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The Portrayal of COVID-19 as a Source of Conflict in American and Chinese Newspapers: A Critical Discourse Analysis

A Dissertation

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Language and Linguistics

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ {ه}

صدق الله العظيم

سورة العلق

In the name of Allah

Taught man what he knew not.

Allah Almighty is Truthful

Surah al 'Alaq (Shaker: 697)

The Supervisor's Declaration

I certify that this dissertation entitled (**The Portrayal of COVID-19 as a Source of Conflict in American and Chinese Newspapers: A Critical Discourse Analysis**) has been written by Zainab Saad Mohammed under my supervision at the College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Babylon, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English Language and Linguistics.

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We certify that we have read this dissertation which is entitled (**The Portrayal of COVID-19 as a Source of Conflict in American and Chinese Newspapers: A Critical Discourse Analysis**) written by Zainab Saad Mohammed and, as Examining Committee, we examined the student in its content, and that in our opinion it is adequate as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English Language and Linguistics.

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Date: // 2022

Dedication

To the souls of my parents, whose memory has sustained me through the hardships of my life,

To my dearest family,

with love and respect.

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Abstract

The current study aims to identify the ideologies and agendas that both American and Chinese newspapers are trying to set in the minds of their audience.

The study answers the following questions:

How can ideologies be revealed linguistically, ideologically, and intertextually? What are these ideologies? How can the agenda be unveiled? How the conflict is framed in the data? And, what are the main agendas?

It is hypothesized that the main ideology in the American newspapers focus on the claim that China is the birthplace of the COVID-19, whilst the Chinese newspapers appear to be denying this claim.

The study reaches the following conclusions:

1. The reporters utilize different themes, presuppositions, and pre-modified nouns to help present the intended ideologies.
2. National self-glorification is utilized as a strategy during the Trump administration to laud American prior stance rather than the present one.
3. National self-glorification is one of the strategies that appear frequently to laud China's current position.
4. Even though both direct and indirect quotations are frequently used, the reporters' bias still persists since they only use quotations that help support their narrative.
5. The morality and responsibility frames appear more frequently in American articles. The former focuses on unethical Chinese behavior that may be used as justification for the conflict. The latter frames China accountable for a number of negative deeds that affect the globe and necessitate conflict. The conflict and human interest frames show significant appearances in Chinese articles. The

former frame is used to set in the audience's minds that the Americans are conflict seekers whereas the latter is intended to present China as a caring of people's lives country.

6. The primary agenda in the American newspapers is China's geopolitical ambition whereas that of the Chinese newspapers focus on the American aim to defame China's image internationally

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations	Full Forms
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CD	China Daily
CDA	critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Critical Linguistics
DA	Discourse Analysis
GT	Global Times
IDSs	Ideological Strategies
IN	Intertextuality
IPA	Institute of Propaganda Awareness
MR	Member Resources
NYT	The New York Times
PA	Propaganda
PLA	Chinese People's Liberation Army
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
WHO	World Health Organization
WSJ	The Wall Street Journal

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 The Problem

The possibility of a certain disease spreading exists at all times. It happens frequently, especially over the last forty years. As were the case with SARS-CoV, MERS-CoV, SARS-CoV-2, Ebola, and swine flu, to name a few, these infections frequently claim many lives. However, COVID-19 is distinct in a number of aspects since it is more dangerous and results in millions of fatalities globally. Such a calamity is brought on by the fixation with discovering the origins of these diseases or by directing attention away from the problem, as with covid-19, which is used to settle scores between the United States and China at the expense of human lives. These powers divert attention away from the primary issue and draw people into the circle of their conflict, even though it is crucial to identify the cause of this disaster and punish those responsible. In the end, both of these powers manufacture their vaccines and sell them to the other nations who were merely observers. But this suggests that the virus might have been created, and the entire affair is really a ruse to facilitate the transfer of these powers. This ongoing battle has a significant impact on not only the political, economic, and social aspects of the nations but also on people's lives, since their political views on which of the two poles to support influence how they would be treated by the other pole.

The current study is a critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) of the portrayal of COVID-19 as a Source of Conflict in Selected American and Chinese Newspapers to reveal how this topic is reproduced in newspapers linguistically and ideologically and what are the set agendas in these newspapers. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no study has been conducted to compare and analyze the ideologies and agendas found in newspapers of both America and

China with regard to COVID-19. The studies of the discourse's linguistic and ideological components aid in comprehending the pertinent and important concerns that go along with it. Ideologically, it is crucial to educate the general public by conducting a critical analysis of the COVID-19-related articles' discourse, which will expose the various ideologies employed. From a linguistic perspective, every linguistic feature—semantic, syntactic, or rhetorical—counts because it aids in exposing the ideologies and agendas that are being indicated.

The current study answers the following questions:

1. What role does the macro-structure play in depicting the existence of a conflict between America and China after the outbreak of COVID-19?
2. How does the micro structure analysis affect in depicting the conflict and in revealing the ideologies of both the American and the Chinese newspapers?
3. How does the study highlight the ideological polarization of the selected data? And, what are the most frequently used ideological strategies in American newspapers and in the Chinese ones?
4. Why is it important to analyze intertextuality techniques? And, what are the most frequently used intertextuality techniques in American newspapers and in the Chinese ones?
5. What are the agendas set in the selected data?
6. How can propaganda techniques be utilized to reveal the agendas set in the selected data? And, what are the most frequently used propaganda technique in American newspapers and in the Chinese ones?
7. Why are the frames used to set the intended agenda? How do they effect on agenda setting?

1.2 The Aims

The study aims to analyze and contrast how COVID-19 is exploited to be a source of a conflict in American and Chinese newspapers articles. More

specifically, the current study is intended to examine how this topic is linguistically represented in these newspapers to disseminate certain ideologies and agendas. Therefore, the aims of the study can be summed up as follows:

1. Identifying the primary themes that are employed to illustrate the conflict between America and China after the outbreak of COVID-19.
2. Identifying how the micro-structures affect the way the conflict is portrayed and how the ideology is revealed.
3. Determining the polarizing ideological strategies used in the selected American and Chinese newspapers. In addition, Identifying the most common ideological strategies in American newspapers and Chinese ones.
4. Pinpointing intertextuality techniques used in the selected data, showing their importance in revealing the ideologies and agendas of the agencies and identifying their importance in revealing the neutrality of the reporter. And, Identifying the most common intertextuality techniques in American newspapers and in the Chinese ones.
5. Identifying the agenda behind the conflict.
6. Recognizing the purposeful propaganda representation in the selected data showing their importance in revealing the agendas in the selected data. Moreover, identifying the most common propaganda techniques in American newspapers and in Chinese ones.
7. Identifying the purpose of using frames in selected data.

1.3 The Hypotheses

Based on the research questions, the study hypothesizes that:

1. The Chinese aim at dominance is the main issue in American publications, whereas Trump's tweet is the main theme in Chinese newspapers.

2. Some of the syntactic, semantic, and stylistic analysis of articles make decisions that are clearly motivated by ideology.
3. Derogation is the most common ideological strategy in American newspapers, whereas victimization is the most common ideological strategy in Chinese newspapers.
4. Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice is the most common intertextuality technique in American newspapers. As for the Chinese newspapers, indirect quotation is the most common intertextuality technique.
5. The primary agenda is the polarization of global attitudes. However, the predominant focus of American articles is on China as the virus's origin, but American stigmatization of Chinese is prevalent in Chinese publications.
6. Card stacking is the most common propaganda technique in American newspapers and in the Chinese ones.
7. The selected data are framed using all of the framing techniques suggested in Semetko and Valkeburg's (2000) model, including conflict, human interest, economic effects, morality, and responsibility frames. This specific model is chosen as it predicts the existence of these frames in news and their existence assure or portray the existence of a conflict.

1.4 The Procedure

In order to fulfill the aims introduced in the preceding section, the study adopts the following procedures:

1. Outlining a theoretical framework of the role that newspapers, in particular, play in influencing public opinion with a focus on the use of propaganda to advance agendas.
2. Outlining a theoretical framework of CDA and outlining the steps of analysis to carry out a CDA of portrayal of COVID-19 as a source of

conflict in selected American and Chinese newspapers. The study adopted an eclectic model based on five models namely; Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, Van Dijk's (1995) ideological square, Bazerman's (1988) model of intertextuality, Institute for Propaganda Analysis's major techniques of propaganda and Semetko and Valkeburg (2000) of framing.

3. Selecting data from newspapers articles. The data are selected deliberately to fulfil the aims of the study.
4. Conducting a linguistic and ideological analysis and discussion of the data.
5. Adopting a quantitative means of analysis to count and accordingly show the significance of the items involved in the dimensions of the adopted model. The quantitative analysis of this study is accomplished by counting the frequencies, percentages, Chi Square, and P-value of the data.
6. Analyzing the results of the study, drawing conclusions and formulating suggestions and recommendations.

1.4 The Limits

The study is limited to examining well-known American and Chinese newspaper articles. It explores and analyzes how COVID-19 is used and abused in a few renowned American and Chinese newspapers to portray the existence of a conflict. The two American newspapers that have been chosen are the New York Times (henceforth NYT) and Wall Street Journal (henceforth WSJ). Whereas the Chinese newspapers are English-language publications: The Global Times (henceforth GT) and China Daily (henceforth CD). The reason for selecting these newspapers is that because they are well-known publications and they have extensively covered COVID-19. Furthermore, one article is picked from each of these four publications, thus the study is restricted to four articles, two of which are American and two of which are Chinese. The selection of these newspapers is designed to analyze how newspapers perceived to be neutral represent the conflict and how newspapers leaning toward a certain political party

depict the conflict. As a result, the NYT is picked to symbolize the impartial American newspaper, whilst the WSJ is chosen to represent the biased American newspaper due to its Republican Party leaning. The unbiased Chinese newspaper is represented by CD, whereas the biased Chinese newspaper is represented by The GT.

Articles chosen are written between 1 March 2020 and 31 March 2020. The choice of this time period was deliberate since it coincides with the peak of the hostilities between the two countries. The articles are also picked based on their length. The length of each one ranges from 44 to 61 sentences.

1.6 The Significance

The study is helpful to CDA researchers both theoretically and practically. Anybody who is interested in discourse study, particularly CDA and media discourse, can profit from the theoretical part of the study because it gives information about CDA and media for the study. It could aid media consumers in critically evaluating and analyzing news reports regarding the vital COVID-19 conflict as a source. The findings of the current study are also predicted to be helpful to linguists, critical discourse analysts, and many other individuals who are interested in comprehending how the disease is described as a source of conflict in language. Additionally, news is frequently seen as a means of transmitting information, and many English language learners utilize newspapers as one of their primary resources for learning the language. However, it is important to consider if the news is impartial and true. Numerous critical researchers have discovered that news stories serve a variety of rights and beliefs in addition to being true. Therefore, it is critical to understand how news report content subtly manipulates people's thoughts. The knowledge of the ideologies

prevalent in the discourse that educators and students can be increased as a result of this study.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Background

This chapter is devoted to the presentation of the principal topics on which the study is based. It traces and recaps the origin and history of CDA paying attention to the most influencing landmarks. Also, it includes definitions, principles, critique of CDA as well as the main approaches to CDA. Additionally, the topic of media in general and newspapers in particular is covered.

The chapter exhibits and entrenches the Sino-US relations, a topic that paves the way to explaining where the conflict comes from. In addition, it expounds how COVID-19 is benefited to make this relation more complicated. Such subjects consistently capture the attention of media outlets, especially newspapers, which use them to spread the ideologies and agendas of those with interests. Therefore, the chapter also touches on the newspapers, their nature and how they tackle ideologies.

2.1 Discourse and Discourse Analysis

Discourse is one of the terms whose definition is controversial and has not been settled yet (Paltridge, 2012: 4). It is differently defined by scholars in a way that accords with their own disciplines and interests. In linguistics, discourse is defined either functionally or formally. Functionalists, on the one hand, point up the functions discourse does in communication. Such advocates are like Gumperz (1977: 17) who defines discourse as “certain communication routines which are viewed as distinct wholes, separated from other types of discourse, characterized by special rules of speech and non-verbal behavior” and Widdowson (1984: 100) who defines discourse as “a communicative process by means of interaction.” Formalists, on the other hand, define it in terms of structure. Thus, Crystal (1991: 96) defines it as “a series of ongoing process language (especially oral) wider than the sentence. Both have the

same view about the stratification of the discourse that is above a sentence or clause.” The definition clearly highlights the importance of the structural properties.

A third group of scholars reject defining discourse in either of the two views. That being the case with Coulthard who claims that it is “not enough if it is defined as the utterances or sentences that are well-formed grammatically” (Coulthard, 1985:7). Coulthard (1987:20) adds that discourse is first “a particular unit of language (above the sentence), or we can say that it can be discussed as a structure. Second is a particular focus (on language use)”.

It is noteworthy that discourse and text are sometimes used interchangeably, yet, some scholars differentiate between the two. Sarah (2019: 8), for example, asserts that discourse is a “linguistic communication” whose social purpose determines its form whereas text “is linguistic communication (either spoken or written) seen simply as a message coded in its auditory or visual medium”. On the contrary, Halliday and Hassan (1989:10) see text as “a form of exchange; and the fundamental form of a text is that of dialogue, of interaction between speakers”. They (Ibid.) also behold “the text as product and the text as process and to keep both these aspects in focus”. This final definition is similar to the critical discourse analysts’ one; Fairclough in particular whose definition of discourses are “ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the ‘mental world’ of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world.” (Fairclough, 2003: 124).

Based on the above definitions, Discourse Analysis (henceforth DA) is defined in a varied way. Schriffrin (2006: 170), for example, defines it as the “branch of linguistics that focuses on language use above and beyond the sentence”. Such definition goes with the formalist view of language. Another definition might cope with the functionalists such as that of Cameron (2001: 13) who defines it as “all forms of analyzing language in use”, which is extremely functionalist in its orientation. Other orientation, however, presents comprehensive definitions that may

gather different perspectives, such as Yule (1996: 83) who sees that DA covers a wide range of activities that extend from analyzing simple words like interjunctions to “the study of the dominant ideology in a culture as represented”.

In a nutshell, DA is an analytical framework that embraces a number of disciplines to approach discourse each from its own perspective.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Basically, CDA is neither a theory nor a method but an analytical practice with a critical perspective that encompasses different approaches from different disciplines. It is a branch of discourse analysis that is concerned with analyzing opaque along with transparent structural relationships of power, control, dominance as well as discrimination that is manifested in language (Fairclough, 1993: 135). In the same vein, Van Dijk defines it as a:

discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take an explicit position and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately challenge social inequality. This is also why CDA may be characterised as a social movement of politically committed discourse analysts. (Van Dijk, 2015: 466).

This definition emphasizes two main points: first, the focal element that aids, to a great extent, in creating unequal power relations within social order is discourse. This, definitely, brings to mind Fairclough and Wodak’s claim that language is never neutral (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:258). And second, the critical aspect of CDA is accentuated to assure that CDA analyst is not only responsible for the analysis of discourse but also the analyst has to react against power abuse and discriminatory ideologies and endeavor to terminate such a discrimination and to achieve social change.

2.2.1 CDA Origin and its Development

The abovementioned information represents the basics on which different approaches to CDA have been based. Besides, CDA has been influenced by some previous schools of thoughts which will be discussed in the following sections:

2.2.1.1 The Frankfort School

CDA can be traced back to the Frankfort School of thought (also called the Institute of Social Research) which was established in 1923 to rejuvenate Marx's thought. The most influential figures of this school are Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse and Jurgen Habermas. The founders of this school think that Marx's thought is misinterpreted as it is institutionalized as an ideology of the communist movement. Thus, instead of achieving Marx's thought which aimed to liberate people from the suppressed capitalism, it is developed to be a new means of oppression (that of the ruler which is as repressive as the previous) (Fatah, 2012: 99).

The Frankfort School passed through three phases after the World War II during which thinkers of various disciplines were comprised and they applied various approaches to address social problems. Therefore, in an attempt to gain an ideal or utopical social system; the school "developed daringly innovative, interdisciplinary critical approaches to the emerging phenomena of modern life". Miller (2014: 6) views that the interdisciplinary which characterizes this school is also followed by CDA. Another shared characteristics between both the Frankfort School and CDA is its critical perspective. As such, Miller (Ibid: 9) believes that this school "was not only interested in "what is" but more interestingly in "what could be" or "what, realistically, could be changed in the interest of greater human freedom and rationality and what social forces specifically might bring about that change". Criticality, in this respect, aims to enable humans to redeem themselves from any form of domination through self-reflection and it seeks for more idealistic world or as (Wodak & Meyer

2009: 7) state “it aims to critique and change society rather than solely understand and explain it”.

Although there were a rather great number of thinkers who contributed to this school during its three phases, the most influential one was Habermas. He was one of the prominent figures who appeared during the third phase (also known as the communicative turn). His importance can be traced to his introduction of a novel paradigm of critical theory which focused on language and communication. He instigates his notion of “public sphere” which is “a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed” (Habermas, 1964: 49). More specifically, public sphere, to use Thompson’s (1995: 110-11) words, means:

A bourgeois public sphere which consisted of private individuals who had come together to debate among themselves, and with state authorities concerning the regulation of civil society and the conduct of the state. The medium of this confrontation was significant and unprecedented: it was the public use of reason, as articulated by private individuals engaged in argument that is in principle open and unconstrained. (Thompson, 1995: 110-11)

In Habermas’s view salons and cafes were spaces where people from all walks gather together to freely discuss issues related to their social life and “to express and publish their opinions-about matters of general interest”. They “behave as a public body” when they rationally debated social issues pertaining the good of the public. By means of media these debates and discussions became familiar to the state. Thus, media has a focal role to play between people and the state in the past time. The importance of the public sphere which characterizes the old period, Habermas believes, has been transformed from being idyllic in the second half of the 19th century (Habermas, 1964: 49). In other words, this transformation is a consequence of the arrival of refeudalization when, as Petley, (2012: 142) claims “private institutions began increasingly to assume public power and to intervene in the political process, whilst at the same time the state progressively entered the private realm and took on ever greater responsibility for managing citizens’ welfare”. This

refeudalization brought about the insularity of the public and instead of holding a debate between the public and the state, it is held between the institutions and the state. “The public as such is included only sporadically in this circuit, and even it is brought in only to contribute its acclamation”. Therefore, he criticized mass media alleging that as it dispossesses people and their right to critically think or to participate in the debate (Habermas, 1989: 176).

In addition, Habermas also differentiates between what he calls “critical publicity” and “manipulative publicity”. Critical publicity, according to Habermas (Ibid: 177–178), is a bottom up since the public sphere exerts influence on the decisions of the state whereas manipulative publicity is the opposite. It is a top down one where the public has not a say on the decisions of the state but it assists the “manipulation of the public” so as to “create an aura of good will for certain positions”. Habermas adds that “critical publicity” should be extended to private corporations being part of the state. He suggests this because he thinks that mass media has to return back to its old covenant by being submitted to the scrutiny of the public sphere. In this way, the participation of the public sphere is guaranteed.

2.2.1.2 Critical Linguistics

Definitely, CDA stemmed out from Critical Linguistics (henceforth CL) although sometimes both terms are used interchangeably. Yet, Wadok and Meyer (2009:1) claim that “the term CDA seems to have been preferred and is being used to denote the theory formerly identified as CL”. The two perspectives have, in fact, different characteristics in common, however, there are certain points of departure between the two. In other words, CL has certain views and perspectives which have not been followed or viewed in the same way by CDA.

In the mid-1970s, a group of linguists and literary theorists, such as Fowler, Hodge, and Kress developed an approach to discourse analysis in East Anglia University known as Critical Linguistics (Fowler, et al., 1979:187). The main postulation of CL is that discourses hold ideologies and they are always motivated by

the producers' interest (Wodak, 2001:3). These ideologies or the world-view, as Fowler (1991: 67) states, come to people's minds as a result of their connection to the institutions and the socio-economic structure of their society which in turn facilitate and confirm for them by a language use. As such, the interest producers' treated language as a social practice since it is as a means of social communication (Fowler et al., 1979: 1). They were intrigued by Halliday's systemic-functional linguistics. Accordingly, they combined his approach to that of other approaches "eclectic" or "composite of a number of sources" (Fowler et al., 1979: 3). This interdisciplinarity characterizes CDA as well. Halliday believes that there are "strong and pervasive connections between language structure and social structure" (Fowler & Kress, 1979: 185) and that those structures developed according to the communicative needs of people. Thence, in order to comprehend linguistics structuring, there must be a thorough- going account of social structures (Kress, 1991: 163). Ergo, language and society should not be theorized as two separate entities. All those ideas were adapted by the CL and CDA as well. For Fowler (1991: 67) CL seeks to bring to consciousness the pattern of belief and value that is encoded in language and that is below the threshold of notice for anyone who accepts the discourse as "natural" by studying the minute details of linguistic structure in the context of the social and historical situation of the text.

Besides, critical linguists considered text as a linguistic unit which is to be described and analyzed and they "relate forms of thought to the existence of the producers of those thoughts, as individuals living in a material world under specific conditions in specific societies at given times" (Catalano and Waugh 2020: 35). What is more is that those critical linguists picked out certain parts of Halliday's model which suit their intentions such as theme, transitivity and modality. In this respect, Catalano and Waugh (Ibid: 33) assert that "they worked on, e.g., the many lexicogrammatical resources of ideational and interpersonal meaning and cohesive and other devices for textual structuring". Nevertheless, they tried to make their model of analysis more amalgamated with theories of societies and ideologies and less

narrowly linguistics because, according to their beliefs, linguistic behavior is usually affected by social grouping (Fowler et al., 1979: 1). Furthermore, they postulated that the grammatical categories can be interpreted as a prospect vestige of ideological ambiguity. They also believe that using more than one style to convey the same idea is not a mere style variation as it was traditionally considered but it might be intended to carry certain implied ideologies. In their opinion, the idea that language forms are freely chosen which is attributed to appropriateness in the given situation, nestles that appropriateness is set up by socio/economic factors beyond the control of language users. These are unconsciously imparted by way of socialization and they are approbated by the social norms which are established by people in power (Fowler et al., 1979: 1). They go further and claim that any aspect of linguistic structure whether phonological, structural, semantic, etc. can carry ideological significance and that society is neither innocent nor neutral (Fowler, 1991: 67).

