, and because lexical choice can reveal ideological beliefs (Van Dijk, 1988), it can provide important insights.

III. Analysis and Discussion

Using the aforementioned techniques, a number of observations can be made about each of the texts. These are described and discussed in the following sections.

1. Register

The field of the journal article is a summary, presented in declarative statements, justifying the arrest of the Chinese trawler captain. The language used is impersonal (absence of personal pronouns) and academic (sovereignty, escalate, territorial). The field of the newspaper article is also informative, but the focus of attention is towards the effect of the arrest on the trawler captains' family. It is more emotional with a less formal register.

The tenor of the journal article is of accurate and precise information, presented in an uninterrupted fashion by an apparent expert to an educated audience, which is likely unknown. The text is dense, impersonal and lacks opinions. It aims to explain why events transpired. The language is formal with lexical and grammatical complexity, which creates a distance between the writer and the reader. The spatial and interpersonal distance between the writer and the content is also large. As it was published in an online journal it is likely that it was subjected to peer review, and post-publication has been open to comment by fellow researchers, though feedback is likely minimal. It is strictly informative and the purpose is to convey information about the incident.

The tenor of the newspaper article is less formal. It is aimed at an audience less concerned with details justifying the arrest. It is written in less formal language and presents the arrest in a sympathetic style, focusing more on how it has affected the fisherman's family than the events leading to the arrest. The text contains a high number of quotes from people close to the fisherman, and the tenor of language used suggests the interviewer and interviewees have an equal allocation of power. The spatial and interpersonal distance is small between the participants in this text, reflected in the casual language used in the quotations. Contact between the writer and the readers, like the journal article, would be distant and infrequent to non-existent. The text is informative but the purpose is not to convey information about the incident (only two sentences are devoted to this), but to create an emotional response to the arrest. Actual details of the arrest are secondary. The language is non-academic ('left' not 'departed'; 'got a lot worse' not 'deteriorated').

The mode of both texts is written language, published online in a journal and a newspaper, so that feedback for both would be delayed or absent. These two texts are clearly meant for different audiences (intellectually and geopolitically), and were created with different intent.

2. Transitivity Analysis

There are significantly more material (54% vs. 39%) and mental (14% vs. 6%) processes in the journal article than in the newspaper article, as there is a greater emphasis on doing and interpreting; explaining what happened and why.

Conversely, the newspaper article has three times as many relational processes (21% vs. 7%), describing what has happened to the fisherman and his family since his arrest, rather than

the incidents leading to the arrest. Additionally, the newspaper article has slightly more verbal processes, representing reported speech and quotations from participants in interviews, a common feature of journalism (33% vs. 25%) (Table 2).

Process types	The Asia-Pacific Journal article (%)	China Daily newspaper article (%)
Material	15 (53.6)	13 (39.4)
Mental: cognition	4 (14.3)	2 (6.1)
Verbal	7 (25)	11 (33.3)
Relational: attributive	2 (7.1)	7 (21.2)
Behavioural	0	0
Existential	0	0
Total	28 (100)	33 (100)

TABLE 2. PROCESS TYPES IN THE TWO TEXTS

Analysing transitivity roles by participant reveals that the journal article, written by a Japanese professor, focusses on Japanese participants. Similarly, the newspaper article, written by a Chinese journalist, focusses on Chinese participants (Table 3).

Of the 21 transitivity roles in the journal article filled by 'Japan', 7 (33.4%) represent the Japanese press, 4 (19%) the Japanese coastguard, and 10 (47.6%) the Japanese nation (represented by Ministers Okada and Maehara, the Japanese government (present and Meiji era 1868-1912), Japanese laws, and Japanese control) (Table 4). There is a clear emphasis on reporting the incident within a legal framework, albeit a Japanese interpretation of law. The author has attempted to emphasise the legitimacy of the arrest.

In contrast, 37 (82%) of the newspaper article's transitivity roles are filled by 'China', 11% by 'Japan', 5% by the 'Incident', and 2% by the 'Islands' (Table 3). In the newspaper article, the incident is referred to through the language 'to fish' and 'seizure', both suggesting innocence on the part of the Chinese participants. The islands themselves are never actually mentioned by name. Rather, the label 'East China Sea' is used, which, as it implies Chinese territory, is more likely to generate outrage in the reader. The territorial dispute is similarly ignored and never mentioned, concealing details from uninformed readers. 'Japan' is referred to in two ways: three of the five roles are played by the Japanese Coastguard, and two are filled by the Japanese authorities/law courts. In this way, the legality of the incident is not given as much emphasis as in the journal article. The journal also emphasises the 'Islands' (15% vs. 2%) and the 'Incident' (8% vs. 5%) more than the newspaper article does.

A significant difference between the two texts is the type of entities that appear as participants. Within the 37 'China' participants in the newspaper article, 32 (86%) are human: specific people including Zhan (the arrested fisherman), his wife, son, grandmother, mother, father, neighbour Wu and relative Zheng (Table 5). In contrast, only 5 (22%) of the 23 'Japan' participants in the journal article are human: all authoritative ministers within the Japanese government. The remaining 18 (78%) participants are non-human entities or organisations: 7 participants are media publications, 6 participants are the Japanese government, and 5 are the Japanese coastguard. This is a significant difference, highlighting the more formal nature of the journal article and how it attempts to legitimise the arrest, and the more personal nature of the newspaper article and how it attempts to provoke an emotional response from the reader.

TABLE 3.TRANSITIVITY PROFILE OF JOURNAL ARTICLE (a) AND
NEWSPAPER ARTICLE (b)

a) Journal Article									
Transitivity roles	Japan	China	Other countries	Islands	Incident	All			
Actor	11	2				13			
Goal	2	5		5	2	14			
Senser	3	1				4			
Sayer	5		1			6			
Addressee						0			
Carrier				1	1	2			
Total (%)	21 (53.8)	8 (20.5)	1 (2.6)	6 (15.4)	3 (7.7)	39 (100)			

b) Newspaper Article

Transitivity roles	Japan	China	Other countries	Islands	Incident	All
Actor	3	8		1	2	14
Goal	1	7				8
Senser		2				2
Sayer	1	10				11
Addressee		4				4
Carrier		6				6
Total	5 (11.1)	37 (82.2)	0	1 (2.2)	2 (4.5)	45 (100)

TABLE 4. TRANSITIVITY PROFILE OF 'JAPAN' PARTICIPANTS IN THE JOURNAL ARTICLE

Transitivity roles	Yomiuri news	Asahi news	Mainichi news	Japanese news	Japanese coastguard	Japan Govt	Foreign Minister Okada	Minister of L.I.T. Maehara	Total
Actor		1		1	2	5		2	11
Goal					2				2
Senser			1					2	3
Sayer	1	1	2				1		5
Addressee									0
Carrier									0
Total (%)	1 (4.8)	2 (9.5)	3 (14.3)	1 (4.8)	4 (19)	5 (23.8)	1 (4.8)	4 (19)	21

Note: Minister of L.I.T = Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport.

TABLE 5.	TRANSITIVITY PROFILE OF 'CHINA' PARTICIPANTS IN THE
	Newspaper Article

Transitivity roles	Zhan	Zhan's wife	Zhan's son	China Daily	Fishermen	Zhan's home	Zheng	Wu	Chinese govt	Total
Actor	3	1			1	1			1	7
Goal	5				1	1				7
Senser	1					1				2
Sayer		1	1				2	6		10
Addressee		1		2		1				4
Carrier			1			5				6
Total (%)	9 (25)	3 (8.3)	2 (5.6)	2 (5.6)	2 (5.6)	9 (25)	2 (5.6)	6 (16.7)	1 (2.8)	36

36

A total of 130 cohesive ties can be identified, with the newspaper article containing twice as many as the journal article (Table 6).