Generally speaking, the goal of the CL is defamiliarisation or consciousness-raising. That is why it is critical. In critical linguists' views, the aim of criticism is to change or eliminate all false or distorted consciousness. Criticism also meant to transparently renders ulterior ideologies. Doing so will inaugurate the process of self-reflection in individuals and in groups as well and this will consequently lead to achieve the main aim which is to liberate oneself or the group from the domination of the old constrains (Connerton, 1976:20).

2.2.1.3 Systemic Functional Linguistics

Since 1950s, Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) has become a very well-known approach because of its influence in the process of analyzing texts. It is a functionalist approach that considers language as constituting social semiotic systems or meaning potentials that is evolved as a means of exchanging the ideational, textual and interpersonal meanings. Meanings, in Halliday's view, are "influenced by the social and cultural context in which they are exchanged" (Eggins, 2004: 3). Therefore, there is no separation between language and society.

According to this approach, language is divided into three interrelated strata. The first one is the expression stratum which might be speech or writing, the second stratum is the lexico-grammar and the third one is the discourse semantic. These strata are in turn, related to other three hieratically arranged strata of context, namely; context of situation, context of culture and ideology (Haig, 2022: 45).

From the above discussion, it seems vivid that there are shared perspectives between CDA and SFL which can be summarized as (1) both approaches see language as a social construct because of the role it plays in the society and the way in which society has framed language, (2) both approaches see that language is dialectical where particular discursive events impact on the context in which they occur and the context is affected by these discursive events, and (3) both approaches concentrate on the cultural and historical aspect of meaning (Young & Harrison, 2004: 1).

In the same way, Young & Harrison (Ibid: 1- 2) refer to the points of departure between these two approaches. Firstly, in SFL functions of language are focused, thus this theory considers how meanings are made in different contexts, i.e. both functions and context are highlighted. In CDA, however, the analysis aims to “explore the relation between language and power and the ways in which language is being used to produce, maintain, and reproduce positions of power through discursive means”. On that account, the main intention of CDA is to use analysis in order to “reveal structures of domination”, and “to effect change in the way power is wielded, maintained, and reproduced in social organizations and relationships” as well. Secondly, SFL is a linguistic theory which has its own methodology of analysis, unlike CDA which cannot be identified as either methodology or theory of language. It is an “approach towards” examining social problems demonstrated discursively, i.e. multidisciplinary approach.

Regardless of these points of departure, SFL is still deemed as significant to CDA on the bases that it proffers a clear and thorough etymological classifications for investigating the relations between discourse and its social aspects. In this respect,

Young & Harrison (2004: 3) profess “some analysts developed areas of CDA outside of SFL; nevertheless, all researchers in CDA acknowledge that SFL is centrally important to the critical study of situated language events”.

2.2.2 Traditional Discourse Analysis and CDA

DA is a generic term used to refer to a set of methodological approaches used to inspect language in use. Thus, DA as a discipline views language as a form of social interaction. Following this view, DA aims to: (a) structure the way through which social activities are executed, (b) establish human relationships within cultural and social community and (c) scrutinize the discursive practices by means of which humans adjust their relationships (Gee, 1991: 15; Wiggins, 2009: 428).

Basically, there are different perspectives to DA which vary according to the analyst’s intention. These perspectives are grouped into four paradigms, namely, structural-functional, social/sociolinguistic, pragmatic and critical one. The first paradigm concentrates on the internal properties of the discourse, i.e. cohesion pertinence and consistency and it ignores anything situated beyond interpersonal connections and the reference to social context. The second paradigm accentuates the importance of studying the structures of discourse and the functions they perform in socio-cultural contexts. The third type inspects how language work in different communicative events. Another trend points up the fact that language can reflect the social aspect of communities. These trends can be detected to the effect of the anthropologists and sociologists (Suciu, 2019:4-6).

As for the fourth or the critical perspective, it is affected by the psychoanalysis, Marxism and linguistics. Critical discourse analysis, in its own part, conjures the diverse social theories to carefully inspect the complex relationship between language and ideology in various contexts. It is influenced by the western Marxism where the main focus is on social measurements that reproduce industrialists social relations.

This principally indicates that meaning and ideology should be emphasized as fundamental tools in this procedure. In this way, discourse is not considered of a neutral value, on the contrary, CDA seeks to reveal the “structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk or verbal interaction or communicative events play a role” in producing and reproducing of unequal power relation and how dominance, and inequality are produced in discourse (Van Dijk, 1993: 250). Drawing upon SFL, these social meanings are disclosed through “analyzing the linguistic structures in the light of their interest and wider social context” (Fowler et al., 1979: 195).

To conclude, what differentiates CDA from other approaches of discourse analysis is that CDA takes a critical stance of language being used whereas other approaches highlight the functions of language, how it depicts social relations and how it works in different communicative events. CDA does not ignore these important views, on the contrary, it highly depends on the analysis of language when conducting a critical study. CDA comprises a close studying of language in text where certain linguistic phenomena like word choice, metaphor, sentence structure, implicature, strategy, argumentation, etc. are highlighted to attain the main intention of the analyst.

2.2.3 The Nature of CDA

Inspired by the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis, CDA’s fundamental interest is to dissect the potential of discourse to structure reality focusing on how beliefs, social relations and social identity are depicted (Fairclough, 1992: 64). It brings to the fore the relationship between language and society stressing that this relation is dialectical. Thus, Fairclough assures that discourse is, on the one hand, formed and limited by social structure in the broadest sense and at all levels. On the other hand, discourse contributes to the formation of all the aspects of social structure that it directly or indirectly shapes and restrains, including its own norms and conventions and the relationships, identities, and institutions that support them (Ibid).

Such view brings to light the idea that the different social aspects are included in the discourse but what CDA addresses is that which constitutes some problems. Among these problems are the relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control which are manifested in discourse.

In CDA, the relationship between language, power and ideology is emphasized (van Leeuwen 1993; Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Bishop and Jaworski 2003; Richardson 2007). Accordingly, the analysts' job is to "demystify discourses by deciphering ideologies" (Wodak 2006: 10). In other words, CDA bares the ideologies (encoded in any discourse) which are viewed as commonsensical and brings them into people's awareness.

On that account, CDA sees discourses, in Wodak (2001: 66) words, as "complex bundle[s] of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts" which are ideologically invested and need to be carefully investigated and analyzed. Based on that fact, aspects of linguistics such as lexis, grammar, presupposition, implicature, argumentation and others need to be carefully analyzed (Fairclough 1995; Van Dijk 1998; Reisigl and Wodak 2009).

The fact that CDA addresses social problems necessitates the utilization of an interdisciplinary and eclectic approach which makes use of diverse approaches and methods for adequate study of discourse (Weiss and Wodak 2003; Van Dijk 2006; Wodak and Meyer 2009).

To put it in a nutshell, Van Dijk (1995: 17-19) gives a synopsis of the main features of CDA. He (ibid) mentions basic tenets of CDA as in the following:

(a) It is a problem or issue-oriented rather than paradigm-oriented. This means social problems (sexism, colonialism, racism and other social issues) can be addressed through various theoretical and methodological approaches as long as they are able to efficaciously examine pertinent social problems.

- (b) CDA is an approach, position or stance of studying discourse. It is not a school, field or sub-discipline.
- (c) It is a multidisciplinary approach, i.e., it can be approached from different fields of knowledge in order to conveniently study social problems.
- (d) Historically and systematically, CDA constitutes part of the broad spectrum of critical studies in the human and social sciences.
- (e) CDA may examine all levels and dimensions of discourse such as phonology, syntax, semantic, style, rhetoric, etc.
- (f) It may also study and analyze other semiotic dimensions (such as pictures, film, sound, music, etc.) because they might signify certain issues.
- (g) It concentrates on the social relations of power, dominance, inequality and how these relations are (re)produced by group member.
- (h) CDA also pay great attention to the discursively enacted or legitimated structures and strategies of dominance and resistance in social relationships of class, gender, ethnicity, race, etc.
- (i) It focuses on the implied ideology which is focal in the (re)production of or resistance against dominance or inequality.
- (j) It aims to disclose these ideologies, thus, it highlights the strategies that affect on people's mind in the interest of the powerful such as manipulation, legitimation, the manufacture of consent and other discursive ways.
- (k) Doing CDA which intends to disclose aspects of mental control implicates a critical and oppositional stance against any power abuse.
- (l) CDA intends to sustain solidarity with the dominated group through the formulation of strategic proposals for enactment and development of counter- power or counter ideologies.

2.2.4 Critique in CDA

According to Wadok (2014: 304), CDA “encompasses a varied understanding of the terms ‘critical’, ‘criticism’ and ‘critique’”. Being critical means to decode

power asymmetry and ideologies encoded in discourses by dissecting the superficial meanings and not taking anything for granted. Fairclough (2010: 39) explains that it means to disclose the complex relationship among social structures which are foggy and need to be demystified to the layperson. In his other book, he (2009: 163) professes that criticality in CDA means to dissect “social wrongs of the day (in a broad sense — injustice, inequality, lack of freedom, etc.) by analyzing their sources and causes, resistance to them and possibilities of overcoming them”. In his turn, Kress (1996: 15) adds that CDA has a political project, therefore deconstructing the surface meaning of texts is not its ultimate goal. He (ibid.) adds another goal that is “of altering inequitable distributions of economic, cultural and political goods in contemporary societies” which can result “in achieving a more equitable social order”. This procedure requires criticism but CDA includes being self-reflective and self-critical as well. Van Dijk (2009: 63) clarifies this point stating that the term critical in CDA alludes to its scholars and not to the method itself, i.e., the critical feature is represented throughout the process of formulating goals, selecting the theories to be used and specifying and enhancing the methods (Wadok and Meyer 2009; Angermuller et al 2014). Throughout criticizing the social wrongs and the self, CDA can achieve social change; a fundamental aim in CDA (Angermuller et al., 2014: 362).

For better understanding of the term critical, Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 32–4) aver that ‘critical’ is a combination of three levels, namely; “text-immanent critique”, “sociodiagnostic critique”, and “prospective (retrospective) critique”. The first level or the text-immanent critique is oriented towards exploring dilemmas, paradoxes and self-contradiction in the internal structure of discourses by means of retroductable and cautious analysis. Socio-diagnostic critique, on the other hand, intends to decipher the conspicuous or latent - “persuasive or ‘manipulative’ character of discursive practices” through the amalgamation of both sociopolitical and structural context when analyzing and interpreting textual meanings. Prospective

critique or future related one matters to identify and amend areas of social concern (Salahshour, 2017: 42).

To sum up CDA analyst intends to place himself/herself in a transparent position when analyzing the data. Accordingly, the data are analyzed in its relevant social context and the position of social actors are categorized within discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 87–88).

2.2.5 Critique on CDA

Like any other approaches in linguistics, CDA has its share of critique but most of them were criticism of the negatives of this approach rather than its own positives. On that account, there are certain glitches which are emphasized such as the way of analysis, data selecting and text – context relations (Widdowson, 1995, 1996;; Schegloff, 1997; Hammersley, 1997; Widdowson, 1998; Wetherell, 2001; Verschueren, 2001; Blommaert, 2001; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002; Blommaert, 2005; Jones, 2007; Breeze, 2011).

CDA is criticized for its excessive focus on the linguistic aspects at the expense of other aspects of discourse such as contextual and non- discursive aspects. Jones (2007: 366), for example, claims that neither linguistics nor CDA are equipped with the adequate tools to meaningfully untangle the interrelation between discourse and material economic processes or that interrelation between the dominate or the dominated group. He also admits that political writers and activists can achieve this task more effectively. In the same way, Jorgensen & Phillips (2002: 90) accuse CDA analysts of being busy with over-interpretation and of neglecting language user's agency. Close to this opinion, Breeze asserts that CDA practitioners lack the interest in examining audience effects and responses to discourses (Breeze, 2011: 512). Widdowson (2004: 67) refers to the existence of the gap between the sense of the producer and the clarification or explanation of that sense by the recipient. He

attributes this to the fact that the perlocutionary result is not a characteristics of texts but a purpose of discourse.

CDA also is criticized for its way of data collection. Widdowson argues that “CDA is, in a dual sense, a biased interpretation: in the first place it is prejudiced on the basis of some ideological commitment, and then it selects for analysis such texts as will support the preferred interpretation” (Widdowson, 1995: 169). This means that CDA analysts collect their data in a cherry pick way so as to meet their objectives which is mainly to disclose ideologies. Such a way of data collecting in which the analyst has a prior perception of what is presupposed to exist in the text, Widdowson claims, facilitates the procedure of finding the prejudice for the analyst (Widdowson, 1998: 148). Breeze (2011: 516) argues that it is not surprising that language scholars in this school find it simpler to deconstruct than to construct given the presumptions made in CDA about the nature of society and the “overwhelming interest in exposing ideological manipulation that shapes and perpetuates power imbalances through discourse”. Machin (2016) exhorts multimodal CDA/CDS scholars to interact with the fields of visual studies, media, and cultural studies, which have been researching related topics for decades. However, he cautions them that many of these studies do not necessarily align with a socially driven form of analysis like CDA and that instead, these approaches and concepts may merely cloud and distract their perspective (Machin, 2016: 331, cited in Catalano and Waugh, 2020: 238).

In order to defend this criticism, Fairclough himself asserts that there is always a particular interest in rendering and analyzing texts. Stubbs (1997:100) comes to confirm this when he says “language and thought can only be related if one has data and theory pertinent to both: otherwise the theory is circular”. Moreover, Fairclough assures that CDA and objectivity are difficult to meet so he considers his approach to CDA as a guideline for the analysis which has certain perspective. To assure this claim, Fairclough expresses “a socialist with a generally low opinion of the social relationships in society and a commitment to the emancipation of the people who are oppressed by them”. Based on these confessions, Fairclough spots light on the open-

endedness of results, that is his approach result in a partial analysis so one can say that both the position and commitment of CDA are clear and identified (Fairclough, 2001:4).

Ignorance of context is another criticism directed to discourse. Bartlett (2012: 5) believes that CDA fails because of its ignorance of social factors and social consequences as well. Collins and Jones (2006) (cited in Catalano and Waugh, 2020: 226) admit that CDA does not highlight “the contribution that communicational acts and processes make to social history nor does it pay enough attention to the real social process within which discourse exists”. Fairclough and Wodak (1997:276) refute this claim confirming that utterances are only relevant if their application in a particular circumstance is taken into account, if the underlying norms and regulations are comprehended, if their embedding in a particular culture and ideology is realized, and most crucially, if the historical context of the discourse is being aware of. Discourse is not formed in a vacuum, and it is also impossible to comprehend without taking the context into account. Discourses are always tied to earlier generated discourses.

The above statements point out to the importance of context and intertextuality for CDA practitioners. It also shows how important historicity is for the analysis – another criticism for which CDA is accused.

As far as methodology is concerned, CDA is arraigned for lacking the intrinsic savor of being a theory (Schegloff, 1997; Breeze, 2011; Bartlett, 2012 and Widdowson, 1998). Pennycook (2001: 87), for example, is dissatisfied with the “strange mixture of theoretical eclecticism” which, Bartlett believes, “not all of which are compatible” (Bartlett, 2012: 520). Therefore, the analysis is not systematic since there is not a theoretical model to be applied “but a rather less rigorous operation, in effect a kind of ad hoc bricolage which takes from theory whatever concept comes usefully to hand” (Widdowson, 1998: 136).

To defend their point of view, Wodak and Meyer (2009: 2) argue that studying a social phenomenon – which is absolutely complex - cannot stop at investigating the

linguistic unit per se but it requires “a multidisciplinary and multi-methodological approach”. Over and above that, Weiss and Wodak (2003:7) contend that the multiplicity of the theory is strengthening point and not the opposite as it opens the door for “innovative and productive theory formation”.

Another criticism is concerned with the ‘critical’ aspect in CDA. In this regard, Billig (2002: 38) reports that CDA scholars misunderstand this aspect because they position themselves as critical of other academic approaches. Besides, subjectivity of those scholars influence their analysis. Wadok attacks this view stating that the term ‘critical’ presupposes a self-reflective researcher who should be aware of his/her own bias and should keep persistent “balancing between theory and empirical phenomena” (Wadok, 1999: 185). Critics add that the term ‘critical’ in CDA indicates concentrating on the negatives - a criticism demolished by Wadok. Angermuller et al (2014: 362) emphasize that ‘critical’ in CDS does not mean investigating problematic or negative social phenomena, on the contrary, any social phenomenon can be investigated.

In response to Breeze’s criticism that CDA is concentrating on negative aspects, Catalano and Waugh (2020: 234) divulge “there has been a call for the voices of the ‘oppressed’ to be heard rather than solely the analyst’s and for a comparison of the findings of the analyst with what the members of the target community think and say”.

Despite these criticisms, CDA proves its being a practical approach for the analysis of discourses especially those with ideologies. With an emphasis on Van Dijk's (1988) model, the next chapter will outline the primary approaches to CDA. Van Dijk's ideological square, as well as the key methods of agenda setting and intertextuality, will also be discussed in this chapter. These methods will be used as models for the analysis of the chosen data.

2.2.6 Approaches to CDA

The multi-disciplinary nature of CDA licensed scholars of various disciplines whether political, sociological, linguistic or even psychological to suggest different theoretical approaches to critically analyze discourses (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999:17). These approaches have two cardinal orientations; deductive and inductive. Deductive or top down approaches theorize proactively and utilize appropriate examples to illustrate the proposed theory, for example, van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach. Inductive or bottom up approaches, on the other hand, scrutinize amount of data and then theorize accordingly. An example of such approach is Wadok's discourse-historical approach. Nonetheless, this classification of deductive/inductive orientation does not mean that scholars should stick to either of these directions, per contra, the flexibility and dynamicity nature of CDA necessitate a constant alternation between the two. Wodak & Meyer (2009: 23) spell out that the classification of these approaches into such polarity stems from the general themes and the starting points of these approaches, on that account, these approaches are poles between which a continuum of approaches exist. This study, however, sheds the light on the three main approaches of CDA.

2.2.6.1 Wadok's Model

Wadok concentrates on the language and semiotic used by power holders to observe how aspects like ideology and power are manipulated. In her view, those power holders can shape and shift public opinion, attitude and interests. Media, then, is in a complex relationship with politicians since it mirrors their opinion. This relationship provokes a question of "who influences who" whose answer, Wadok believes, cannot be reached without reclining to CDA (Wadok, 2001: 64).

Her model underscores the importance of the historical context and the role it plays in interpreting texts. For her, historical context is conclusive in explicating

structures as well as functions of utterances. This can be observed from the following quotation:

It considers intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourse as well as extra-linguistic social/sociological variables, the history of an organization and institutions, and situational frames. While focusing on all these relationships, we explore how discourses, genres and texts change in relation to sociopolitical change (Wadok and Reisigl, 2009: 90).

The above quotation spells the layers through which historical knowledge can be understood, viz. (a) the linguistic co-text (b) the intertextual and interdiscursive (c) the extralinguistic and (d) the socio-political and historical (Wodak & Meyer, 2001:1-14). There is a clear reference to the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between discourses. Intertextuality, Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 27) assert, refers to the interfere or interconnection between discourses which outrages a vigilant inspection of the past as well as the present discourses (discourses that are related to the same topic). Conducting such a process can filter out re-contextualization. The realization of this interconnections can be obtained by means of different techniques. Bouferrouk (2019: 39) mentions that some of these techniques are “referring to a topic or a main actor, by making a reference to the same incident or event or even by bringing the main arguments of one text to the other”.

Reisigl and Wodak (Ibid) give rise to another important aspect in discourse analysis, i.e., interdiscursivity. In their view, discourses have to do with a specific topic called “macro-topic” which is to be either supported or disapproved through other sub-discourses which are necessary connected.

Related to the methodology of this approach, Wadok (2001: 65) encourages to apply “different approaches multimethodically and on the basis of a variety of empirical data as well as background information”. Yet, this approach is said to highlight Habermas's notion of the public sphere (Abdul Jabbar & Kareem 2013:24).

More important, social critique is fundamental to Wadok's approach. It embraces three fundamental elements, which are:

1. 'Text or discourse immanent critique' where the internal structures of texts or discourses are investigated to discover inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal.
2. 'Socio-diagnostic critique' which intends to demystify the possibly persuasive or 'manipulative' character of discursive practices. Background and contextual knowledge are emphasized in this layer of analysis.
3. 'Prognostic/prospective critique' which aims to improve communication by avoiding language abuse.

Nevertheless, the inductive orientation of this model is seen as one of its weaknesses. Also, the need for gathering as much data -related to the topic under investigation- as possible makes it difficult to be applied in this study.

2.2.6.2 Fairclough's Model

Being an influential practitioner, Fairclough introduces a very prominent approach – if not the most impressive one – of CDA analysis. To Weiss and Wodak (2003: 15) the fundamental interest of this approach is to theoretically analyze and highlight the “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” and to practically contribute to the “general rising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language” (Fairclough, 1989: 4). Thus, he admits that there is a dialectical relation between language and other social practices since “it is shaped by while shaping other social practices” (Fairclough, 1995: 131; Pasha, 2011: 33). This relation, Fairclough concludes, is a property of CDA analysis besides two other properties, which are relational and interdisciplinary/transdisciplinary. He clarifies that the relation is dialectical in the sense that language is constituted by the social practice and similarly it constitutes the social practice. He asserts that “the

relationship between text and society/culture is to be seen dialectically. Texts are socio-culturally shaped but they also constitute society and culture” (Fairclough, 1995: 34). The second property, namely relational is attributed to the fact that the construction of the social life resulted from a set of complex social relations. Whereas the third property, i.e. interdisciplinary/transdisciplinary resulted from the utilization of the work of different fields of Knowledge (Fairclough, 2010:3; Mohammed, 2017: 17). Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 6) confirm this utilization saying that “CDA brings social science and linguistics ... together within a single theoretical and analytical framework, setting up a dialogue between them”.

The manifestation of interdisciplinarity in Fairclough’s (1989) approach is apparent from the number of theories upon which he draws that approach. Such theories as Halliday’s (1978) SFL, Habermas's colonization of discourse (1987), Foucault's (1971) order of discourse and Gramscis's (1971) hegemony. Fairclough agrees with Halliday’s idea of language multifunction.

For Fairclough language is a social practice, since discourse is implicated in diverse facets of social practice whether political, economic or ideological without any of them being reducible to discourse (Fairclough, 1992; 1998; Al-humaidi, 2013). Henceforth, he distinguishes three constructive effects of discourse: (i) it contributes to the construction of social self or identity and subject position, (ii) it contributes to the construction of social relationships between people, (iii) it contributes to the construction of a system of knowledge and beliefs. These effects, Fairclough claims, correspond with the language functions proposed by Halliday and he names them as the “identity”, “relational” and “ideational” effects or functions (Fairclough, 1992: 64).

Based on the aforementioned propositions, Fairclough proposes, a tri-dimensional approach for the analysis of discourse. He admits that prior to the analysis of any text, we should consider that “each discursive event has three dimensions or facets: it is a spoken or written language text, it is an instance of social

practice involving the production and interpretation of text, and it is a piece of social practice” (Fairclough, 2010: 94). On that account, immediate context, the wider context of practices, as well as the wider frames of society and culture are all involved in the analysis. The three dimensions can be summarized as follows:

(i) Text (description)

The first dimension is to linguistically analyze texts in terms of vocabulary (where the way individual words signify the world which is addressed), grammar (which inspects how individual words are combined to produce a particular effect or meaning), cohesion (which deals with the way sentences are combined together) and finally text structure (which addresses the organization of the text) (Fairclough, 1992). According to Richardson (2007: 38) “every aspect of textual content is the result of a choice”. This idea justifies the reason behind text analysis. Fairclough adapts Halliday’s (1978) SFL as a toolkit in his analysis of texts along with his classification of language functions. Nonetheless, he believes that text meaning has to be discern from three dimensions which he prefers to treat them in terms of semiosis rather than functions. These dimensions are: representation, action and identification. He explains that each of these dimensions match with one of Halliday’s functions of language, thus he puts it in the following way:

Representation corresponds to Halliday’s ‘ideational’ function; Action is closest to his ‘interpersonal’ function, though it puts more emphasis on text as a way of (inter)acting in social events, and it can be seen as incorporating Relation (enacting social relations); Halliday does not differentiate a separate function to do with identification – most of what I include in Identification is in his ‘interpersonal’ function. I do not distinguish a separate ‘textual’ function, rather I incorporate it within action. (Fairclough, 2003: 27)

Obviously, Fairclough splits Halliday’s interpersonal function into identity and relational. Also, he sees that textual function is not to be distinguished as a separate function but he incorporates it within the interpersonal function while keeping the ideational function as an independent function.

(ii) Discursive practice (interpretation)

According to this dimension, the analysis should proceed beyond analyzing the linguistic features. Fairclough (1992:78) claims, that this dimension “involves processes of text production, distribution, and consumption, and the nature of these varies between different types of discourse according to social factors”. He asserts that, at this level of analysis, text should be seen as a product of the process of production and discourse as a discursive practice. Consequently, text features have no value without being involved in social interaction, where their production and interpretations work against a background of common assumptions, i.e. member resources (henceforth MR). Text features are cues to activate elements of interpreter’s MR and as a result of the dialectical interplay between these cues and MR the interpretations are generated. Fairclough (2001: 119) listed six principal MR. He calls them interpretative procedures. Two of them help in interpreting the contexts whereas the other four help in interpreting texts. The following figure epitomizes the process of interpretation:

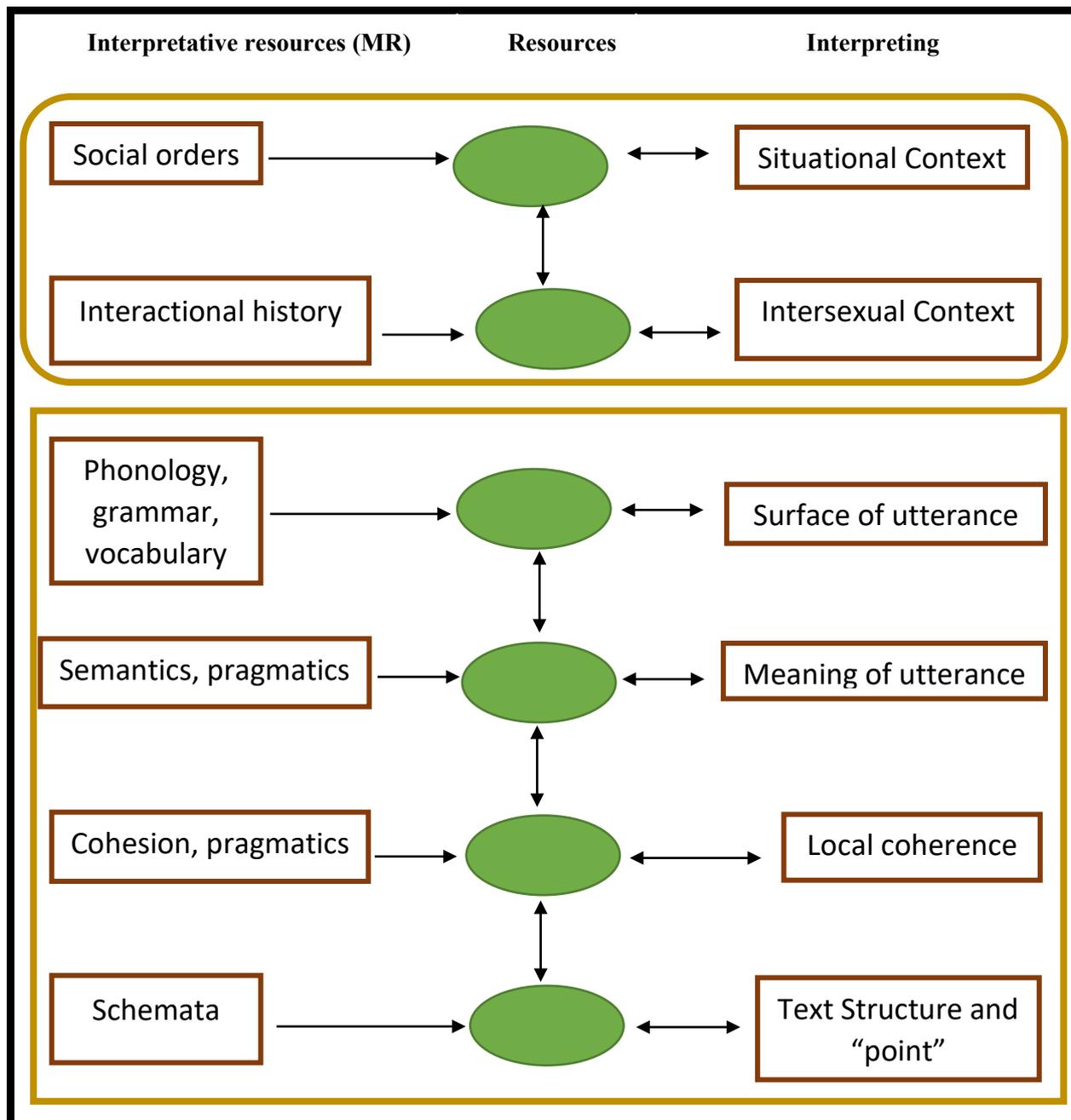


Figure (2.1) Interpretation after Fairclough (2001)

The above diagram explains that each of the interpretative procedures particularly correlates with a level of interpretation. However, the central line between the interpretative procedures and the level of interpretation singles out the range of resources which are accounted for each domains of interpretation. The double-headed arrow between the box and the domain of interpretation means that the previous interpretations form a part of the resources for interpretation whereas the double-headed arrow which vertically link the boxes in the central column means, second, that the squares in the central column are also connected vertically by two-

headed arrows. This means that each field of interpretation relies on interpretations of the others as part of its "resource". This interdependence is partially apparent for the four levels of text interpretation.

In interpreting context, two context types are included. First, situational context which is arrived at on the basis of the external cues and aspects of their member's resources as well. The way of interpreting the situation identifies discourse type which in succession impact on the interpretative procedures which affect textual interpretation. Fairclough (1989: 147-8) proposes four questions for the interpretation of situational context, viz. "What is going on?", "Who is involved?", "In what relations?" and "What is the role of language?" Second, intertextual context which means "how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones" (Fairclough, 1992: 270). This determines what is to be considered as given since it constitutes part of the common experience and what is not agreed upon, allude to, etc.

The importance of this dimension lies in explicating ideologies and power relations existed in discourses. For this reason, there is an urgent need for a third dimension to explain these ideologies and power relations.

(iii) Social practice (Explanation)

In this dimension, discourse is considered as a social practice therefore, investigating how the prevailing social practices whether social, ideological or hegemonic shape and are shaped by discursive practice (discourse) is the main concern of this dimension (Fairclough, 2015: 127). As a social practice, discourse affects the social structure and can play a vital role in social change leading to an implicit or explicit power asymmetry, marginalization, exclusion of groups, etc. or resistance and disagreement in certain cases, i.e. discourse is seen as a process of social struggle within the matrix of power relations. Those power relations, in turn, determine social identity, social relationships and assumptions about culture which are combined with MR. For that reason, Fairclough (1995: 62) suggests three levels

of organization at which social determinants of discourse and social effect should be studied, viz. the societal level, the institutional level, and the situational level.

At this level of analysis, the analysts proceed beyond the text or discursive analysis. They should consider that discourse is, as Fairclough (2004: 277) asserts, “seen as articulations of different types of social elements. They articulate semiosis (hence language) together with other non-semiotic social elements”. To this particular point, Fairclough (Ibid.) adds five key elements in composing any social practice. These are (i) action and interaction; (ii) social relations; (iii) persons (with beliefs, attitudes, histories, etc.); (iv) the material world; and (v) discourse.

The three dimensions of Fairclough’s approach complement each other to reach to a precise interpretation of discourse and to put hand on the implicit ideologies. So that, it can be comprehended by people and to see the possibility of reproducing it. However, due to the study's purpose, which is to examine how the two parties (American and Chinese) are polarized, this model has not been used in this study.

2.2.6.3 Van Dijk’s Model

The socio-cognitive approach developed by Van Dijk aims to connect linguistics with cognitive ideas and methods. Critical discourse studies, according to Van Dijk, are a critical perspective, stance, or attitude within the interdisciplinary approach since they strive to expose latent ideologies in social practice. Therefore, he suggested a triangle-shaped analysis of the interactions between discourse, cognition, and society. The triangulation highlights the cognitive processes that are linked to discourse structure, social inequality, dominance, and ideologies. For further information about Van Dijk’s Model see section 3.2.1.1.

2.3 Media

The effect of media is massive in our lives due to our daily exposure to all media sources. This pivotal role of media language provokes the need of investigation. Bell

(1991: 3-4) attributes this need to two principal reasons: first is a general interest in exploring media's structure and values that can be disclosed through language and second media language is a reflection of the society and culture. The first reason also mentioned by O'Keeffe (2006:1) who states that media is a "broad term which can refer to a totality of how reality is represented in broadcast and printed media from television to newspaper". The second reason is noticed by Williams (2003: 13) who sees media as socialization factors which let us "learn about the values, beliefs and norms of our societies; develop our own sense of identity; and mediate our interaction with other social institutions and with each other". At this point, it is important to define what media is. Chandler and Munday (2011: 257) see that media refers to the different technological means such as television, newspapers and the Internet that produce and disseminate messages and cultural expressions to a sizable, scattered, and diverse audience. O'Keeffe (2011:441) defines media discourse as "the interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer". Media then is a communication channel that communicates news through language use. This marriage between media and language (discourse) drew the attention of scholars of different disciplines to investigate the role of language and CDA is not an exclusion. What most CDA scholars focused on is the relation between power, ideology and language.

Basically, media discourse encompasses two main elements: text which is either written or spoken and the process of the text building and producing. The first element is of great concern to researchers since it is the most important dimension on which powerful people rely to convey their ideologies. Media text is almost always not objective due to the influence of the "elite" who affect the structure of language and the society as a result (Van Dijk, 1993: 258). A process of mutual constitution mediates between normative standpoints and media discourse, that is; this standpoint shapes media text and at the same time is reproduced or challenged by text media. Fairclough entirely agrees with this argument adding that the

unavailability of the choice of letting communities produce their own videos to deliver their own news needs to be focused on. He adds that “Media output is very much under professional and institutional control, and in general it is those who already have other forms of economic, political, or cultural power that have the best access to media” (Fairclough, 1995: 40). This point is also emphasized by Šarić, et al. (2010: 86), who add persuasion as a task for delivering the news in the way a specific people (elite) want it to be.

Thus the corporation of those elite with media texts necessitate framing the texts in a way or another to meet their interests (Fairclough, 2003: 53). Such framing definitely has an impact on people’s view and perception of reality. Framing in this case is the determination of what to include or exclude of the information when news story is redacted (Entman, 2007: 164). There is always a pursuit interest for which media outlets falsify conscious and manipulate the truth (Fairclough, 1995: 46).

Due to people’s beliefs of media as a credible source of information, it has a central role in shaping our identities, our understanding of gender and our sense of class, selfness, ethnicity, race, nationality and different other concepts (Kellner, 2003:9). Kellner (1995: 24) adds that “Media images help shape our view of the world and our deepest values: what we consider good or bad, positive or negative, moral or evil”. Cohen (1963: 13) adds that the audience highly depend on the editors or publishers. As a result, what is represented as good by media outlet is taken for granted by audience and the opposite is true. In case of the present study the media of both sides reflects their ideologies in the way it sees it appropriate for its interest. Cohen states:

In terms of politics, media – politics is in a “happy symbiosis” or “existential exchange system” relation (Fetzer & Lauerbach, 2007: 3). The seek for legitimacy and justifications for what has been done obliges politicians to recline to media to convey their deeds publically. And throughout the cultivation of a positive image, they win the public approval and acquire political power as a result (Kohut, 2008:

190). Similarly, media, Bennett (1990: 106) admits, seek to cover the news attained from official sources with affordable way.

Basically, the public does not have enough information of the issues around the world. This encourages media producers to put themselves in a rivalry to disseminate the news for the public in a way that suits those in the government. In this way, media outlets construct these issues or events within certain news frames which is indispensable from biases (McQuail, 2005: 36). According to Dahlgreen (2009: 52) politics is not an entirely distinct world that takes place outside of the media and is then "covered" by the journalists. Instead, politics is becoming more and more organized as a media phenomenon, planned and carried out for and with media cooperation, and as a result, it is inevitably transformed.

Pursuant to Gramsci, media-politics relation is described in terms of hegemony (Gramsci, 2012: 41-42). He considers the audience (civil society) as the public sphere whose ideas and beliefs are shaped by media and religious institutions so as to gain legitimacy and 'manufacture consent' (Heywood 1994: 100-101). In addition, Gramsci sees that coercion is not the means to gain power, on the contrary, the hegemonic group controls over the public thinking by letting them see the world in the way they want. They struggle to create 'common sense' among the public (Hallin, 1994: 59). He (Ibid: 23) believes that "cultural institutions like the media are part of the process by which a world-view compatible with the existing structure of power in society is reproduced". Entman (2004:3) argues that the public are trapped within 'narrow ideological boundaries' of information and this assures the impossibility of democratic deliberation.

Another model that describes the media - politics relation is "propaganda", on which Herman and Chomsky (1988:1) comment "In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, to fulfil this role requires systematic propaganda." For more details, see section 2.10.

Due to this vital and critical role of media in disseminating ideologies and directing people's thinking, covid-19 as a global crisis has been politicalized and covered by different media sources and for different and mysterious purposes.

2.4 Newspapers

One of the first media outlets utilized by a vast majority of people to spread news is the newspaper. Additionally, newspapers have maintained their status, particularly in western society, despite changes in other media outlets. Now, what newspaper is? McArthur defines it as:

A publication issued at close, regular intervals, especially on a daily or weekly basis. It has large sheets and columns of text, usually interspersed with photographs, and commonly contains not only news but also comment, features, and advertisements (which are generally more important for the economic success of the publication than is the relatively small purchase price per copy). (McArthur, 1992:691)

The aforementioned definition focuses on two key ideas: the first is that text is utilized to deliver news along with illustrative photographs, and the second is that advertisements are more crucial to a publication's profitability. Regarding the first point, text in newspapers serves as the vehicle via which news is disseminated. Thus it is language which is highlighted. The financing or sponsors that enable the agency to keep publishing are discussed in the second item and from here comes the power of the 'elite'.

Recently, newspapers have been made available online to increase accessibility. However, it is important to know much about news discourse.

2.4.1 News: Discourse perspective

Despite the fact that there are numerous books and publications that discuss this subject, there is considerable debate regarding what constitutes news. Reah (1998: 8) defines it as "the details or information about a happening that interests a

certain community or has an impact on the lives of its members”. Reah (2002: 4) also tells that news is “information about recent events that are of interest to a sufficiently large group, or that may affect the lives of a sufficiently large group”. Chilwa (2007: 64), on the other hand, refers to news as ‘stories’ about social events. Then raw materials are therefore needed to quench the desire of those who seek knowledge. The quantity and quality of the content are crucial factors. The quantity of the content that newspapers can contain is constrained by space. As for the quality, newspaper editors choose particular content to be published. As a result, they decide what information to include or delete. However, Reah (Ibid.) states that the missing piece of information is unlikely to be noticed by the reader. According to Bednarek and Caple (2012: 6) media exercises influence both on our governments and important institutions and their ability to mold our thoughts and behaviors.

Politicians rush to use this media in order to spread their ideologies after realizing how important it is. According to Allan (2005:93), media discourses is mainly affected by political and economic impacts. The first is that of the marketers; they have a direct impact on the types of ideas that are expressed in a given news story by shaping it in a way that serves and profits them. Politicians and governments have a comparable, but much more significant, impact on media discourse. According to Richardson (2007: 1), officials can influence news coverage in ways that serve their interests. He (Ibid.) says “some very specific textual characteristics, some very specific methods of text production and consumption, and is defined by a particular set of relationships between itself and other agencies of symbolic and material power”. This fact implies that it is challenging to attain neutrality in the news, as noticed by Fowler (1991: 7).

To sum up, journalism has a big influence on our daily lives because it's meant to enlighten people about what's going on around them. It speaks about the line of work that requires gathering information on a certain subject before sharing results and conclusions with the great majority of people. This is because news is the main area of journalism, where tales are gathered and shared with the public. Instead of

ending with gathering information and then directly communicating it to readers, a journalist's work really begins with editing the stories they have gathered to make them suitable for print or broadcast. However, the editor uses every resource at their disposal to make sure that the news is as clear, succinct, and educational as possible during this process. Therefore, in order to make it simple for the reader or listener to interpret the news, s/he interacts with it from many linguistic levels.

2.4.2 News Structure

According to Bell (1991: 147), “Journalists do not write articles. They write stories. A story has a structure, direction, point, viewpoint”. In order to identify the overarching patterns or schemata that define these stories, macrostructure analysis of news discourse analyzes news stories. Van Dijk (1985: 71) sees that news is arranged globally in a way that complicates both the textual structure and the discourse. The organization, he (Ibid) adds, ignores smaller linguistic units like syntactic, semantic, stylistic, or rhetorical features of sentences in addition to excluding other characteristics of news like graphical organization and nonverbal features. It also encompasses only news structures above the sentence level. Thus, he (Ibid) proposes a framework which is basically divided into two parts: (i) a semantic element that is symbolized by the discourse's thematic organization. Van Dijk sees newspapers' reader (as a language user) apply certain rules which he names “macro-rules of summarization” which enable him/her to elicit macrostructures from a text, and such an elicitation “is based on a number of linguistic and cognitive rules and strategies”. This elicitation, he proceeds, is basically semantic because when speaking about “notions such as topic, theme or gist of a text”, we are discussing meaning and reference rather than, say, “syntactic forms, style, or rhetorical devices”. Furthermore, there is no reference to the meaning of single words or phrases in a local context; rather, we are discussing the meaning of longer text fragments or entire texts. We do not ascribe a subject or topic to a single sentence, but rather “to larger stretches of talk or text” (Ibid: 74). These macro-rules, Van Dijk lists as: deletion, generalization and reconstruction.

And (ii) a formal component that texts' schemata serve to portray. He (Ibid.) says that schemata “are used to describe the overall form of a discourse. Each news narrative, according to Van Dijk (1991: 118–119), has a schema with regular categories that serve the various tasks of the information contained in a news report. A structure like this has the following components:

(i) Summary or nucleus (headline and lead), also called (summary category): it “summarizes the topics of the news reports, that is, its most important information”.

(ii) Situation elements or satellite paragraphs with important events (episode) (main event, consequences) and background (context information, and information about the history of current events).

(iii) Comment (verbal reactions (declarations of participants, eyewitnesses and authorities): this component “features the opinions of major news actors about the main events”.

(iv) Conclusion which encompasses expectation and evaluation.

He concludes that the summary and main event are two of these categories that must be included; the others are optional. Figure (2.2) represents Van Dijk’s (1988) classification of news reports.