Cohesive strategy	Journal article (%)	Newspaper article (%)
Lexical repetition	14 (30.4)	9 (10.7)
Anaphoric reference	19 (41.3)	40 (47.6)
Cataphoric reference	0	1 (1.2)
Ellipsis proper	11 (23.9)	31 (36.9)
Substitution	0	0
Conjunctions	2 (4.4)	3 (3.6)
Total	46 (100)	84 (100)

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF COHESIVE STRATEGIES IN THE TEXTS

With 13 sentences and 46 cohesive ties, the journal article has an average of 3.54 ties per sentence. The newspaper article, with 19 sentences and 84 cohesive ties, has an average of 4.42 ties per sentence. Therefore, the newspaper has 20% more cohesive ties per sentence than the journal article. However, the journal article has a greater amount of lexical repetition (30.4% vs. 10.7%), which aids comprehension. In the following analyses, numbers in parentheses refer to sentences in Appendices 1 and 2.

1. Lexical cohesion

Marked lexical explicitness is common to academic writing. In the journal article there are few incidences of pronoun use. Instead, exact or near-synonym repetition of main participants is common: (1), (2) and (6) 'patrol boats'; (1) 'fishing trawler', (2) 'fishing boat', (7) 'trawler' and (10) 'boat'; (2), (7) and (10) 'captain'; (5) 'territorial', (10) and (11) 'territory'; (2) 'arrested', (3), (9), (12) 'incident' and (10) 'arrest'. Similar participants are repeated in the newspaper article: (1) and (14) 'trawler', (2) 'boat', and (7) 'vessel'; (3) and (12) 'arrest', (6) 'custody', (8) and (10) 'arrested', (9) 'detention', and (14) 'incident'; (1) 'fishermen', (6) 'crew members', and (10) 'shipmates'.

Reference to the (1) 'fishermen', (6) 'crewmates' and (10) 'shipmates' of Zhan are made in the newspaper article, but not at all in the journal article. This is to show that Zhan was not acting alone. Additionally, it portrays Japan as acting improperly towards a group of people. The Japanese journal article ignores the other participants, and consequently the incident could be interpreted by the reader as an act by a solitary unhinged individual.

In the newspaper article the arrest is not mentioned until the third sentence, after the death of Zhan's grandmother has been stated. This strongly implies that her death was a direct result of hearing the news. In total, seven references to Zhan's arrest are then made in clauses (3), (6), (8), (9), (10), (12) and (14). In contrast, the arrest is mentioned three times in the journal article in clauses (2), (7) and (10). It is first mentioned after a legitimate reason, the ramming of the patrol boats, has been given. This justifies the action by placing it in a context. Lexical choice in each article also betrays ideology regarding the incident. "After it repeatedly *rammed* the patrol boats" in (2) of the journal article suggests deliberate and aggressive behaviour on the part of the Chinese trawler captain. Additionally, "Japanese patrol boats *intercepted* a

2016] THE SENKAKU/DIAOYU ISLANDS DISPUTE BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN:

Chinese fishing trawler" in (1) strongly implies the trawler was operating in an area it should not have been. These are declarative statements, presented as facts, to absolve the Japanese of accusations of improper behaviour. In comparison, the newspaper article describes the incident midway through the article in a more innocent light: "the Chinese vessel *collided* with two coast guard patrol boats before it was intercepted" (7). 'Collided' implies no necessary blame; the collision could have been the fault of either party or neither, whereas 'rammed' implies the trawler is wholly responsible.

2. Grammatical cohesion

Grammatical reference occurs via three incidences of pronoun usage in the journal article (all 'it'), compared with eight in the newspaper (1 'it', 3 'he', and 4 'she'). The lack of personal pronouns in the journal is typical of academic writing. Demonstratives are common in both articles. 'The' is always used anaphorically to indicate that a participant has already been mentioned. The newspaper contains the only example of cataphoric referencing identified in either text, which occurs near the beginning of the article in (2) 'But Zhan would never have expected *the events* of last Tuesday...', before those events are outlined. This is done to build curiosity and create a narrative, and contrasts with the more explicit style of academic writing, where the events in the journal article are outlined in chronological order. As mentioned, the journal article has 50% more lexical repetition than the newspaper article, which relies more on anaphoric referencing via personal pronouns and demonstratives to create cohesion. Ellipsis proper occurs 11 times in the journal, and 30 times in the newspaper. It is less common in the journal because of the explicit writing style.