Figure (2.2) The Hierarchical Structure of News Discourse Following Van Dijk’s (1988) Classification

2.4.3 News and Ideology

The accuracy and inherent truth of the material in the news is one of the criteria used to choose which stories to publish. This prompts media outlets to assert objectivity and transparency in their reporting by claiming that they merely offer a forum for public discussion and report on events without having a stake in the outcome (Wodak, 2001: 6). In discussing the importance of language in news production, Fowler contends that:

Language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented; and so inevitably news, like every discourse constructively patterns that of which it speaks. News is a representation in this sense of construction; it is not a value-free reflection of facts. (Fowler, 1991:4)

He (Ibid: 101) furthers this statement with another in which he states that everything expressed or written about the world does so from a specific ideological perspective. This statement, however, pinpoints to important concerns, that is; language of news is mostly presupposes ideologies and that news can both shape and be shaped by human experiences and values (Bell, 1997: 243). The distinctive reporting styles of reporters are frequently supplanted or combined with a shared institutional style of the news organization whose personality is created to satisfy a presumed target audience. According to this, news is never completely transparent. It has some implicit ideologies that are similar to those of the news organization. As a result, once one is aware of the connection between journalism as an institution and wider economic and political structures, one can comprehend the ideology driving news. Yet, Bourdieu (1995: 33) enlists other relations that enable us to understand ideologies in news. He thinks that knowing who supports the newspapers, who the advertisers are, who pays for the advertising, and other relevant information is not sufficient to comprehend what occurs in journalism. If one doesn't envision this microcosm as such and make an effort to comprehend the influences that the participants in this microcosm exert on one another, they won't be able to fully comprehend some of what is generated in the world of journalism. (Ibid)

Gans (2004: 61) suggests that news emphasizes "social order" and "national leadership," portraying society as moderate and supportive of the existing hierarchy as a result. He states: "with some oversimplification, it would be fair to say that the news supports the social order of public, business and professional, upper-middle-class, middle-aged, and white male sectors of society". Then, he continues to say that "when all other things are equal, the news pays most attention to and upholds the actions of elite individuals and elite institutions" (Ibid.).

2.4.4 News Objectivity and Bias

Journalism in general, is supposed to be objective and unbiased so that it becomes trustworthy and valuable source of information for the readers. Fowler (1991: 1) posits that this is the general claim of all journalist. Fowler expresses his opinion regarding the objectivity and bias of the news. He asserts that it is a "claim" that journalists consistently make at various times. He (Ibid: 8) justifies why it is news, in particular, that is being investigated in his analysis by saying that news is examined as a particularly significant illustration of the power of all language in the social construction of reality, rather than being singled out as a singular instance of intentional or careless partiality. His aim, he adds is not to attack the press; rather, it is to examine the linguistics of representation in newspaper discourse, a significant part of our daily linguistic experience.

In light of what has been said, news discourse is never objective. This results from the power dominating media organizations. Richardson comments:

Journalism has social effects: through its power to shape issue agendas and public discourse, it can reinforce beliefs; it can shape people's opinions not only of the world, but of their place and role in the world; or, if not shape your opinions on a particular matter, it can at the very least influence what you have opinions on; in sum, it can help shape social reality by shaping our views of social reality. (Richardson, 2007: 13)

According to McQuail (2010: 170) objectivity is defined as a specific type of media practice or a specific approach to the job of gathering, analyzing, and disseminating information which should not be confused with the more general

concept of truth. To this definition, he (Ibid.) adds that objectivity “has to deal with values as well as with facts and that facts also have evaluative implications”. Hearn-Branaman (2016: 97) concludes that objectivity “is described not as something quantitative, formulaic, or brutally pragmatic but more ephemeral, perhaps of the journalists’ own judgement”. He (Ibid.: 72) confesses that professionals in the news industry frequently acknowledge that journalists should strive for objectivity or some other professional standard but also acknowledge that this is a fruitless endeavor.

McQuail (2010: 170) proposes certain standards or features of being objective: (a) adopting a position of detachment and neutrality towards the object of reporting, (b) avoiding partisanship, that is; not revealing bias or taking a side in disputes, and (c) strict attachment to accuracy and other truth criteria (such as relevance and completeness). He (Ibid.) explains that these standards encompass “neutrality, truth and fairness”. Thus, news reports should “lack any ulterior motive or service to a third party”, and that journalist should avoid subjectivity and interference with the reality being reported on. Mindich (1988, cited in Figdor, 2010: 21) mention five standards, some of which align with McQuail's requirements and others do not. These are: (a) detachment: using neutral language, (b) nonpartisanship: fairness when reporting, (c) using the inverted pyramid style of writing; that is, presenting facts in accordance with their importance, (d) naive empiricism: factual accuracy, and (e) balance: lack of distortion. The journalist's report is referred to as objective when all these criteria are applied. However, unless news agencies are nationalized, it will be challenging to apply these rules, and even then, the reporter's subjective opinion will influence the creation of the new. Such a fact leads Figdor to state that objectivity has epistemic norms, namely; factual accuracy and justified interpretation. Having objectively confirmed facts is a requirement for being factual accuracy whereas framing the story on the basis of “objective editorial judgments” is a requirement for justified interpretation (Figdor, 2010: 22).

Bias, on the other hand, is defined as “by selective omissions and differing emphasis. The different impressions created from an objective event by slanting information is what we call media bias” (Xiang & Sarvary, 2007: 611). This description outlines the primary methods through which biased news is produced. The presence of bias in news reporting is a sign of subjectivity.

There are various ways by which media bias manifests itself. D’Alessio and Allen (2000: 135) propose three types of media bias. Gatekeeping is the process by which authors and editors choose from a pool of prospective stories those that will be shown to the public and, consequently, "deselect" those stories that will not be heard by the general public. Another type of media bias is coverage. The visibility of subjects or entities, such as a person or country, in media coverage is referred to as coverage bias. Statement bias, is the third type of media bias. It is achieved when media professionals include their personal viewpoints in the text of a story they are covering. Hoffman and Wallach (2007:618) distinguish between two categories of media bias. Media sources use ideology to try to alter public opinion, and they use spin to try to create a tale that people will remember. The selection of sources or events is a different method of bias. The resulting news narrative in this situation will undoubtedly be prejudiced. Bias can also be shown in word selections. Bias might be revealed by the word's negative or positive connotations. The size and placement of an article in a newspaper or on a website also affect how much attention it will get (Hamborg et al., 2019: 391).

2.5 Sino-US Relations

Most chronological studies trace back the beginning of the Sino-US relations to the 1784 when the first vessel sailed from US to China. Since that time, this relation was inefficacious and stumbled. However, the year 1844 is marked as the beginning of the official diplomatic relation between US and China.

Notwithstanding the above dates, this relation took another turn during the 19th century. It has gone via four stages: (a) from utterly enemies during the Hot War, that is the Korean War (1950-1953) (b) to adversaries during the Cold War before establishing the new Sino-US diplomatic ties when US pursued a containment policy towards China. Then, (c) they became partners during the period that lasts from the establishment of the Sino-US diplomatic relation (1979) until the time in which Trump took over the presidency of the White House (2017). Finally, (d) their relation come to be adversaries again at the present time. Being adversaries at this stage is different from that of the second stage since at the second stage they were a mere rivals or in a normal adversary. This time, anyhow, China is seen as a “full-on strategic competitors”. American politicians see China as a revisionist state, that is “China is dissatisfied with the US-led international order and, thus, hopes to revise the status quo” (Yuan, 2020).

The dynamics of the US-China relationship, aided by media discourse, revealed that the two countries had transformed from "military allies" to "ideological opponents" and from "moral rivals" to "strategic partners" in order to meet their respective domestic and environmental demands. The way that each country's domestic interests and cultural predilections were represented in the media greatly affected how the relationship between the US and China was framed (Ha, et al., 2021: 136).

The Chinese Communist Party (henceforth CCP) seized China's raucous pre-1949 press, expelled journalists from capitalist nations, and said that the media represented the interests of the masses. Article 87 of the 1954 constitution, the first to be adopted following the revolution, stated that people had the right to free expression and the press, but in reality, the Party used the media as one of its many tools. The party press was blatantly a means of spreading propaganda. The Chinese media actively disparaged capitalism and its media system while portraying the United States as morally corrupt, torn by class strife, racist, and crime-ridden. Generally speaking, the outside world was shown in black and white in People's Daily, the

Party's official mouthpiece. What was considered true in an American political culture was considered untrue in one ruled by the CCP. The American press condemned the Chinese press's reporting as propaganda and charged them of twisting the truth to advance Communist ideology. It repeatedly emphasized how there is no press freedom in China. A small number of left-leaning American journalists idealized the revolution, while the mainstream media depicted the CCP in a negative light. Both publications had a propagandistic purpose when it came to how they portrayed the other. It benefited the CCP to portray the US as a dangerous threat to the Chinese revolution. The mainstream American media also supported anticommunist public opinion in the United States by presenting China negatively. In the process, the media positioned itself as the defender of the "free world" and the American way of life. So, throughout the Maoist era, the Chinese and American media served as one other's counterweights and honed stones for their respective ideologies. They were not really having a serious conversation; instead, they were yelling insults at one another from opposite sides of a canyon in a manner and tone that reflected their opposing political ideas (Weston, 2017: 1346-9).

Virtually the breakdown of the Maoist regime by Deng Xiaoping in 1978 was met with a great deal of excitement in the West, and American media coverage of China was both a source of and a result of this enthusiasm. American journalists could once again live in and report from China, despite severe restrictions, which inclined them to regard their topic with sympathy. The rapid accessibility of China was a major subject at the time. For Americans, early reform-era China was presented with a tone of excitement and cautious optimism. There were several stories highlighting the abundance of chances for American firms. Deng Xiaoping was praised as a visionary who would connect China to the rest of the world, in contrast to Mao Zedong, who was demonized in the American media. TIME magazine's covers illustrated the point: In 1983, Deng appeared on the cover with the caption "Banishing Mao's Ghost," and two years later, he did it again with the caption "Moving Away from Marx." There appeared to be epistemological common ground between the two nations for the first

time since World War II. In order to generate quality journalism that treated China seriously as a society that needed to be understood on its own terms, American media outlets worked very hard. The American image was also improved by the Chinese media. The demonization that characterized the Mao period was largely abandoned in favor of a narrative that portrayed the U.S. as an important partner in China's development, even while attention to American concerns continued to receive a lot of focus. The United States was now depicted as an impressively affluent and peaceful nation rather than a culture marked by inequality, racism, and violence. What was notably novel during the 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstrations was the American media's outright show of support for the Chinese protesters in their confrontation with the CCP. The American public supported the students because they recognized themselves in them, and the Sino-US Discourse American media became engrossed in the story, going much beyond their mandated ideological neutrality. The American media, rather than only being an outside observer, had a role in shaping history by empowering the students by the attention they received. This incensed CCP hardliners, as did protests by a portion of the official Chinese media, which briefly expressed open sympathy for the demonstrators and called for freedom a la Western culture. The Party responded by claiming that the protests were the result of a conspiracy by a select group of "black hands," which had the backing of international and particularly American media. The American media, particularly CNN and Voice of America, were seen by the Party as a Trojan horse for bourgeois ideals (ibid).

The Grey China (since 1992) The Tiananmen crackdown left the American media disillusioned, but the country's economic growth left them impressed. They were forced to deal with a complex and unpredictable China. Media opinions were conflicted. On the one hand, inaccurate preconceptions and very unfavorable ideas about China's sociopolitical development were spread as a result of the American press's less than objective construction of cross-cultural images (Peng, 2004:56).

The United States' commercial links with China, however, have grown and tightened. The underlying financial advantages of Sino-US trade relations have been

at the heart of American China policy for the past ten years. China is seen as a possible challenger as well as a strategic ally. As a result, the emphasis of media coverage of China has shifted from focusing primarily on economic development, the character of the communist rule, and human rights to include covering Chinese expansionism and ties with Hong Kong and Taiwan (ibid).

It is evident from this skittish relation that each of these countries is awaiting for the other's mistakes so as to use it as a pretence against the other. COVID- 19 is the best pretence to be used in polarizing the world attitudes.

2.6 COVID -19: Scientific Facts

COVID -19 is an acronym used by the World Health Organization, henceforth WHO, to temporarily refers to the novel coronavirus. This acronym stands for **Coronavirus disease of 2019**. According to a report issued by the New York Times (NYT) on February 11, 2020, the WHO selected this name “to avoid stigmatizing the virus's origins in terms of populations, geography, or animal associations”.

COVID -19 is a disease caused by a novel coronavirus known as severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2; previously known as 2019-nCoV). It was initially detected in Wuhan City, Hubei Province, China, during an outbreak of respiratory sickness cases. On December 31, 2019, it was first reported to the WHO. The WHO labeled the COVID-19 outbreak a worldwide health emergency on January 30, 2020. COVID -19 was declared a global pandemic by the WHO on March 11, 2020, the highest level of health emergency (Cennimo, et al., 2022).

The coronavirus pandemic has infected a vast number of individuals all around the world. Countries shut their borders, declared lockdowns, and advised people to take precautions against the new coronavirus, such as physical separation or hand washing. The health-care system, as well as the public-information system, were frequently unprepared to deal with the inflow of cases. Since then, the emergency has

morphed into a global public health and economic crisis that has wreaked havoc on the world's \$90 trillion economy like nothing seen in nearly a century.

On October 13, 2020, WHO Communications Officer, Kimberly Christaden (2020), released a report in which she asserted that COVID-19 epidemic has claimed many lives around the world and poses an unprecedented threat to public health, food systems, and the workplace. The pandemic's economic and social effects are devastating: tens of millions of people are at risk of falling into extreme poverty, and the number of people who are undernourished, which is presently estimated at almost 690 million, might rise to 132 million by the end of the year. Millions of businesses are facing extinction. Almost half of the world's 3.3 billion workers are at danger of losing their jobs. Workers in the informal economy are particularly vulnerable because they lack social security and excellent health care, as well as having lost access to productive assets.

Despite the devastating consequences of the COVID -19 epidemic, both America and China have participated in a game of mutual accusations over who is to blame for the virus's creation, attracting the attention of the entire globe.

2.7 Politicization

Zürn (2019: 977) defines politicization as “the demand for, or the act of, transporting an issue or an institution into the sphere of politics – making previously unpolitical matters political”. Conforming to these definitions, when politicizing an issue, the issue is stirred to the public choice to probably attain “collectively binding decisions” which is achieved through (a) a formerly process of setting an agenda of that issue, (b) exposing “some deliberations about the right choice” and (c) “the interaction of different positions regarding the choice”. Bringing the issue up by pursuing such techniques leads a great number of people to participate in the debate, positions are polarized and decisions are politicized as a result (Ibid).

Studies on the negative effects of politicization have found that it promotes unpleasant emotional reactions, raises skepticism about scientific assertions, and

reduces the adoption of desirable technologies or policies that benefit the public good. It also increases fear and threat perceptions (Fowler, et al., 2020: 104).

According to Seneviratne (2021: 10), COVID -19 is properly politicized and acutely used to polarize China. When the virus first appeared in China, American politicians (especially Trump) underestimated its threat assuming that it was limited to that region where it appeared and thus it was the Asian responsibility to deal with it. But, after the outbreak, attitude was changed. American media were involved in what was called a “blame game”, where all fingers were directed towards China.

Things have progressed beyond blaming to prejudice, discrimination, and stigmatization, notably against Asians. When these acts, particularly stigmatization, are perpetrated against people of various races, nationalities, or ethnic groups, the concept of "otherness" is emphasized. In fact, these acts are the outcome of the fear of the unknown (COVID- 19) which eases associating that fear with others. As a result, conspiracy theories were circulated prophesying a bio-warfare, with China and US arraigning each other.

The sudden emergence of COVID -19 pandemic actuates massive social problems and colossal economic recession, provokes uncertainty and its effect has been sustained longitudinally. According to Douglas (2020: 270-71), conspiracy theory flourishes as a result of the absence of certain psychological needs. These are epistemic, existential and social needs. The first one includes people’s inclination to satisfy their curiosity and to be certain of what they are facing. The second one resulted from the feel of the threatening and losing of power. While the third one includes the desire to have the self and the group in a positive consideration. The psychological need of people during the pandemic is absolutely miserable because they are meeting the unknown. Their questions were answered by contradictory information. They were also afraid of the powerful outgroups who might turn things to be worse. Therefore, this was the optimal time for ripping a conspiracy theory.

At the beginning, CIA is accused for developing and releasing the virus as a “low-cost way to limit China’s growing economic clout”. Then, China was on spot. It is accused for developing and releasing the virus “to bring the US and Europe to their knees, and usher in the biggest recession of the century, thus weakening China’s military and economic competitors. That view in one form or another gained momentum in the western media” (Ibid: 11). Moreover, this accusation reaches to labelling the virus as “Wuhan virus”, “Chinese virus” and “Kung Flu”.

Later on, on March, 2020, China second prediction concerning Covid -19 origin comes to accuse the U.S. Army this time. The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhao Lijian declared that when participating in a military Olympic Games in Wuhan, the U.S. Army fetched the virus in October 2019. Besides, New York Times (NYT) released a report in August 5 2019 which asserted that “US Army deadly germ research center in Fort Detrick in Maryland had been shut down by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) over safety concerns”. According to the report, “research at the institute was suspended because it was storing pathogens not listed in its database (under the BWC this is a requirement)”. The New York Times classifies the institute as a biodefense center which “studies germs and toxins that could be used to threaten the military or public health, and also investigate disease outbreaks” (Ibid).

In order to give more evidence to support the view of accusing America of spreading the virus, The Global Times reports that Robert Redfield, the head of the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, confesses that during the first weeks of spreading the virus in U.S., there was a misdiagnosis where “many cases had been misdiagnosed as the common flu”. Such a confession agitates the U.S. people on social media who doubt and upbraid U.S. testing systems for delaying the response to treating the virus while leaving their politicians and media accusing China (Ibid).

These claims, backed up by facts from both sides, render the entire globe incapable of punishing those guilty for this global calamity, which has had not only

effected on the world's economic or health-care situation but has also resulted in the deaths of millions of people. In this realm, Hervé Lemahieu, the Director of the Lowy Institute's Asian Power and Diplomacy Program, describes the "symmetry between the United States and China using the coronavirus as a political football" (Tyler and Liu, 2020).

2.8 The Agenda of COVID -19 Origin

Lately, the rivalry between China and US has heightened as a result of each side accusing the other of being the source of the COVID -19 pandemic. The long-running rivalry between the United States and China has yet to be resolved. The concern of American politicians is fueled by their hatred of China's communist leadership, as well as China's swift and astounding progress in various fields. Conversely, the Chinese have long suspected that the US is constantly attempting to restrain China. The results of this unstable relation was that each of these two powers is waiting for the other sin to stir up the world. This development gives rise to the fear that China might surpass the US and take control of the entire planet. Due to their knowledge of CCP history and enduring fantasy of resurrecting the Chinese empire, American politicians will never get over this foreboding.

In practically all of the incidents that have occurred across the world, media outlets of each power have been used almost constantly to disseminate the agendas of each side. It has also been done using COVID-19 as well.

It can be concluded that both powers use media to communicate their agenda to their target, and they have succeeded at least in avoiding punishment if one of them is found to be responsible, and they polarize people's attitudes, resulting in each side winning a significant number of people who support their agenda.

2.9 Agenda- Setting

Unlike gatekeeping, which selects items to be presented to the audience, agenda setting decides the relative importance of these items. Such emphasis or focus on specific subjects over others is designed to be absorbed by the audience and hence influence their perspective, attitude, and decisions. McCombs and Guo (2014: 252) state that the news media's primary agenda-setting function is focusing the public's attention on a select few important problems and subjects. Even if there are numerous concerns and other parts of the outside world vying for attention, the news media can only focus on the few that are thought to be the most noteworthy. In turn, the gathered empirical data shows that the public accepts the media's agenda of the most pressing concerns of the day to a significant extent.

This quotation correlates with Rogers and Dearing's (1988: 556) definition of agenda where they define it as the "issues or events that are viewed at a point in time as ranked in a hierarchy of importance".

In their analysis of how media set agendas during a political campaign, McCombs and Shaw (1972) differentiate three types of agenda that is; the audience's agenda, the politicians' (or elite) agenda, and media's agenda. They discover that the transfer of object salience from the media agenda to the public agenda is the key concept of agenda-setting investigation. For them, the quantity of media exposure provided to an object determines its public relevance. The public's perception of an object becomes relevant as a result of regular media exposure, allowing it to move from the media agenda to the public agenda. The transfer of an agenda to the public which depends solely on exposure (intensive coverage of the subject to make it more salient) is known as Level 1 of agenda setting. This first level of agenda setting is defined by Coleman, et al., (2009: 147) as "the process of the mass media presenting certain issues frequently and prominently with the result that large segments of the public come to perceive those issues as more important than others ... the more coverage an issue receives, the more important it is to people". Due to the limitation

of media in time and space as well as the fact that “people cannot attend to an infinite number of things due to time span and efforts or energy and expertise limits” (Princen, 2009: 19), objects vie to constitute a portion of the media agenda otherwise, its chances of becoming a high-profile item on the public agenda will be reduced (McCombs and Shaw 1972: 114). Consequently, the media takes advantage of its position to select the event, story or person (object) that will be highlighted for one reason or another. On this issue, Shaw and Martin (1992: 903) state that “The press may, unconsciously, provide a limited and rotating set of public issues, around which the political and social system can engage in dialogue”. This process of selection explains “why information about certain issues, and not other issues, is available to the public in a democracy; how public opinion is shaped; and why certain issues are addressed through policy actions while other issues are not” (Dearing and Rogers, 1996: 2).

The center of the first level is the object or issue such as terrorism, immigrants, communism etc. which is defined as “the thing toward which our attention is directed or toward which we have an attitude” (Kim and McCombs, 2007: 300). This subject gets saliency through media coverage. According to Cheng (2014:7) saliency in media has an outward (visibility) and an interior (valence) characteristics. He further breaks down visibility into attention that is the quantity of news reports on an object and prominence that is the placement and length of stories in print media, as well as the time and length of stories on television and radio.

While it is true that an issue's importance can ensure its impact on people's attitudes and decisions, there is another level of affection that may be more effective in shaping people's thinking: framing. McCombs (1997: 6) phrases that framing “is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion of the media agenda when a particular object is discussed”. By framing an issue, the media can tell people how to think about it. It is the second level of agenda setting, where analogies between agenda setting and framing are made in explaining judgments about how communications are delivered that can impact audience

thinking about an issue. In this second level, agenda setting works on two dimensions: substantive and affective. The attributes of issues or individuals that the media choose to cover are the substantive component of the second level of agenda shaping, and they assist people cognitively structure and discern the picked objects. As for the affective components, Kioussis, et al., (1999: 416) define them as “those facets of news coverage that elicit emotional reactions from audience members”. When attributes are highlighted in the news, an impact on how people think about the object is obtained. This implies a transfer of attribute salience from the media agenda to the public agenda of attributes. Besides, the attributes emphasized in the news increase the relevance of an object on the public agenda, and hence determining the "compelling arguments in the media message" (Ghanem, 1997: 4).

In this study, specific characteristics such as 'communism,' 'transparency,' 'bioweapons,' 'conspiracy,' and 'global power order' are stressed in publications on both sides. These characteristics are designed to be stressed in media of both sides in order to achieve the desired agenda. (For more details see section 3.6)

To this end, it is important to note that certain strategies, such propaganda and framing, which will be covered in the next sections, can be used to set an agenda.

2.10 Propaganda

It is critical to first grasp the nature of media work and how things operate in order to comprehend what propaganda is. The solid integration of the dominant media into the market system is one of its key structural components. The majority of their funding comes from advertisers who are also profit-seeking enterprises that want their commercials to display in an environment that encourages sales. They are profit-seeking businesses owned by extremely rich individuals or other companies. The government, media outlets, and other corporate businesses rely extensively on each other for information, as do the media, and this dependence results from political considerations, efficiency concerns and usually overlapping interests. The

government and non-media companies are also in the greatest positions and have enough wealth to exert pressure on the media through lawsuits for libel, threatening to revoke advertising or TV licenses, and other direct and indirect intentions.

Therefore, it may be inferred that since the media is in the hands of the elite, they are able to influence people's attitudes, ideas, and thinking as well as their decisions towards a particular problem or identity. Techniques to guide people without making them aware of it are required in order to carry this out. Propaganda, a tool for manipulating people, is one of these methods.

2.10.1 The Suggested Propaganda

Based on the previously mentioned facts, namely the politicization of COVID-19 and the agenda-setting of COVID-19. One may say that each of the two powers deliberately directs its propaganda to undermine the other.

The United States uses certain claims to propagandize against China. Similarly, the history of the CCP tells that propaganda is among its best strategy allowing governmental officials to control the flow of information in and out of China. Government-approved propaganda efforts use Soviet-era strategies to make the state and its goals appear favorable to the outside world, especially by making state rivals primarily the United States seem weak, corrupt, and abusive.

The CCP has created a complex Internet censorship program called the Great Firewall, also known as the Golden Shield Project, to swiftly censor Internet content created in the People's Republic of China. It incorporates a strong and methodical method of information control. In this respect Wendler utters:

According to the Reporters Without Borders (Reporters sans frontières, RSF) 2021 World Press Freedom Index, China scores among the worst in the world, at 177 out of 180, on the country index for freedom of speech and expression. (Wendler, 2022:33)

There is evidence, according to a report by the Congressional Research Service, that Chinese officials and state-controlled media initially downplayed the severity and scope of the outbreak, releasing insufficient details about the disease's spread and prevention, and restricting access to some Chinese and foreign news reports. Public safety officials reprimanded a number of people who tried to communicate early knowledge for "spreading rumors" and "negative social influence". Chinese government and the media switched to public assertions of good crisis management as containment difficulties started to reach international news organizations. Official statistics released to media sources showed that the pandemic was under control. China propagated the idea that it was a global leader and that its government was superior at fighting the illness when other nations started to notice symptoms and struggle with infection rates. (Ibid).

Beijing's handling of the original Covid-19 outbreak in Wuhan seriously damaged China's reputation abroad. The Chinese government and its agents have made extensive use of social media, particularly Twitter, in an effort to restore China's reputation and refute widely held misconceptions about the pandemic. China Power's in-depth examination of Chinese disinformation and propaganda tactics offers fresh facts regarding the extent and goals of Beijing's initiatives.

On the other side, China believes that all of these are just allegations. Additionally, it targets its propaganda, which is likewise founded on a number of claims. The first of which is the U.S. government's anti-China hysteria thus and as a part of the bipartisan foreign policy of the United States, downplay China's accomplishments in order to maintain its own position as a superpower. The United States failed to demonstrate its leadership during the COVID-19 epidemic, which caused a public health, economic, and political disaster in the nation. As a result, it lost its position as the world's preeminent power. The world community witnessed once more how the U.S. presidential leadership attempted to deflect responsibility for the worst public health crisis by placing it on the shoulders of state governments. It

also made China and the Chinese people the target of blame for the spread of COVID-19 by exaggerating the Wuhan lab-leak theory.

The evidence stated above indicates that the propagandas of the two powers are based on a variety of frames, including economic, political, cultural, and stereotypical. Additionally, there are specific techniques that can best demonstrate how such propagandas are created. The before discussed seven major strategies to elicit propaganda are proposed by the Institute of Propaganda Awareness (IPA) are used to explain these propagandas.

2.10.5 Framing Theory

In essence, framing correlates with agenda setting tradition, however, it broadens the scope of study by concentrating on the essence of the issues at hand rather than a specific topic. The media concentrates attention on certain events and then frames them inside a field of meaning, according to framing theory. Framing is an essential topic since it can have a significant impact, and as a result, the concept of framing has expanded to include organizations.

Basically, framing theory proposes that the way information is presented to an audience influences the decisions people make about how to interpret it. Frames are abstractions that help organize or arrange the meaning of a message. The most typical application of frames is to frame the news. For Entman the essence of framing processes essentially “involves selection and salience” and this includes defining the problems then, determining what a causal agent is doing and this entails describing the issues, figuring out what a causal agent is doing, and weighing the costs and rewards, which are often expressed in terms of cultural values; determine the factors causing the issue by diagnosing its sources; Make moral decisions, analyze the causes and consequences of the issue, present and defend solutions, and forecast the likely outcomes of potential therapies (Entman, 1993: 55).

Frame is a feature of a message that restricts or determines the meaning of the message by influencing the conclusions that others draw from it. Frames represent the conclusions reached by the framers or message designers. Hallahan (1999: 207) identifies three ways via which frames operate: “frames represent alternative valancing of information (i.e., putting information in either a positive or negative light, or valence framing). Other frames involve the simple alternative phrasing of terms (semantic framing). The most complex form of framing is storytelling (story framing)”.

Entman (1993: 51) defines framing as a “scattered conceptualization”. Reese (2001: 11) sees frames as “organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent”, which can help us to “meaningfully structure the social world”. Whereas Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007: 12) define framing as “modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience”. This signifies the importance of framing to media producers being of importance in both presenting and comprehending news. Thereupon, Scheufele (1999: 106) differentiates between two types of frames: individual frames and media frames. Individual frames are the “information- processing schemata” (Kinder and Sanders, 1990: 7) and more precisely “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information” (Entman, 1993:53). Whereas media frames are the “attributes of the news itself” (Ibid.) or it is a main theme or plot that unifies a work of art or other stream of events that are unfolding. What is at issue in the argument is implied by the frame, which is the gist of the problem (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987: 143). Journalists begin framing reality by choosing what will and will not become news since they have to present an engaging and intelligible tale and are constrained by time and space constraints as well as news production procedures. The framing process continues when certain aspects of the news event are chosen and given more weight than others, defining and analyzing the issue, identifying its causes, and outlining potential solutions. Finally, a frame (media frames) is built, in a procedure

known as frame building. Receivers then store their interpretation of the event in the form of a schema, which they can use in the future to decode fresh information, through a decoding process that is influenced by factors present in the social context, individuals, and the communicative situation.

Entman (1993: 52) identifies four main functions for framing. These are:

1. Defining problems: It establishes the costs and advantages of a causal agent's actions, usually expressed in terms of shared cultural values.
2. Diagnosing causes: It determines the reasons by figuring out what factors are at work.
3. Making moral judgments: It assesses the causes and effects of causal factors.
4. Suggesting remedies: It offers and supports potential therapies for the issues and forecast their likely outcomes.

Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) model is used to analyze the frames that were employed in the data chosen for this study. For more information, see section 3.2.1.5.

It is important to mention that Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007: 11) assert that framing frequently has psychological and sociological underpinnings. For them, the experimental study of Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1984), contains the psychological roots of framing since they looked into how alternative ways of presenting essentially the same decision-making scenarios affected people's decisions and their assessment of the numerous possibilities put before them. They add that Goffman (1974) and others set the sociological groundwork for framing by assuming that people cannot fully grasp the universe and constantly struggle to interpret their life experiences and make sense of the environment around them. Individuals use interpretive schemas, also known as "primary frameworks," to effectively process incoming information, according to Goffman (1974: 24).

All in all, framing involves both salience and selection by need. Framing is to choose some features of reality and make them stand out more than others. Entman

uses the term "salience" to describe the process of making a piece of information seem memorable or significant to the audience, which increases the likelihood that the receiver will both perceive and remember the information. Media frames, however, are not produced in a vacuum and then forcibly imposed on an audience by the mass media without opposition. People's pre-existing "structures or schemas" affect how information is interpreted. As a result, the idea of media framing is a reliable instrument for determining whether the research data contains frames, ideologies, or word choices that can be connected to polarization.

2.10.6 Framing COVID – 19 Origin

The topics included under the heading "politicization" sum up how COVID-19 has been presented on media platforms. Every theory put forth, including "conspiracy," "blame," "stigmatization," and others, is really a framing device. The metaphorical use of the term "Kung flu" is one instance of how the media simply named the virus's origin to frame it. However, it is important here to put some emphasis on the different general frames within which COVID -19 origin has been exploited.

2.10.6.1 Political Frame

The world, and particularly the powerful states, have yet to believe that China was transparent in conveying facts about the virus, despite China's constant efforts to downplay its role in the COVID-19 outbreak. Several causes can be identified for this: first, the CCP's representation of the Chinese government, which is the source of initial mistrust. This party can cover any topic in the media that appeals to its interests because it is the supreme dictator of the country and controls the media in China. Second, history of China tells that it was never transparent. The rhetoric portrays China as being secretive and unreliable, frequently emphasizing on China's history of withholding information, such as in its reaction to Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in 2003 and the suppression of early warnings of the outbreak in Wuhan, including by Dr. Li Wenliang (Tyler and Liu, 2020). Third, China's rise and

its unwavering desire to reclaim its former grandeur as the world's biggest empire have raised doubts about anything the country may attempt. This explains why people accept the claim that China intentionally used the virus as a bioweapon to further its objectives. As in the following example text:

(2.2) Never before in the history of nations has a country's germ warfare ambitions affected nations; first, by manufacturing a modified virus and launching its lethal mission, and then hiding its true origin by gene-editing the pathogen. Throughout the Covid-19 narrative and the unfolding documentation of Xi's lust to be the world's supreme leader, the shadow of Sun Tzu is present like an ominous counsellor. (Shankar, 2021)

Contrariwise, there are several explanations for why America may have contracted the virus after accusing America of doing so. The American desire to triumph on ideological grounds is most likely the cause because of its fear of China's ascent (Hamovitz, 2021: 2).

Remarkably, the COVID-19 crisis exposed both the US's interdependence with the liberal democratic order and the flaws of its crisis management. According to Anne Applebaum (2020: 226), the absence of wise American leadership throughout the various stages of the pandemic was so pervasive that the very idea of transatlantic cooperation became moot. Baykal (2021: 17) admits that the hegemons, which include the US and China, appear to be the source of a widespread issue. The world's two most powerful nations, the United States and China, blamed one another for the disease's genesis in the Covid-19, rather than working together to limit and address the shared threat.

The justifications mentioned above are quite convincing and quite dangerous because it is peoples' lives and their destiny which are at stake. However, this political frame is not the only frame within which the virus is framed, other frames are to be mentioned in the subsequent sections.

2.10.6.2 Economic Frame

No one can deny that COVID – 19 has a global economic consequence besides its drastic health consequences. It affects the economy of all countries with no exceptions. The rapid country-to-country spread of the COVID shock resulted in a coordinated negative effect. More than 90% of the world's economies had a decline in per capita GDP, the largest proportion of nations experiencing declines at the same time since the Great Depression of 1930–1922. Yeyati and Filippini, (2021: 4) suggest three main pathways that could helped the shock spread: (i) a break in global value chains, (ii) limits on international travel, which had diverse effects on various economies and activities based on their exposure and readiness, and (iii) a decline in cross-border remittances.

Regarding the two counties under consideration, each has experienced a portion of this economic downturn. However, given that China's economy was and continues to be superior to that of the U.S. and that it recovered from COVID extremely quickly, America's share appears to be higher. This truth may have enraged the Americans and increased their rage toward the Chinese, who are thought to be behind the outbreak and doing so to undermine the global economy. On the opposite end of the spectrum, the Chinese claim ownership of the same claim that is causing the economy to collapse. They think or portray America as doing this on purpose to obstruct their economic development. Thus, both are framing the disease economically.

2.10.6.3 Cultural and Social Frame

The two powers' allegations were exchanged within social and cultural contexts. As a result, the American designation of the illness as the "Chinese virus" is really disparaging and breeds racial prejudice. Nationalism has the potential to foster both togetherness and strength among people as well as hatred and violence toward people of different racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. Large-scale disruptive events or any significant shift in social norms may allow for the

reconfiguration of ethno-cultural lines between "us" and "them," as well as the imposition of blame on the moral or cultural practices of the demonized "Other". Global health crises like COVID-19, which are accompanied by widespread concern, a deteriorating economy, and socio-psychological upheavals, foster the societal conditions for increasing animosity and assaults against individuals.

According to Xu, et al., stigmatization was significantly influenced by culture. Different cultural interpretations of the importance of food and mask during Covid-19 had a big impact on the prejudice directed at the targeted groups. The practice of consuming wild animals led to animosity toward residents of Wuhan and abroad Chinese (Xu, et al., 2021:65).

Such frames are claimed to cause a lot of a shamed practices such as "Wuhan residents who eat bats are damned!" Besides, similar stigmata were experienced by certain foreign-born Chinese in their host nations. In western nations, there has long been a perception that some Chinese dishes are undeveloped and filthy. With the spread of the Covid-19, this stereotype was renewed. Chinese restaurants located abroad were impacted by the resurrected stigma (Ibid).

2.10.6.4 Stereotyping

Stereotyping can be defined as "the perceptions or beliefs we hold about groups or individuals based on our previously formed opinions or attitudes" (Samovar & Porter, 1991:280). As the description says, stereotypes do not just appear out of nowhere; rather, our culture shapes them gradually through time. They are composed of informational tidbits that we retain and use to "make sense" of our surroundings. Hamilton & Trolie (1986: 133) define stereotype as "a cognitive structure that contains the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectations about a human group". Stereotypes—which can be either positive or negative—help us "make sense" of the world by classifying and dividing the people and circumstances we encounter into categories.

There are five main characteristics of stereotypes, including the following: first, stereotypes are simplified images of members of a group, frequently based on the obviously discernible differences between the groups (for example, the physical aspect), and frequently being pejorative when applied to the out-group; second, stereotypes are adaptive cognitive shortcuts that enable quick impressions about people, allowing large groups of people to be easily described using few characteristics; third, stereotypes are stable due to their role in cognitive adaptation, and what is seen when observing their change is the result of adapting to the great economic, political, or social changes. However, the stereotypes of a group can vary from one context to another as they are chosen to fit the situational requirements as well as the own goals and motives of the person who uses them; fourth, stereotypes are acquired, some of them at a young age, and others crystallize in adulthood; and fifth, stereotypes intensify and become more hostile when social disputes and tensions arise between the groups and when it is very difficult to change them (Hogg and Vaughan, 2010, cited in Fedora, 2014: 223).

During the pandemic, words like "the others" and "Asians" were used to denote animosity, racism, and prejudice toward Asians. The practice of stereotyping made it easier to find undesirable outgroup traits. In fact, the Chinese were demonized for a variety of negative traits, including being primitive, barbarian, and contagious. Such actions are politically exploited. According to Appadurai, the increased conflict between the native self and the other during COVID-19 corresponds with the political shift in liberal ideology and racial sentiments. Examples of such changes include the growth of right-wing populism and anti-globalization movements, both of which have led to an increase in xenophobic behavior. As a result, rather than causing the stress, the epidemic adds to it (Appadurai, 2017, cited in Liao, 2020: 69).

Systemic racism may be the cause of some subconscious biases or prejudices. Race is one of the more sophisticated sociological categories. It gives a sense of identity, and its tropes aid in explaining behavior. This racial categorization system may be especially pervasive in the United States, because White Americans have

benefited economically, socially, and politically from the enslavement of immigrants and people of color. This is partly accomplished through the gradual shaping of social norms and expectations, such as the superiority of Whites. This effect has been continuously applied to Asian Americans. Widening the racial divide through systemic racism allows for strong in-group/outgroup identification based on both conscious and unconscious prejudices. In this respect, Reny and Barreto profess:

We suspect that this elite rhetoric in the early stages of the pandemic caused anti-Asian attitudes to mix with newfound worry over the coronavirus in toxic ways that manifest in racially charged, xenophobic policy sentiment, and behavior among some in the mass public. (Reny and Barreto, 2022: 210)

According to Jones et al. (1984: 156), “We do not stereotype individuals, we stereotype individuals as members of categories”. As a result, people who share attributes are referred to as the in-group, and others who have distinct characteristics are referred to as the outgroup. The distinctions of the outgroup members are contrasted with the commonalities of the in-group members, emphasizing their homogeneity. Intergroup rivalry, whereby people favor in-group members and, if possible, disparage the outgroup, is triggered by the simple knowledge that there are multiple groups present in a situation. Stereotypes enhance the possibility of classifying the outgroup, which results in labeling and more skewed opinions of the outgroup. This helps to reinforce in-group and outgroup identities. Roberto et al., (2020: 367) elucidate that environmental cues might unintentionally (automatically) trigger stereotypes, especially racial stereotypes. The use of plural pronouns to describe a situation might cause in-group prejudice since it implies that "us" (the in-group) are clean, healthy, and normal while "them" (the outgroup) are unclean, sick, and abnormal. Although people can lessen the impact of implicit biases on their conduct toward an outgroup by making a conscious, purposeful effort.

2.10.6.5 Xenophobia

Matunhu (2008: 95) defines xenophobia as “a social vice that is as old as social history. It is based on the politics of exclusion, which is a feeling that foreigners are different from the nationals and so should have a lower status than that of the nationals”. According to the definition, xenophobia presupposes the negative- others. Having this in mind, xenophobic societies then may vary in their reaction to those “others”. During the quarantine, people’s attitudes and reactions varies accordingly. On the one hand, the COVID-19 pandemic has aided in the cooperation and support of nations, societies, and people from various socioeconomic backgrounds; on the other hand, it has stoked widespread apprehensions and concerns that have exacerbated the already-present climate of mistrust and prejudice, particularly against immigrants. According to Bozdağ (2021: 538), because of the epidemic, there are now more social and economic inequities affecting migrants, and they are also subject to stigmatization and discrimination. Due to factors like being less visible in public spaces, facing discrimination when utilizing treatment and prevention services, being assumed immune to the virus due to their diverse racial and ethnic origins, and being accused of spreading the virus, migrants are one of the vulnerable groups that suffer from the pandemic severely.

An alternate name in this situation is Sino-phobia. The danger is that Chinese people would have distinct traditions when it comes to type of food, hygiene, and health care. The worry stems from thinking of them as potential disease carriers.

According to the information above, the Sino-US relationship is typically in jeopardy. There is always a reason for conflict, and COVID-19 ends up being used as a justification to ratchet up the tension once more. In light of this, media in general and newspapers in particular participate in this game of polarizing people around the world despite their constant claims of neutrality. Therefore, critical discourse analysis may be the ideal method to achieve the desired outcome in order to show how newspapers, particularly the "elite" ones, are utilized as means to serve the interests

of the politicians. As a result, the next sections is devoted to studying CDA in considerable detail.

2.11 Previous Studies

The literature of research related to COVID-19 shows that there exists a good deal of studies that conducted a CDA analysis of different aspects related to COVID-19. However, To the best knowledge of the researcher, no single piece of research appeared to include an analysis of American and Chinese newspapers articles.

Ahmed (2021) investigated the linguistic and extra-linguistic strategies used in English caricatures using an eclectic paradigm based on Fairclough's (1989) and Kress and Van Leuween's (2006) works. He also looked at the ideologies that were used to create these caricatures. The findings showed that both American and Chinese caricatures are intended to blame one another's countries for the virus's spread. They also highlighted the similarities and differences between the two sets of caricatures' usage of various devices, including a propensity to rely more on extra-linguistic than linguistic ones.

In Al-Asfoor's (2021) study, Halliday's transitivity approach, Fairclough's three dimensional approach, and van Dijk's ideological Square are all utilized to investigate the representation of China throughout President Trump's political discourses, concerning COVID-19. The findings of this study suggest that the creation of the "self" and the "other" is at the center of Trump's ideologically charged rhetoric. They also show that Trump represents China (the other) as having favorable traits prior to the COVID-19 epidemic, but that after the COVID-19 breakout, it has negative traits. On the other side, America (the self) is connected to good deeds and traits. Besides, Trump accuses China of deliberately disseminating the virus; he even asserts that COVID-19 was developed in Wuhan laboratories.

The power dynamics of the Trump Administration's management of the COVID-19 epidemic are examined by Greene (2021) using the approach of multimodal critical discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews. Three theme storylines are presented by the findings: 1) A distinct and obvious contrast in the tone of voice between the Trump Administration and the medical professionals 2) Donald Trump, as a person, significantly differs from all other performers who have been studied, even those in his own government. 3) A shift from January and February to March through May 2020 in the use of securitized language.