IV. Conclusions

There is a large literature on how the media fails to present issues in a neutral manner, and it is generally assumed that the language of the press encodes ideology. News reports are "mediated accounts of what has happened" (Ferguson, 1998 p.155, as cited in Li, 2010). There is less literature on the neutrality of academic publications. Two aspects of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar, transitivity and cohesion, have been used as an analytical framework to study how clause-grammar of texts in *The Asia Pacific Journal* and *China Daily* newspaper reflect ideology concerning the arrest of a Chinese fisherman by Japanese coast guards in a disputed area of the East China Sea. It is clear that lexical devices have been carefully used in both texts to promote ideology.

The Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands and the territorial dispute are never mentioned directly in the newspaper article but are emphasised in the journal article. Transitivity analysis reveals material and mental processes in the journal article that explain why the arrest occurred. Relational and verbal processes dominate the newspaper article to explain what has happened to the fisherman and his family since the arrest. The reason for the arrest is secondary to the emotional story of bad luck that has befallen the fisherman's family. The Japanese journal article emphasises the Japanese non-human participants to legitimise the arrest. The Chinese newspaper article emphasises the Chinese human participants and presents them in a sympathetic light.

By focussing on Japanese participants in the journal article, the Japanese author has not

HITOTSUBASHI JOURNAL OF LAW AND POLITICS

[February

remained neutral. The same claim can be made for the Chinese journalist in the newspaper article, which focusses on Chinese participants. The journal summarises the incident from Japan's point of view, using declarative and accusatory statements, presented as facts, to justify the Chinese fisherman's arrest. With less formal language and greater use of grammatical cohesive ties, the newspaper article tells a sorry story of persecution and bad luck for the fisherman's family, and suggests that Japan's action is responsible for the death of the fisherman's grandmother. The newspaper article is more of a propaganda piece, designed to evoke an emotional response of outrage and pity from the reader. Billig (1995, as cited in Li, 2010) and Van Dijk (1988) have argued that the messages in newspapers organise social thinking and often influence the beliefs and opinions of society. As the English-language mouthpiece of the Chinese Government, the reason for the *China Daily* article was clearly to enhance anti-Japan feelings. While the journal article is unlikely to generate anti-China feelings from the reader, the articles are similar in their failure to be completely objective in reporting on this sensitive territorial issue.

Appendix

1. The Asia-Pacific Journal Article

Resolving the China-Japan Conflict Over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. Wada Haruki (Translation by Michael K. Bourdaghs, Associate Professor in Modern Japanese Literature at the University of Chicago).

The Asia-Pacific Journal, 43-3-10, October 25, 2010.

(1) On September 7 Japanese patrol boats intercepted a Chinese fishing trawler near Kubashima, one of the Senkaku [Chinese: Diaoyu] Islands in the East China Sea. (2) After it repeatedly rammed the patrol boats in attempting to escape, the fishing boat was detained and its captain arrested and charged with interference in the execution of official duties. (3) The incident would come to have enormous repercussions, shaking up Sino-Japanese relations.

(4) The Senkaku Islands are claimed by Japan and are at present under Japanese control. (5) Therefore, according to Foreign Minister Okada Katsuya, who was in Berlin at the time, this was an incident that occurred within Japanese territorial waters and would be "handled strictly in accordance" with domestic law. (6) The Japan Coast Guard patrol boats were under the command of Maehara Seiji, the Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport. (7) The arrest of the trawler captain clearly took place with Maehara's approval. (8) Maehara had been critical of Chinese policies and believed in the need for a firm Japanese response.

(9) All of Japan's major newspapers ran editorials about the incident on September 9. (10) While the Yomiuri took a strong line, asserting that "the arrest of the Chinese boat captain was completely justified" and that "since the Meiji government claimed the Senkaku Islands as Japanese territory in 1895, no objections have been raised by any country," the Asahi called for "the wisdom to avoid transforming the area into a sea of conflict." (11) The latter showed an awareness that "while Japan exercises control over the Senkaku Islands, claiming them as its territory, this is a sensitive issue for China, which also claims

38

sovereignty." (12) The Mainichi newspaper called for a "serious and impartial inquiry," warning that "the incident must not be allowed to escalate." (13) It noted that both China and Taiwan claim sovereignty over the islands.