Jones (2021) examines discourse, power, and the function of the nurse using CDA, which is influenced by Foucault and social theory. It is specifically taken into account how current discourses on the job of the nurse have evolved or intensified as a result of the world crisis. Results point to a discourse of heroic self-sacrifice that may have an impact on the physical wellbeing, psychological wellbeing, and safety of nursing workers.

Mastawi (2022) examined the NYT and The Guardian newspapers' depictions of the coronavirus and swine flu pandemics. Both a qualitative and a quantitative investigation is being conducted. Whereas corpus linguistics is used for quantitative analysis, CDA is used for qualitative analysis. According to the study, press coverage of the coronavirus pandemic overshadowed that of the swine flu in terms of its propensity to instill panic in the public and to showcase the government's contributions.

Shenyan (2022) looks at how South China Morning Post portrayed foreign domestic workers during the COVID-19 outbreak in Hong Kong. The research shows that whereas domestic workers are frequently viewed negatively, the Hong Kong government is frequently portrayed positively. Domestic workers are portrayed in these derogatory ways as possible virus carriers, and Hong Kong is perceived to be in danger because of the large influx of new employees.

The text of President Joe Biden's address that was posted on the White House website was examined using Teun Van Dijk's CDA in Sari's (2022) study. The research focuses on textual analysis to see the precise intentions communicated by the discourse makers, comprehend the rhetoric of the discourse makers in communicating particular messages, display and reinforce viewpoints, and develop certain pictures. The purpose of this study is to examine the discourse concerns raised by the thematic, schematic, and microstructural features of President Joe Biden's address on the Covid-19 Vaccination Initiative.

Using a CDA technique, Jalloh (2022) investigates how people experiencing homelessness have been viewed, framed, and dealt with in the context of the COVID-19 epidemic. The study recognized and critically evaluated writings' intrinsic subjectivity, authorial decisions, intended readership, and whose voice(s) are represented, as well as the ways in which power is expressed in and through these texts. The results contribute to a discussion of the critical frames and themes that cut across government and media discourses about people experiencing homelessness during COVID-19, concepts of belonging and othering in sociopolitical texts and discourses, and the ways that issues and solutions pertaining to people experiencing homelessness.

The current study differs in that it is a comparative study that analyzes both the ideologies and agendas used in the well-known American and Chinese newspapers. It has suggested an eclectic model which is composed of five dimensions, namely Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach Van Dijk's (1993) ideological square IPA major techniques of PA Bazerman's (2004) model of IN and Semetko and Valkeburg's (2000) model of framing. It is related to the above studies in the fact that they all look for ideologies, however, they differ in either the kind of data or in the way of analysis. Moreover, all the above studies are not concerned with the agenda.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter is devoted to the presentation of the principal topics on which the study is based. It sheds light on Van Dijk's (1993) socio-cognitive approach, which is the one chosen to be a part of the eclectic model on which the current study is built. Also, the chapter covers Van Dijk's (1988) ideological square, a component of the eclectic model. Then, given that the chosen data are newspaper articles, it is vital to examine IN since it is a crucial characteristic of newspaper articles. This topic is discussed to introduce the IN model, which is a further element of the eclectic model. Finally, PA and framing are introduced together with their model that is chosen to be integrated in the study's eclectic model in order to uncover the agendas in the chosen data.

3.1 Data Collection and Description

The data consist of four articles, two of which are American and two of which are Chinese. The American articles are drawn from the NYT and the WSJ. The reasoning behind selecting two different newspapers is to see how the Democratic Party-aligned newspaper covers the conflict and how the Republican Party-aligned newspaper views the conflict. It is important to note here that the NYT is recorded as a newspaper of high credibility and reliability, but it “displays a Democratic partisanship” (Puglisi, 2006: 26). While the WSJ is recorded as highly credible and “known for its conservative tone” (Eraslan and Özertürk, 2018: 2). In terms of Chinese newspapers, it is well known that the communist party is the only ruling party, however two Chinese newspapers are picked to balance the selected facts. The Chinese articles are from two different publications: the GT and the CD.

The sample was chosen throughout a period of time ranging from 1-3-2020 to 31-3-2020. This time period was chosen precisely because it was the loudest and acrimonious between the two countries, with allegations flying back and forth over who was to blame for the breakout of the disease.

Another factor used in the selection of articles is the length of the articles. The amount of sentences in each the chosen articles ranges from 44 to 61, spanning two and a half to four and a half pages.

3.2 Research Design

Based on the questions of the study, the study is designed to be both qualitative and quantitative.

3.2.1 The Qualitative Analysis

Since the main objective of the study is to reveal and analyze the ideologies and agendas implied in the selected data, the qualitative analysis is conducted by means of using different approaches. Ideologies are therefore analyzed linguistically, ideologically (in terms of polarization), and intertextually. Agendas, on the other hand, are revealed throughout propaganda and framing. The following sections illustrate how these analyses are conducted:

3.2.1.1 Linguistic Analysis of Ideologies (Using Van Dijk's (1988) Socio-cognitive Approach)

In order to answer the first two questions namely “what role does the macro-structure play in depicting the existence of a conflict between America and China after the outbreak of COVID-19? And, how does the micro structure analysis affect in depicting the conflict and in revealing the ideologies of both the American and the Chinese newspapers?”, Van Dijk's (1988) socio-cognitive approach is selected to analyze the four articles.

After doing a thorough study of CDA models, Van Dijk concludes that these models endorse that communicative events should be best understood through analyzing the grammatical, pragmatic, argumentative, stylistic, rhetorical, interactional as well as other related structures. However, context is excluded because not all analysts agree to include it in their models. As for Van Dijk, context as well as cognition of the speaker should be added to the list above to reach to the final configuration of the whole process of analysis.

Van Dijk (1998) inaugurates his model by proposing the cognitive level to mediate between discourse and society. From his own view,

Discourse, communication and (other) forms of action and interaction are monitored by social cognition. The same is true for our understanding of social events or of social institutions and power relations. Hence social cognitions mediate between micro- and macro-levels of society, between discourse and action, between the individual and the group (Van Dijk, 1993: 257).

He (2015: 63) thinks that cognition is a bridge to link the two levels which are different in nature “through the mental representations of language users as individuals and as social members”. This proposal is approved by discussing a mental model which explains how language is produced and consumed in the mind of the social member. According to Van Dijk (2018: 28), “social or political structures can only affect text and talk through the minds of language users”. He (Ibid) thinks that social members represent both social structures and discourse structures in their minds and then they relate these mentally prior to expressing them in actual text and talk. Therefore, he (2012: 589) believes that people construct what they had in mind when they communicate with another member of their community. And what they had in mind or in our memory are the beliefs, opinions, concepts and representations which are construed on the basis of our personal experience as well as the socially shared knowledge and beliefs. Based

on this hypothesis, he recognizes two types of cognition: personal and social. Personal cognitions are characterized as being subjective, unique, multimodal and individual mental models. In addition, those personal cognitions have “a standard hierarchical structure of a spatiotemporal Setting, Participants (and their identities, roles and relations), Actions/Events, and Goals”. This type of cognition is stored in Episodic Memory (Van Dijk 2015: 66).

Social cognition, on the other hand, refers to the “generic and abstract knowledge of the world shared with other member of epistemic community” (ibid: 67). Thus, people share their attitudes, values, norms and ideologies which are stored in the semantic memory. When communicating, both these cognitions are used by producers of the discourse and the consumers as well. As a consequence of using both personal and social cognitions, discourse becomes both meaningful and understandable in that both the producer and consumer construe a mental model the first for producing and the second for consuming (Van Dijk, 2012: 588).

Along with the mental model, Van Dijk (Ibid.) necessitates the importance of the context model which is a dynamic and pragmatic one. The relevance of the current environment to the current discourse is crucial in its appropriateness. Such importance is represented in the following quotation:

Such context models typically feature the self in various communicative roles (speaker, recipient, author, etc.), social roles or identities (professor, journalist), social categories (gender, class, age, etc.), relationships (friend, enemy, assistant), as well as the current goals, intentions and knowledge state of the participants at each moment of interaction. (Ibid: 89)

Van Dijk (Ibid) sheds the light on the main functions of context model such as the management of knowledge in interaction where language user constructs his discourse in accordance with the assumed knowledge of other participants through the strategy of ‘audience design’. That is, semantics is replaced by

pragmatics in this model. Context model, he says, also contributes to the construction of the common ground of participants and it demonstrates the mutual intentions of the participants as well (for understanding discourse processing see Van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983; Britton and Black, 1985; Britton and Graesser, 1996; Graesser et al., 1997; Kintsch, 1998; Graesser et al., 2003; McNamara and Magliano, 2009). But for the intention to be recognized, participants read the mind and try to put forward certain inferences.

The abovementioned discussion has to do with discourse production and comprehension. As for the analysis of the discourse, Van Dijk divides the structure of the text into three divisions, viz. macro structure, superstructure, and micro-structure. Putriyanti, et al., (2020: 3) defines macro structure “as the overall meaning that can be observed from the theme or topic of a discourse”. It should be observed that the theme or the topic in this respect refers to that of the whole discourse and not of sentences. Brown and Yule (1983: 133) mention two functions of topic or theme which are (i) it maintain coherent point of view as it connects back into the former discourse, and (ii) it stands as a starting point for further development of discourse. Superstructure, on the other hand, has to do with the scheme of the discourse, that is how the parts of the discourse are schemed. Micro- structure can be conceived through analyzing the semantic, syntactic, stylistic and rhetorical choices.

However, the study solely considers the macro and micro structures, leaving out the superstructure because it adds nothing to the study of the IDSs. The macro-structure analysis will look at the themes employed to illustrate the conflict, whilst the micro-structure analysis will look at the suggested ideologies by studying the articles at the syntactic, semantic, stylistic, and rhetorical levels. The syntactic level examines the sentence form and pronouns. Cohesion is left out since it doesn't contribute any information that is particularly useful for exposing ideology. Presupposition is the notions examined at the semantic level.

However, background is also left because it does not contribute any useful information that may aid in exposing the ideologies. The study focuses on the major and conspicuous usage of lexicons in each article at the stylistic level, while all figures of speech, other than repetition, hyperbole, and metaphor, are analyzed at the rhetorical level (since these are analyzed in the ideological square outlined below), metaphors with no polarization are also analyzed at this level. In addition to this, since Van Dijk's approach is a socio-cognitive one, a section entitled (discussion) is devoted to discuss the revealed ideologies cognitively and sociologically.

3.2.1.2 Ideological Analysis of Ideologies (in terms of polarization) (Using Van Dijk Ideological Square)

The third question, namely; “how does the study highlight the ideological polarization of the selected data? And, what are the most frequently used ideological strategies in American newspapers and in the Chinese ones?”, is solved by following Van Dijk's (1998) ideological square. The goal of using this technique is to examine how each article polarizes the other in order to impose its ideology (because there are two opposing and clashing poles).

It is apparent that the core of the ideological theory is group relations. Accordingly, people are grouped into two groups; those who share the same attitudes, beliefs and social values are said to belong to in-group and those who have different attitudes, beliefs and social values are considered to be members of an out-group. Based on this division, the “Other” are usually negatively depicted. There is definitely an assertion on their bad things and a deliberate suppression of any of their good deeds. On the contrary, there is a permanent positive depiction of “Us” accompanied by an emphasis on our good things. Such dichotomy of positive – self presentation and negative – other presentation is the gist of Van Dijk's ideological square. The main reason behind such a presentation is the social

struggle between social groups which is related to terms of resistance, domination, conflict and competition.

Van Dijk believes in the neutrality of the grammatical structures thus, structures of a language are ideologically unmarked. Nevertheless, combination of discursive structures and strategies manifest and reproduce ideologies. These structures involve surface structure (phonological and graphical features) through which meaning is manifested, syntax, lexicon, local semantics (which highlights the management of meaning in a text), global semantics (which concentrates on the topics of discourse “topicalization”) and lastly rhetoric and rhetorical structures of discourse (Van Dijk, 1995: 25-29).

In addition to the abovementioned strategies, Van Dijk (2006: 735) adds the following ideological strategies (henceforth IDSs) that protrude the polarization of “self-positive- representation” and “other-negative-representation”. He (2005: 735) admits that these strategies are “general strategies of ideological discourse production and also a handy discovery or recognition procedure for ideological analysis of political discourse”. These are:

(i) Actor description: means to elaborate on the information of an entity such as a person, a thing or a place. Accordingly, when describing, discourse producer resort to “mitigate negative descriptions of members of our own group and emphasize the attributed negative characteristics of Others” (Van Dijk, 2005: 735).

(ii) The authority: Van Dijk (Ibid) states that authorities are “organizations or people who are above the fray of party politics, or who are generally recognized experts or moral leaders. International organizations (such as the United Nations or Amnesty International), scholars, the media, the church or the courts”. Reference to an authority is a persuasive means to touch people feelings and hence direct their attitudes in the way the discourse producer like.

(iii) Burden or imposition: it means to mention the burden (whether financial or human losses) that will be borne if the action of the “Others” is to be taken (Ibid).

(iv) Categorization: it refers to the tendency of discourse producers to group or categorize people involved in the topic of discourse according to their religious or political viewpoints and acts.

(v) Comparison: it is to put forward the similarities and differences (comparison) between the in-group and the out-group. When comparing, “outgroups are compared negatively, and in-groups positively” by discourse producers (Ibid.).

(vi) Consensus: it refers to “an agreement or decision taken by certain parties submitted to strengthen an opinion or information” (Syadlili, 2021: 32).

(vii) Counterfactuals: discourse producers lead the targeted people to imagine what would happen if certain conditions are not created. Van Dijk (2005: 736) considers counterfactual as “a persuasive argumentative move that is also related to the move of asking for empathy”.

(viii) Disclaimers: it is to state or to demonstrate positive attributes and then introducing a denial of those attributes by using the coordinator conjunction “but” (Darweesh & Muzhir, 2016; and Van Dijk, 2005). For Van Dijk (2005:736) disclaimers save face “by mentioning Our positive characteristics, but then focus rather exclusively on Their negative attributes”.

(ix) Euphemism: it is to avoid the use of harsh, direct or derogatory terms and recline to using mild and indulgent terms and thus reduce negative self- portrayal (Syadlili, 2021: 34).

(x) Evidentiality: it is an important strategy of objectivity, reliability and credibility. It is a strategy of providing evidence or proof by discourse producers to back up their own opinion which can happen through “references to authority figures or institutions [...] or by various forms of evidentiality” (Van Dijk, 2005: 736).

(xi) Example/Illustration: discourse producers put forward concrete example in the form of a vignette or short story, and in this way it will be more assimilated by the targeted people (Ibid: 737).

(xii) Generalization: this strategy is intended to ascribe certain attribution of a person or small group (whether positive or negative) to a larger group or category (Van Dijk, 1995:155).

(xiii) Hyperbole: semantically it is a rhetorical device. It refers to the deliberate usage of exaggerated language for the purpose of enhancing meaning which can be either for negative - other presentation or positive – self presentation (Van Dijk, 2005:737).

(xiv) Implication: it refers to the recipients’ induction of what is not explicitly expressed in the discourse, recipients’ reliance to the shared knowledge “social knowledge, as well as from the mental models constructed during understanding” (Van Dijk, 1993:256). Some issues need to be implicit especially if they contradict self – positive portrayal or the negative – other portrayal (Hezaveh, 2016: 360).

(xv) Irony: generally, irony means to deliberately say something opposite to what is intended. In this respect, Van Dijk (2005: 737) contends that accusing others may be more effective “when they are not made point blank (which may violate face constraints), but in apparently lighter forms of irony”.

(xvi) Lexicalization: it means to make use of the semantic features to positively or negatively portray something or someone (Ibid, 2005: 738).

(xvii) Metaphor: means to compare two incompatible things by using imaginative and figurative words and thus making a new, unfamiliar, complex or emotional meaning.

(xviii) National self-glorification: this is done by means of glorying one’s own country by different means such as referring to its positive history, traditions and principles (Ibid).

(xix) Norm expression: these expressions are used to demonstrate the way in which something should or should not be done. Moreover, it specifies what someone should or should not do (Ibid).

(xx) Number game: according to Van Dijk (Ibid: 738) “numbers and statistics are the primary means in our culture to persuasively display objectivity, and they

routinely characterize news reports in the press”. Discourse producers use number and statistics as quantitative facts to raise the truthfulness of their own opinion.

(xxi) Polarization: a strategy of dichotomizing parties into: in – group with positive peculiarities and out – group with negative peculiarities (Van Dijk, 2006: 80).

(xxii) Populism: Hezaveh (2016: 361) clarifies that populism means to favor the elite by contrasting them with people in sociopolitical changes.

(xxiii) Vagueness: discourse producers use expressions that have no “well-defined referents, or which refer to fuzzy sets” (Ibid: 739). They tend to use this strategy so as not to provide the listeners with enough information about positive self-presentation or a negative other-presentation.

(xxiv) Victimization: it is to depict the “Us” as a victim of the unfair treatment of the “Other” (Ibid).

(xxv) Illegality: is to illegalize “Other’s” actions and therefore they are depicted as criminals or law-breakers (Hezaveh, 2016: 360).

(xxvi) Repetition: this strategy is used to highlight our good things and similarly to concentrate on their bad things (Ibid).

(xxvii) Derogation: unlike euphemism, derogation means showing discourteous or critical attitude towards others (Ibid).

3.2.1.3 Intertextual Analysis of Ideologies (Using Bazerman's (2004) Intertextuality Techniques)

In order to conduct a thorough examination of the ideologies and to answer the fourth question, namely; “why is it important to analyze intertextuality techniques? And, what are the most frequently used intertextuality techniques in American newspapers and in the Chinese ones?”, IN is examined using Bazerman's (2004) approach. IN gives information about the source of the

material as well as the objectivity of the reporters. And, hence the fourth question is answered.

According to Selzer (1993: 247) intertextuality (henceforth IN) refers to the “interwoven traces and echoes of other texts”. Cook (2001: 220) views it as “common practice” that require “a performer and an audience with shared knowledge of some pre-existent stretch of discourse” (Norrick, 1989: 120). This signifies the importance of audience’s knowledge to identify what is the main reference of some stretch of discourse. Kristeva (1986: 36) "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of IN replaces that of inter-subjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least double". This is a declaration that all texts are in an intertextual relationship with other texts.

One of the most notable sources of IN is newspapers. The newspaper is a web unto itself, connecting primarily transient intra and extra-textual events that aid in the creation and breakdown of the intricate tapestry of daily life. In order to contextualize fresh occurrences and compel readers to follow episodes and incidents that may be forgotten in memory but are yet connected to the present, newspaper articles frequently reference prior events. According to Fairclough (1992: 84), IN allows text to incorporate, contradict, ironically echo, and other things other texts may do. This notifies that IN is done on purposes. On this account, Bazerman utters:

Intertextuality is not just a matter of which other texts you refer to, but how you use them, what you use them for, and ultimately how you position yourself as a writer to them to make your own statement. People can develop adeptly complex and subtly skilled ways of building on the words of others. Such complex intertextual performances are so familiar we hardly notice them. (Bazerman, 2004: 94)

He (Ibid: 86-88) goes on to list six reasons why authors of texts favor intertextuality. The author of the text employs intertextuality:

1. As a source of meanings to be used at face value: This happens anytime a text repeats information or assertions that are taken as authoritative by another source in order to serve the needs of the new text.
2. If the text may draw explicit social dramas of prior texts engaged in discussion, for instance, a newspaper report may present opposing opinions in a political conflict that actually recurs in the story. The opponents may be utilizing the newspaper to present their position as part of that conflict, but the newspaper nevertheless juxtaposes the remarks in a clear conflict.
3. Text may also explicitly use other statements as background, support, and contrast: for instance, when a student cites certain work s/he consulted in his research.
4. Less explicitly the text may rely on beliefs, issues, ideas, statements generally circulated and likely familiar to the readers, for instance, consider a newspaper story that attempts to address the social, emotional, and physical requirements of young adolescents. The conversation inadvertently draws on widely held notions about the challenging developmental shifts that occur in adolescence as well as fictional, embellished by journalists, and factually accurate portrayals of problematic teenagers and young violence.
5. By using certain implicitly recognizable kinds of language, phrasing, and genres every text evokes particular social worlds where such language and language forms are used, usually to identify that text as part of those worlds: for instance, the current study is an academic one.
6. Just by using language and language forms, a text relies on the available resources of language without calling particular attention to the inter-text. For instance, in a news story, the first sentence assumes that the reader is aware with the idea of "middle grades," which originated from the push to establish middle

schools in the middle of the 20th century. It also depends on understanding the metaphor "feeling the squeeze," which originated in underground slang before making its way into business and sports.

Bazerman also identifies specific techniques employed by discourse authors that indicate IN in particular discourses. In his model, Bazerman (2004: 88-89) recognizes six techniques of intertextuality, which are:

1. Direct quotation: words quoted from others are typically separated from the rest of the text by quotation marks, block indentation, italics, or another typographic marking. The second author, when quoting the writing, has control over precisely which words will be quoted, the points at which the quote will be snipped, and the context in which it will be used. This is important to keep in mind even though the words may be entirely those of the original author.
2. Indirect quotation: this typically cites a source and makes an effort to convey the original meaning in words that reflect the author's comprehension, interpretation, or spin on the text. Indirect quote allows the second writer's intention to be more fully infused into the meaning through the second writer's words and attitude.
3. Mentioning of a person, document, or statements: reader's familiarity with the original source and what it says is relied on when mentioning a document or author. The second writer has an even greater ability to infer whatever they want about the original or to rely on broad ideas about the original without having to support them, as news reporters do with regard to supporters and detractors, because no specific details of meaning are supplied.
4. Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice: It occurs, for instance, when a news reporter accepts a fact as true and undisputed even though it has received criticism. Additionally, he or she can perceive how the original idea was weakened and make assumptions about certain matters.

5. Using recognizable phrasing, terminology associated with specific people or groups of people or particular documents. This occurs when an author uses a term that was originally written by someone else because of its powerful impact, for instance in critique.
6. Using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communication, discussions among other people, and types of documents. These include genre, vocabulary (or register) types, stock expressions, and expression patterns. The writers of the example article are unmistakably using journalism writing styles when covering public policy problems. As previously remarked, the article's language transports us into the worlds of political movements, statistical analysis, and policy debate.

2.3.1.4 Agenda Analysis (Using IPA Propaganda Techniques)

The fifth and the sixth questions of the study, namely; “what are the agendas set in the selected data? And, how can propaganda techniques be utilized to reveal the agendas set in the selected data?”

There are several models for analyzing PA. The Institute of Propaganda Awareness (IPA) define seven typical propagandist major techniques in 1937 using the work of journalist and academic Clyde R. Miller as a source (Mancini, 2021: 17), as in the following:

- 1. Name calling:** for Lee and Lee (1939: 26) name calling occurs when an idea is given a negative label and is used to convince people to reject and criticize without carefully considering the evidence. By characterizing the opposition as something the addressees dread, detest, or hate, the strategy was utilized to generate prejudice among the target audience. This is also thought to be a strategy for cultivating hostility toward outgroups or populations that are perceived to hold opposing viewpoints to the propagandist's.

- 2. Glittering generality:** Without offering evidence or justification, propagandists use broad, sweeping statements (typically slogans or simple catchphrases) to appeal to the audience's strongly held values and beliefs (Smith III, 1989: 3, cited in Jasim and Aziz, 2013: 11). Honor, glory, love of country, desire for peace, freedom, and family values are among the ideals they invoke. Although the words and phrases are ambiguous and can mean different things to different individuals, there is always a positive undertone. Glittering generalities “mean different things to different people; they can be used in different ways” (Marlin, 2013: 102).
- 3. Transfer:** According to Marlin (Ibid.) transfer “carries the authority, sanction, and prestige of something respected and revered over to something else in order to make the latter acceptable”. In politics and in times of conflict, transfer is frequently utilized. It is an effort to link the two items in the subject's mind and get them to see one in the same way as the other. Although this method is sometimes employed to transfer unfavorable feelings for one thing to another, it can also be employed for good. Positive feelings can be developed for an item by relating it to something the subject values or appreciates. Transfer, however, is most frequently employed in politics to shift responsibility or negative emotions from one politician to another of his friends, party members, or even the party itself.
- 4. Testimonial:** “Testimonial consists in having some respected or hated person say that a given idea or program or product or person is good or bad” (Ibid: 103). He adds that this reliance on authority pushes us to accept concepts without critically analyzing them. To avoid being misled by such appeals, one should consider the following: who or what is quoted in the testimonial; why the person, organization, etc., is cited as authoritative; whether there were any financial or other incentives for the person or group providing the testimonial; and, finally, what merits exist for the idea, etc., outside of the testimonials. When the views

of the putative authority are twisted, the views of the authority are untrue, or the supposed authority is dishonest, deception has taken place (Ibid).

5. Plain Folks: Marlin (Ibid: 104) “the method by which a speaker attempts to convince the audience that he and his ideas are good because they are ‘of the people,’ the ‘plain folks’”. It is implemented in practice by portraying oneself to the public as a hospitable kind, “just like you”. Jasim and Aziz (2013: 13) declare that the propagandist will frequently make an effort to adopt the dialect and humor of a particular audience. Additionally, the propagandist may make an effort to heighten the illusion by mispronouncing words, stammering, and using a smaller vocabulary, particularly during presentations. These kinds of mistakes contribute to the appearance of spontaneity and genuineness. In an effort to persuade the audience that the propagandist views on highly valued ideals are similar to their own and so more valid, this tactic is typically most effective when combined with Glittering Generalities.

6. Bandwagon: This is an effort to persuade using the justification that everyone—or at the very least all of us—is doing it. The intention is for the group being addressed to adopt the propagandist's agenda, join the crowd, and get on the bandwagon. Now, propagandists are attempting to persuade the target audience that they will be excluded if they don't participate. The inference is that if you don't join the crowd, you'll miss the parade. Contrary to the other strategy, this one achieves the same result by encouraging audience participation (Ellul, 1965:32). Marlin (2013: 105) explains how this technique might work. He pronounces that people who attend large marches and rallies often feel that the party, program, or cause being supported by the crowd has unwavering support. This will persuade those who aren't sure whether to join on the grounds that the movement is unstoppable and that it is preferable to participate in its advantages than to be excluded.

7. Card Stacking: also called selective omission. It is “the selection and use of facts and falsehoods, illustrations or distractions, and logical or illogical statements in order to give the best or the worst possible case for an idea, program, person, or product”. Card stacking encompasses a wide range of activities, including numerous abuses of data from surveys and other sources. It seems like a particularly fitting term to use when discussing how the mass media chooses which experts to cite or engage in debate about the most important current events. (Ibid). It entails just presenting data that supports an idea or proposition and leaving out data that is in opposition to it. The same rules that apply to choosing speakers or experts also apply to scholarly sources. Selecting only publications that support one's views as proof while ignoring opposing viewpoints, no matter how persuasively expressed they may be, is known as "card stacking." Although opposing ideological groupings can agree on the definition of a fair selection of viewpoints or facts, disagreement regarding it is to be expected. Almost all types of PA involve card stacking since it is so powerful at persuading the populace. Even while the card stacking strategy presents mostly accurate information, it is risky since it leaves out crucial information.



Figure (3.1) Major Propaganda techniques of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis

In this study, these methods are adapted to look into COVID-19 PA as a potential source of conflict between the two powers.

3.2.1.5 Agenda Analysis (Using Semetko and Valkeburg (2000) Approach of Framing)

The last question in this study, namely; “what are the frames used to set the intended agenda? How do they effect on agenda setting?” is answered following Semetko and Valkeburg (2000) Approach of Framing.

By concentrating on how certain frames in the news affect how the general public interprets events and topics, Semetko and Valkeburg (2000) highlight the significance of particular frames in the news. They use a deductive strategy that entails setting up specific frames that appear in the news. These frames, according to them (2000: 95–6), are five in number and can be interpreted as follows:

- (i) Conflict frame: it “emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest” (Ibid).
- (ii) Human interest frame: it refers to the “effort to personalize the news, dramatize or “emotionalize” the news, in order to capture or retain audience interest” (Ibid).
- (iii) Economic consequences frame: it is the frame that reports “an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or country” (Ibid).
- (iv) Mortality frame: “this frame puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of the religious tenets or moral prescription” (Ibid).
- (v) Responsibility frame: it “presents an issue, or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual group” (Ibid).

3.2.2 The Quantitative Analysis

The study is also quantitative. Except for the first approach, i.e., the socio-cognitive approach, all the other approaches techniques are calculated. Computation comprises computing the frequencies of each technique in each approach, calculating its percentage, and calculating its Chi-square and P-value. The reason for not counting the first approach is that it is difficult to compare the variables as they vary from article to another.

3.3 The Eclectic Model

After surveying the theoretical framework, the study determines that it is appropriate to use an eclectic model in order to provide a qualitative analysis that can satisfy all of the objectives of the current study. Firstly, Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach has been used as a result for a better examination and analysis of the language representation of ideologies. Selecting this model to accomplish this goal is due to Van Dijk's assertion that the major goal of this approach is the association between power and discourses for various social groups (1993: 96, referenced in Rohmah, 2018: 19). The three levels of analysis in this model are macrostructure, micro-structure and super-structure. The macrostructure addresses the topic, theme or the gist of the story. Due to the fact that the topic/theme highlights the most crucial information that the speakers/writers provide. The theme conveys the discourse's purpose, the prevailing idea, and the speaker's intention. Van Dijk considers macrostructure to be a semantic object since it deals with meaning. He puts it in the following:

This implies that macrostructures in discourse are semantic objects. According to the principles of explicit semantics, this means that rules of some kind must be formulated to relate meanings of words and sentences (i.e., local structures) to the semantic macro structures. (Van Dijk, 1980:9).

In newspapers, the headline and the lead can serve to give the gist of the news. Van Dijk (1988:36) tells “we may conclude first that topics of news discourse may be routinely expressed in headlines, which apparently have summary function”.

Micro-structure addresses syntactic, semantic, stylistic and rhetorical aspects. In terms of syntax, to develop systematic and logical ideas in sentences, syntactic elements will interact with the ordering and structuring of sentences. Therefore, the syntactical structures can be used to portray people, events and actions by various syntactic structures. Analysis of the syntax aspect involves: (a) sentence form (passive or active). (b) Cohesion which is to use Halliday and Hassan’s (1976:4) words, “the relations of meaning that exist within the text, and is expressed through the stratal organization of the text” in this study this item is excluded as it has no impact in revealing any of the aims of the study. (c) Pronouns: the employment of pronouns in imaginative communities allows for the manipulation of language. The pronoun has an underlying meaning that refers to persons as individuals and as community members. Pronouns are used by the speaker to indicate where a person or group stands in the conversation (Rohmah, 2018:18).

In terms of the semantic aspect, it includes: background, nominalization and presupposition. Firstly, background refers to the supporting information for each speaker's perspective. Its significance resides in its ability to alter how a text is understood. Secondly, there is nominalization. It is the process of turning another word class into a noun (Crystal, 1997: 260). Thirdly, presuppositions which “are the propositions whose truth he takes for granted [. . .] in a conversation [. . .] They are the background assumptions that may be used without being spoken” (Stalnaker, 1973:447). Presupposition is the sole concept examined in this study since it is crucial to fulfilling the aims of the study. Background and nominalization, on the other hand, have not been investigated since they had little bearing on the study's main aims.

The third aspect is stylistic, Crystal defines stylistics as,

It is a branch of linguistics which studies the features of situationally distinctive uses (varieties) of language, and tries to establish principles capable of accounting for the particular choices made by individual and social groups in their use of language. (Crystal, 2008: 460).

The stylistic variability necessitates the employment of distinct lexicons that partially represent the same term with different meanings. In order to accomplish a particular aim, the writer can use this technique to allude to the same occurrence using various words.

The last aspect is the rhetoric, it is defined as “the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion” (Aristotle, 1984: 24). In short, it is persuasion by means of language. Rhetorical text is signed by using certain figure of speech such as metaphor, hyperbole, repetition, irony, alliteration metonymy and others. It is significant to note that figures of speech other than repetition, hyperbole, irony, and metaphor are examined in this context since such figures are examined when discussing ideological strategies.

Super-structure refers to the schematic forms of discourse. Discourse structure (as a schematic structure), in general, is divided into three parts, namely; first, introduction which has “the following kinds of information: (1) background knowledge; (2) time and place; (3) major participants; (4) the actual state of affairs or problem; and (5) the topic, global plan, etc., of the text.” Second, the body which is “freer” but it involves something new or unexpected about the individual, event or problem stated in the introduction. Third, conclusion which has the following kinds of information: (1) conclusions in the strict sense; (2) closing; (3) summaries; and (4) decisions for future discourse or action.

News structure is somehow different, however, it is internationally approved. News structure has been discussed in section 2.2.2. Schematic analysis will not be detailed because it does not significantly advance the goal of the investigation.

Secondly, the Van Dijk's (1993) ideological square is used to identify the ideologies in these newspapers. Van Dijk uses a variety of techniques in this model to highlight the polarization of "self-positive representation" and "other-negative representation". They can be further broken down into four major groups, namely (a) the syntactic group, which includes: polarization, burden, counterfactual, evidentiality, populism, disclaimer and norm expression. (b) The semantic group, which includes: categorization, actor description, comparison, victimization, consensus, generalization and example/illustration. (c) The pragmatic group including: authority, national self-glorification, implication, presupposition and vagueness. (d) The rhetorical group including: metaphor, euphemism, hyperbole, number game and irony.

Thirdly, as was already indicated in the current study, all texts, including those of newspapers, are inherently intertextual. The Bazerman's (2004) model of IN has been used to examine and debate the aim of applying IN techniques in the chosen newspapers.

Finally, IPA major techniques of PA and Semetko and Valkeburg's (2000) model of framing are also applied in the current study to investigate, analyze and identify the agenda set in the selected newspapers.

The model is applied from left to right. As a result, after using both the macro and micro structures of Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, the ideological square of Van Dijk is applied, followed by Bazerman's IN model. All are used to examine the ideologies suggested in the articles chosen. Additionally, PA techniques are used subsequently, and lastly, Semetko and Valkeburg's framing model is used to assess the agendas set in these articles.

The following figure can best illustrate the proposed multi-dimensional eclectic model:

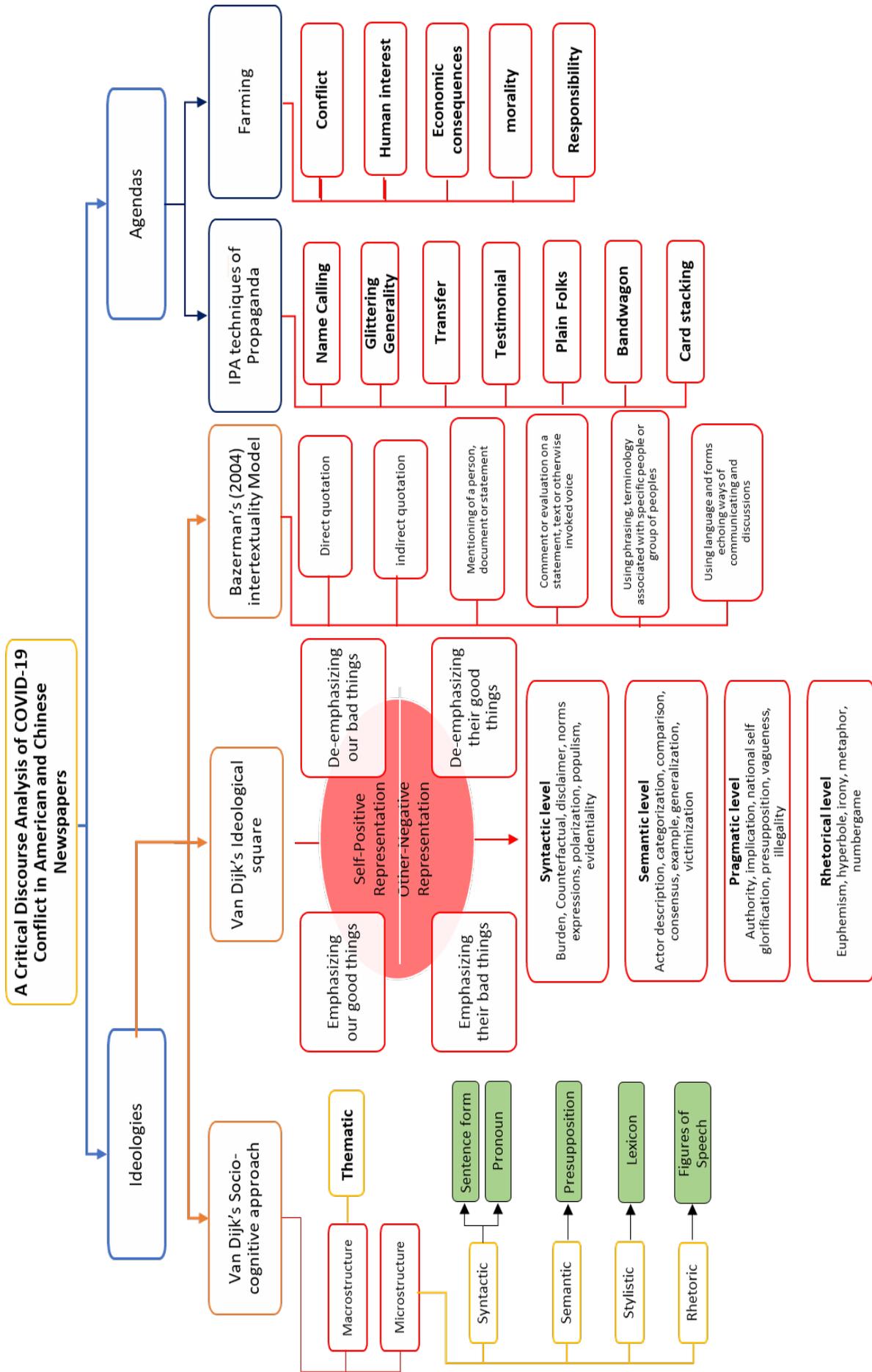


Figure (3.2) The Eclectic Multi-dimensional Model of the Study

Chapter Four

Data Analysis

This chapter is devoted to the qualitative and quantitative analysis. In light of this, the data are first examined by the adapted multidimensional model, and then they are examined using the statistical tools.

4.1 Data Analysis

By using a multidimensional, eclectic model with five dimensions, the qualitative analysis is carried out. The primary purpose of selecting the first three dimensions is to reveal the ideologies implied in the selected data. In order to make the agendas set in the selected data clear, the other two dimensions are picked.

The quantitative analysis entails determining the frequencies of each technique inside each approach, its percentage, Chi-square, and P-value.

4.1.1 Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analysis includes: Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, Van Dijk's Ideological Square, Bazerman's IN techniques, IPA PA techniques and Semetko and Valkeburg's framing model.

4.1.1.1 Qualitative Analysis of the American Articles

4.1.1.1.1 Articles (1)

On March 18, 2020, Steven Lee Myers and Alissa J. Rubin penned the article which is entitled **“Its Coronavirus Cases Dwindling, China Turns Focus Outward”** in the NYT (see the full text of the article in appendix (1)).

The article focuses on China insistence to provide assistance to other nations after suppressing the epidemic in Wuhan and throughout China. The article adds that China's primary goal in doing this is to assume the position that

was once played by America and Europe. As a result, China strives to win over other nations by playing a constructive role while concealing its ulterior motives. When the article discusses how much medical equipment was being produced in China before the viral breakout, it alludes to this nefarious aim. The article also expresses opposition to the country accepting Chinese aid without challenging the motivations behind it, as in the case of Iraq, a country that has been the focus of American foreign policy for decades.

1. Socio-cognitive Dimension

(A). Macro-structure (thematic)

According to the headline and the lead, China is turning its focus outside of its borders to assist other countries in containing the outbreak after successfully containing the pandemic inside. China is doing this in an effort to maintain a position that was formerly held by the United States or Europe. Examples that demonstrate the aid provided to other nations are used to illustrate this concept, along with several additional concepts that highlight the primary objectives of this assistance which is mainly malignant according to several American politicians. The article also suggests that America and Europe are playing a regressive role, which invites an aspiring nation to fill their position.

(B.) Micro-structure

(i) Syntactic analysis

a. Sentence form

The article is made up of forty paragraphs and fifty-nine sentences, including the lead and the heading. The longest paragraph consists of three sentences. However, the other is simply one or two sentences long. About fifty-seven sentences are complex and long. The reason for this excessive use of long and complex sentences is to vie for the attention of the reader (Gatt, 2014: 19). In addition, using complex sentences shows that the information in the sentence is organized hierarchically; certain concepts may be subordinate to others (Wiredu,

2012: 89). The sentences are declaratives. This can be attributed to the fact that declarative sentence is useful in disseminating the information and in simplifying the presentation of information to the reader who depends on such information to develop an opinion about the topic or social problem the editorial intends to solve. These sentences are all active voice as the active voice is the ideal form that enables the journalist to explain activities in a way that is more straightforward and understandable since it mirrors how people think and absorb information (Söğüta, 2018: 171).

b. Pronoun

The article utilizes a number of pronouns throughout its content, including subjective personal pronouns such (I/it/we/they/you). The pronoun ‘I’ is used twice in the proclamation by the president of Serbia, once to express his praise for the leader of China and once to indicate his confidence in that nation's support, highlighting the fact that China is in a good position. Michele Geraci, a former undersecretary in the Italian ministry of economic development, also used this pronoun twice to demonstrate his disregard for the significance of the question when asked about the idea that Chinese support is based on geopolitical goals rather than humanitarian considerations. This reveals the politician's insensitivity to or understanding of the Chinese people's actual goals. Bruno Maçes, a former secretary of state for European affairs in Portugal, similarly used the pronoun to express his view on Chinese help, according to which China is taking advantage of the crisis to demonstrate the viability of its model.

“I see China focused on using the crisis as an opportunity to play up the superiority of its model.”

China is alluded to anaphorically eight times with the pronoun ‘it.’ In two of these references, ‘it’ is used to describe its helpful assistance to other nations during the pandemic; in four other references, ‘it’ is used to describe the main purpose of such assistance, according to what some politicians believe; and twice,

‘it’ is used to describe what China has done in retaliation for the actions taken by the Trump administration against the Chinese journalists working in the US.

it has provided or pledged humanitarian assistance in the form of donations or medical expertise.

it has stepped into a role that the West once dominated in times of natural disaster or public health emergency.

it was expelling most American correspondents from The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal and The Washington Post.

As the article use china instead of the Chinese, the polarization is done by using the pronoun ‘it’ instead of ‘they’.

‘It’ is utilized as an empty it in the last two occurrences.

As it has done in the past, the Chinese state is using its extensive tools and deep pockets to build partnerships around the world.

Ursula von der Leyen, the head of the European Commission, twice refers to the collective as ‘we,’ praising China's aid and urging collaboration in times of need. Another instance of the word ‘we’ is when it is used to cite Jack Ma, one of China’s leading entrepreneurs, who employs American political lexicon to convey his perspective on the pandemic.

“United we stand, divided we fall.”

Once, the pronoun ‘they’ is used to refer to the Iraqi lab staff who have been given Chinese equipment so they may do four times as many coronavirus tests. Additionally, an Iraqi doctor named Dr. Waheeb uses the pronoun ‘you’ once to share his thoughts on the elderly Chinese minister who is not wearing a mask.

“You are not taking this seriously.”

The pronoun ‘he’ is used 8 times to report the speech of different persons.

The article contains several instances of possessive personal pronouns like (its/their/my/your/his). The pronoun ‘it’ is used thirteen times, making it the most often used word. It is mostly used to refer to the various traits that China uses to achieve its goal of becoming a major dominating power.