2. China Daily Newspaper Article

Arrest Brings Calamity to Trawler Captain's Family Wei Tian China Daily, September 13, 2010.

(1) It has been 12 days since trawler captain Zhan Qixiong left home to fish on the East China Sea, where generations of Chinese fishermen have made a living. (2) But Zhan would never have expected the events of last Tuesday - when he and his boat were seized in waters off China's Diaoyu Islands by Japan's coast guard - that triggered the dramatic changes in his life.

(3) His 85-year-old grandmother - who was recovering from an earlier fall - died last Wednesday hours after hearing of his arrest.

(4) "She was fine when I called her in the morning," relative Zheng Feng told China Daily. (5) "But she got a lot worse after she heard the news."

(6) Zhan, 41, and 14 other crew members of the Minjinyu 5179, were taken into custody in the early hours last Wednesday, sparking strong protests by the Chinese government and campaigners calling for their release.

(7) According to Japanese authorities, the Chinese vessel collided with two coast guard patrol boats before it was intercepted on Sept 7. (8) The captain was later arrested for "obstructing officers on duty".

(9) On Friday, Ishigaki Summary Court in Japan's Okinawa prefecture approved the detention of the captain until Sept 19. (10) His shipmates have not been arrested but are confined to the trawler.

(11) The front door of Zhan's family home in Ganghu town was closed on Saturday, an unusual sight in this close-knit fishing community in the coastal city of Jinjiang, Fujian province.

(12) Zhan's wife, whose surname is Chen, refused to comment when approached by China Daily. (13) However, a neighbor who insisted on being identified only as Wu said the arrest is among several blows suffered by the family in recent years.

(14) "Things were not good even before this incident," she said, explaining that the trawler captain's father died two years ago, while his mother has cataracts and heart disease.

(15) To bring in extra cash, Zhan's wife has been working in a printing factory, said Wu.

(16) In accordance with the village's customs, Zhan, as the eldest grandson, should perform traditional rituals within seven days after the death. (17) His grandmother's body has been packed in ice and cannot be buried until he returns, said Wu.

(18) "The couple's 13-year-old son keeps telling his mother not to worry, that his daddy will be back soon," added Wu. (19) "He's a strong boy."

HITOTSUBASHI JOURNAL OF LAW AND POLITICS

3. The Six Process-types, with Their Associated Participants and Circumstances

Process types	Participants	Circumstances
Material ('doing'): eat, run, study.	Actor: does the action Goal: affected by the action Recipient: receives something Beneficiary: for whom something is done Senser: does the mental action	
Mental ('experiencing/thinking/seeing/sensing'): see, hear, know. Conveys thoughts, perceptions or feelings.	Phenomenon: what is perceived, thought or appreciated	Location: spatial ('where?') Location: temporal ('when?') Extent: spatial ('how far?')
Verbal ('saying'): say, tell, warn. Speech or communication is reported or projected.	Sayer: communicates Addressee: receives the message Verbiage: what is said	Extent: temporal (how long?) Origin (where from?) Destination (where to?) Manner (how?)
Relational ('being/having/becoming'): be, have, be- come. The act of being, having or becoming. The attribute can be a generalised partici- pant, another participant, or a circum- stance.	Carrier: the entity being described Attribute: the description	Cause: reason ('why?') Cause: purpose ('for what reason?') Cause: behalf ('who for?') Contingency: condition ('under what con- ditions?') Contingency: concession ('despite what?')
Behavioural ('behaviours'): laugh, breath, cry. The process connects the actor (behaver) with its behaviour.	Behaver: does the action (the behaviour) Behaviour: what is done	Accompaniment ('with who/what?') Role: guise ('what as?') Role: product ('what into?') Matter ('what about?') Angle: ('from what point of view?')
Existential ('existing'): exist, there is. Introduces the existence of something. There is usually only one participant which distinguishes this process from relational.	Existent: the entity being described	

Note: Definitions from: Butt et al (2000, p.52-59); Christie (2012, p.11-17); Droga and Humphrey (2002); and Thompson (2014).

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40

2016]

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