*“It is also touting its success in containing the coronavirus outbreak to suggest **its** one-party regime is superior to the bumbling democracies in the West, in particular the U.S.”*

Once, the word ‘their’ is used to allude to the nations that China assisted during the epidemic. The Serbian president also thanks the Chinese president for bringing aid to his nation by using the pronoun ‘my.’

I believe in my brother and friend Xi Jinping.

When Dr. Waheeb expressed surprise at the actions of the Chinese minister, who arrived in Iraq without a mask despite being elderly, he also used the word ‘your.’

“Your prime minister is more than 70 years old.”

Last but not least, the pronoun ‘his’ is used to indicate to Trump's propensity to put Americans first over assisting other nations during the epidemic.

Trump has increasingly ceded in his “America First” retreat from international engagement.

And, the second example of “his” is used when referring to Dr. Waheeb's conversation with the Chinese ambassador.

(ii) Semantic analysis

a. Presupposition

The goal of the article, as stated before, is to disclose or at the very least make the target audience aware of the Chinese objective behind their generosity and assistance during the epidemic. It also aimed to demonstrate how recipients

of aid are unaware of China's ambitions, leading them to beg for greater assistance while also expressing gratitude. As a result, the reporters used the words of certain authorities on several occasions in the article to further their goal. However, there are also instances that lead to presuppositions that serve to forward the article's core goal.

*China's leader, Xi Jinping, pledged to send **more** medical experts to Italy this week.*

Using the particle “more” presupposes that china send medical experts to Italy before. Here, Chinese emphasis on assisting other countries is evident (basically to improve its global image, according to the article).

Another use of presumption is the reporter's attempt to make the public question the Chinese government's decision to donate medical supplies to other countries after only a few short weeks of recovering from a virus pandemic and accepting donations of supplies from other countries. This is obvious when observing the placement of the next paragraph in the article, which is sandwiched between two paragraphs that describe the Chinese donations.

***Only** a few weeks ago, China was overwhelmed by the coronavirus epidemic that began in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, accepting donations of masks and other medical supplies from nearly 80 nations and 10 international organizations.*

The restrictive particle “only” in the abovementioned instance triggers the presupposition that China was recently completely overrun by the coronavirus outbreak.

The desire of China to assume global leadership dates back many years. Their aim is to restore the Chinese empire to its former grandeur.

*an aid blitz that is giving China the chance to **reposition** itself ... as a responsible global leader at a moment of worldwide crisis.*

The use of the iterative verb “reposition” presupposes China had this position previously.

The other presupposition in this article is marked by the use of the ordinal number "first" to assert that there was no prior global crisis without US leadership.

*“This could be the **first** major global crisis in decades without meaningful U.S. leadership and with significant Chinese leadership.”*

To assert America’s leadership during the previous global crisis, the restrictive particle “only” is used.

*He noted that **only** a few years ago the United States led the fight against Ebola.*

The two instances above, which are quoted from Rush Doshi, director of the China Strategy Initiative at the Brookings Institution in Washington, are used to emphasize the positive role played by America in earlier eras, to claim that this is the only era in which it is not leading the world, and to illustrate how China is waiting for any opportunity to demonstrate its power, even though these may not be Rush Doshi's goals but they are of the journal.

The article also emphasizes evidence that China is the coronavirus's country of origin.

*The outbreak that **started** in Wuhan, which has infected nearly 200,000 people and killed nearly 8,000 worldwide, has been a staggering setback for Mr. Xi’s leadership.*

When the verb ‘start’ which is state-of-change verb appears in a phrase, a reference to the original location where the virus originated is made.

Citing Michele Geraci, a former undersecretary in the Italian economic development ministry, in response to a query on the Chinese geopolitical ambition highlights the unawareness and carelessness of nations toward this desire.

“If somebody is worried China is doing too much, the gap is open to other countries.”

The counterfactual conditional clause after *if* tells that no one is concerned that China is doing too much and the reporters plan to emphasize this point to increase audience awareness.

Another instance of China's efforts to improve its reputation abroad during the epidemic is not a recent one, but it has done it several times.

*China has **long** aspired to assert a **more** prominent role in the United Nations and other international organizations while projecting its political, economic and military influence in **more** and **more** parts of the world — at times in direct competition with the United States.*

The word ‘more’ is also used to indicate that China geopolitical competition has existed in the past and is growing.

*“less an opportunity for global cooperation and **more** the background for geopolitical competition, with every major actor trying to do **better than** its rivals.”*

Another presupposition implied by the comparative construction is that China is making every effort to prevail in the race.

(iii) Stylistic analysis

The stylistic analysis indicates that the lexicons used vary. It is noticed that there is an extensive use of pre-modified nouns as in all the example below.

The Chinese support to other nations is often referred to by a variety of names, including “a humanitarian aid blitz,” “Chinese help,” “a diplomatic offensive to help as the rest of the world,” “humanitarian assistance in the form of donations or medical expertise,” “an aid blitz,” “extensive tools and deep pockets,” “the largess,” “the assistance,” “humanitarian concerns,” “aid to save lives,” “donating medical supplies China’s support,” “China’s largess,” “medical equipment and supplies” and “this initiative of the Chinese people”. The use of words like “blitz,” “diplomatic offensive” and “extensive tool and deep pockets” to accompany the aforementioned names is meant to underscore the hidden ideology of China behind this assistance. Verbs like "turns Focus outward," "mounting," and "pledged" are used to demonstrate China's steadfast commitment to providing assistance to other nations.

China’s intention behind this assistance is emphasized through the use of different references such as “mounting a diplomatic offensive,” “to reposition itself as a responsible global leader at a moment of worldwide crisis,” “to prove its model works,” “to gain some lasting geopolitical currency,” “to build partnerships around the world,” “to help temper popular anger over its initial mishandling of the outbreak,” “China’s geopolitical ambitions,” “projecting its political, economic and military influence in more and more parts of the world,” “repair its severely damaged international image,” “shows China is a responsible and generous world power,” “touting its success in containing the coronavirus outbreak,” “to suggest its one-party regime is superior to the bumbling democracies in the West,” “to play up the superiority of its model,” “the country’s motives” and “the coronavirus was only one of the projects the two countries would be working on together” .

(iv) Rhetorical analysis

Simile

An example of a simile is given in the article to compare China's support to "hollow gestures" or cynical gestures to demonstrate that there is a malicious motive behind this assistance.

China's critics dismiss the assistance as hollow gestures, even cynical ones.

2. Ideological square Dimension

The article makes explicit and consistent use of a variety of IDSs, which are as follows:

a. Disclaimer: This strategy belongs to the syntactic level of analysis. It is used to portray China as a responsible power that lends a helping hand when necessary, but they reject or denigrate this position since it suggests a malign purpose. The in-group here is America whereas the out-group is china, thus polarization is achieved.

"China is mounting a diplomatic offensive to help as the rest of the world struggles to get the virus under control."

"From Japan to Iraq, Spain to Peru, it has provided or pledged humanitarian assistance in the form of donations or medical expertise — an aid blitz that is giving China the chance to reposition itself not as the authoritarian incubator of a pandemic but as a responsible global leader at a moment of worldwide crisis."

b. Number game: This is a rhetoric strategy. America is the in-group whereas China is the out-group. The statistics on Chinese aid to other nations are not utilized to boost China's reputation, this was not the article's intended outcome. Instead, it aimed to show what a vast amount China contributed to many countries in the short time that followed its recovery from the virus.

“China’s leader, Xi Jinping, pledged to send more medical experts to Italy this week, on the same day Beijing sent 2,000 rapid diagnostic tests to the Philippines.”

This strategy is also used to show how China needed aid from other nations owing to the coronavirus's overwhelming condition just a few weeks before deciding to begin an aid blitz to other nations. So, how might China eventually assist other nations?

“Only a few weeks ago, China was overwhelmed by the coronavirus epidemic that began in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, accepting donations of masks and other medical supplies from nearly 80 nations and 10 international organizations.”

Another use is to confirm the concerns highlighted in the preceding instance by demonstrating the quantity of masks it creates, including the appearance of the coronavirus and the quantity it keeps to itself. There is definitely a malicious motive.

“China made half the world’s masks before the coronavirus emerged there and it has greatly expanded production nearly 12-fold since then, although it has kept more of the supply for itself.”

c. Categorization: It is a semantic strategy. It is used to polarize between two poles; America and other countries that accept Chinese aid. America is the in-group and China is the out-group. People are categorically divided into those who doubt help and those who do not. Thus, nations like Italy, Serbia and Iraq are seen to belong to the first group while America is seen to belong to the latter group.

“I don’t know and now I don’t care,” Michele Geraci, a former undersecretary in the Italian economic development ministry, said in an interview when asked whether the assistance reflected China’s geopolitical ambitions as much as humanitarian concerns.”

*“For countries on the receiving end of China’s largess, questions about the country’s motives have largely taken a back seat. That has been especially clear **in Iraq**, a country that has been a focus of American foreign policy for decades.”*

d. National self-glorification: this pragmatic strategy is used to extol the American and European roles in addressing crises across all prior eras. The final illustration, though, highlights how America often responds to crises. The in-group in this case is America and the out-group is China.

“In doing so, it has stepped into a role that the West once dominated in times of natural disaster or public health emergency”

“This could be the first major global crisis in decades without meaningful U.S. leadership and with significant Chinese leadership,”

e. Actor description: By using this semantic strategy, America and certain individuals from other nations are positioned as the opposing pole to China. America is the in-group and China is the out-group.

“Many in Italy, angrily pointed out that China was selling masks, respirators and other medical equipment, not donating them, and claimed that some of the materials were meant for Chinese citizens in the country.”

“Others have warned that China was using its dominant role in the production of respirators and masks to reward friendly nations.”

These instances are provided to demonstrate the fundamental goal of China's humanitarian blitz in various nations. The incidents also demonstrate that the relief blitz is not always genuine.

f. Metaphor: This rhetorical device is used to position both America and China as two poles. America is the in-group and China is the out-group. It is used to indicate the inferred aim of China behind this support, which is not humanitarian

as China portrays but a geopolitical one. This is done by referring to China's mission to help other nations as a diplomatic offensive.

“China is mounting a diplomatic offensive to help as the rest of the world struggles to get the virus under control.”

China is also described as “the authoritarian incubator of a pandemic”, a metaphor that is intended to emphasize the place where the virus originated.

“an aid blitz that is giving China the chance to reposition itself not as the authoritarian incubator of a pandemic but as a responsible global leader at a moment of worldwide crisis.”

A figurative "staggering setback" is used to characterize the viral epidemic in Wuhan and its effects since they slow down China's otherwise fast development.

“The outbreak that started in Wuhan, which has infected nearly 200,000 people and killed nearly 8,000 worldwide, has been a staggering setback for Mr. Xi’s leadership.”

The image of the person occupying the final seat represents nations ignoring or postponing the consideration of China's unstated intention behind aiding other nations.

“For countries on the receiving end of China’s largess, questions about the country’s motives have largely taken a back seat.”

Using this rhetorical strategy, Serbia and America are presented as two extremes. America is the in-group and China is the out-group.

“That was a fairy tale on paper.”

This adage is taken from a statement made on television by the president of Serbia, who described European cooperation as a fantasy tale on paper. He uses this metaphor to illustrate how the European nations were powerless to aid during the crisis. This metaphor is used to illustrate how some countries fail to appreciate Chinese aspiration rather than to disparage European cohesion.

g. Repetition: This rhetorical device is used to position both America and China as two poles. America is the in-group and China is the out-group. Repetition is used to highlight the fact that the virus originated in Wuhan.

*“Only a few weeks ago, China was overwhelmed by the coronavirus epidemic that began in the central Chinese city of **Wuhan**.”*

*“The outbreak that started in **Wuhan**, which has infected nearly 200,000 people and killed nearly 8,000 worldwide,”*

*“China is now trying to repair its severely damaged international image due to its mishandling of the outbreak in **Wuhan** in early January.”*

*“February, the United States flew in 17 tons of supplies to **Wuhan** aboard four flights that evacuated Americans from the city.”*

Repetition of the terms ‘geopolitical’ and ‘competition,’ which are the major objectives of Chinese policy instead of the “cooperation” they are urging, reveals and emphasizes China ambition.

*“and potentially gain some lasting **geopolitical** currency.”*

*“whether the assistance reflected China’s **geopolitical** ambitions as much as humanitarian concerns.”*

*“less an opportunity for global cooperation and more the background for **geopolitical competition**,”*

*“at times in direct **competition** with the United States.”*

*“Chinese officials have insisted that a pandemic should be an arena for political cooperation, not **competition**.”*

h. Victimization: America and the world are viewed as a pole against China by this syntactic strategy.

“The outbreak that started in Wuhan, which has infected nearly 200,000 people and killed nearly 8,000 worldwide, has been a staggering setback for Mr. Xi’s leadership, fanning discontent at home and questions abroad about the efficacy of the Communist state.”

“Now, the global failures in confronting the pandemic from Europe to the United States have given the Chinese leadership a platform to prove its model works — and potentially gain some lasting geopolitical currency.”

These instances demonstrate how China's evil agenda is harming both the United States and the entire world.

i. Hyperbole: The extent of the conflict between China and America, which is intensifying due to the virus, was exaggerated once using this strategy.

“The coronavirus pandemic has become a battleground,”

j. Comparison: This strategy is used to reveal the basic ideologies that the Chinese conceal behind their assistance to other nations.

China’s critics dismiss the assistance as hollow gestures, even cynical ones.

In the first instance, Chinese assistance is compared to empty gestures since both hide unknown intentions. The further instances are intended to demonstrate China's objectives for providing help, which include highlighting the superiority

of its model, repositioning China as a responsible global leader in the midst of a global crisis, and illustrating China's geopolitical objectives.

“I see China focused on using the crisis as an opportunity to play up the superiority of its model.”

3. IN Dimension

The existence of IN is a prerequisite for significance and meaning. Its use in the text has a specific significance. Even the assertion that IN occurs because it is a common literary device in a certain work shows that the meaning is there. The message being communicated there is that it is an everyday occurrence. In light of this, the meaning that emerges from the use of IN in a text shouldn't be equated with the lexical meaning of words.

In this article, both direct and indirect reported speech are used. A total of twenty-six sentences, or more than half of the total number of sentences in this article, are not in the form of reported speech, whereas direct speech is recorded twenty times and indirect speech thirteen times. In terms of direct sentences, the quotative verb ‘said’ is used the most (nine times), ‘added’ is used twice, ‘told’ once, and ‘wrote’ once. Nine indirect utterances, on the other hand, are not indicated by any verb but rather depend on the previous verb, which is ‘said’ in all but two cases where ‘added’ is used. When it comes to indirect speech, verbs like ‘said,’ which is used three times, as well as ‘announced,’ ‘insisted,’ ‘pointed out,’ ‘warned,’ ‘made clear,’ and ‘noted,’ which are each used once, serve as indicators. Finally, the phrase ‘according to’ is used twice to denote indirect speech and to link two sentences.

*He **said** the urgent issue was to provide aid to save lives, something that Italy’s allies in the European Union were unable or unwilling to do.*

*He **noted** that only a few years ago the United States led the fight against Ebola.*

The chosen people's speeches are described using a range of verbs by the journalist, who relies on their words to construct the complete tale. Additionally, it has been noted that the use of verbs of certainty, such as 'said,' the most frequently used verb in this article, 'told,' 'noted,' 'added,' 'wrote,' 'pointed out,' 'announced,' 'insisted,' 'warned,' and 'made clear,' as well as the phrase 'according to' is intended to demonstrate the distance between the journalists and what is said.

a. The reporters clearly make frequent use of both direct and indirect quotes in this article. But compared to an indirect quotation, the direct quotation lists more instances. The direct quotation emphasizes two primary points: first, other nations' ignorance or disinterest of China's geopolitical ambitions.

"If somebody is worried China is doing too much, the gap is open to other countries," he said. "This is what other countries should do."

The second point of direct quotation focuses on outlining China's motivation for aiding other nations.

"China is now trying to repair its severely damaged international image due to its mishandling of the outbreak in Wuhan in early January,"

b. Conversely, an indirect quotation focuses on two key points, namely the Chinese emphasis on providing various medical supplies to assist other countries in need.

Ten days ago, a team of seven Chinese medical experts stepped off an Iraqi Airlines plane in Baghdad bearing medical equipment and supplies. Those included two machines that will allow Iraqi lab technicians to more than

quadruple the number of coronavirus tests they do every day, according to doctors dealing with the outbreak.

The second point lists China's unfavorable actions both before and during the outbreak.

The state news media has also highlighted the chaos in Europe and the United States with something close to schadenfreude. People's Daily cheered the news this week that the pace of infections and deaths overseas now exceeds that inside China.

By citing certain authorities' or experts' perspectives and ideologies in these articles, it is intended to persuade the audience to agree with them.

c. The third technique which records a noticeable occurrence is comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice. When employing this strategy, the reporters primarily assume the role of evaluators as they evaluate the actions of the Chinese, which they perceive to be bad actions.

Beijing is mounting a humanitarian aid blitz in countries struggling with their own outbreaks. In doing so, it's stepping into a role the West once dominated

d. Mentioning of a person, document, or statements is the fourth technique, which is likewise a noteworthy occurrence. This method was used throughout the article to highlight several claims that support the article main objective. For instance, it is used to discuss the Chinese president's pledge to deliver additional aid to Italy in order to demonstrate the Chinese's persistence on aid.

China's leader, Xi Jinping, pledged to send more medical experts to Italy this week, on the same day Beijing sent 2,000 rapid diagnostic tests to the Philippines.

Additionally, it is used to draw attention to the Serbian president's plead for China's aid, highlighting the fact that he was uninformed of China's aspirations.

Serbia's president pleaded for assistance not from the country's neighbors in Europe, which restricted the export of needed medical equipment, but from China.

It is also used to highlight how desperate China was before deciding to engage in humanitarian work and how it at the time received aid from other countries (which was few weeks before the decision of help).

Only a few weeks ago, China was overwhelmed by the coronavirus epidemic that began in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, accepting donations of masks and other medical supplies from nearly 80 nations and 10 international organizations.

In February, the United States flew in 17 tons of supplies to Wuhan aboard four flights that evacuated Americans from the city.

This technique is used to refer to the incident in which Zhao Lijian, China's foreign minister spokesperson, said that the United States Army was responsible for the virus, and another incident in which a Chinese official argued with Mario Vargas Llosa, the Peruvian author and Nobel Prize laureate, over a newspaper column as he wrote about the pandemic.

One foreign ministry spokesman, Zhao Lijian, floated a conspiracy theory that the United States Army was behind the virus, while another squabbled with Mario Vargas Llosa, the Peruvian author and Nobel Prize laureate, over a newspaper column he wrote about the pandemic.

Another instance is related to the criticism of Chinese assistance by the critics of China, whereas the last instance refers to the concerned expression of the Chinese

ambassador in Iraq during the ceremony for the construction of a new lab, without delving into specifics about that occasion.

China's critics dismiss the assistance as hollow gestures, even cynical ones.

At a signing ceremony on Tuesday for the installation of a new lab at Medical City, the Chinese ambassador to Iraq, Zhang Tao, appeared visibly anxious.

e. The fifth technique is using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communicating, discussions among other people, and types of documents. The instance that employ this technique primarily utilizes political and financial terminology. It primarily aims to clarify China's goals and what drives China to engage in aiding other nations during the epidemic.

China has long aspired to assert a more prominent role in the United Nations and other international organizations while projecting its political, economic and military influence in more and more parts of the world — at times in direct competition with the United States.

For countries on the receiving end of China's largess, questions about the country's motives have largely taken a back seat. That has been especially clear in Iraq, a country that has been a focus of American foreign policy for decades.

As it has done in the past, the Chinese state is using its extensive tools and deep pockets to build partnerships around the world.

f. Finally, the article utilizes the sixth technique namely, using recognizable phrasing, terminology associated with specific people or groups of people or particular documents. It is the least used technique in this article. The article makes mention to the Chinese philanthropist Jack Ma's use of American political jargon in his appeals for collaboration during the pandemic and his donation of

medical supplies to America. The author refers to this usage in the text to demonstrate how China wants to compete with America.

The statement went on to cite Mr. Ma's use on Weibo, a social media platform, of a familiar phrase in the American political lexicon: "United we stand, divided we fall."

In an instance, Trump's remark is used to support the US renunciation of its long-standing position as the world preeminent leader in times of crises.

In doing so, it has stepped into a role that the West once dominated in times of natural disaster or public health emergency, and President Trump has increasingly ceded in his "America First" retreat from international engagement.

3. PA Dimension

It has been stated earlier that the agendas set in the article is to be examined by means of PA techniques and the framing. The following are the main PA techniques used in this article:

a. Transfer: In this article, a negative transfer is used rather than a positive one. It is employed to portray China as an exploitative nation that seizes any chance to compete with or usurp the leadership position previously held by the US and Europe. Its desire to supplant America as the dominant force in the world is seen as a malicious challenge to seize opportunities to hegemonize that position by beautifying its image before international committees and presenting the success of its regime by engaging in humanitarian aid to nations from various parts of the world. It is vital to note that although taking charge in a crisis is advantageous for the reporters, the fact that China is in charge raises concerns because of its authoritarian government.

Its Coronavirus Cases Dwindling, China Turns Focus Outward.

Beijing is mounting a humanitarian aid blitz in countries struggling with their own outbreaks. In doing so, it's stepping into a role the West once dominated

The first instance is the headline of the article and the second instance is the lead. As it is noticed the article sets its agenda from the start. It clearly demonstrates how china utilizes the current situation to reach its aim.

b. Testimonial: The article uses this technique to criticize the European community's reaction to the crisis, which encourages the Chinese to seize the opportunity to establish themselves. For instance, the Serbian president's request for assistance from China is shown with his appreciation for the Chinese president, and his assertion that European solidarity does not exist is referenced to support this image.

“European solidarity does not exist,” the Serbian leader, Aleksandar Vucic, said when he announced a state of emergency in televised remarks. “That was a fairy tale on paper. I believe in my brother and friend Xi Jinping, and I believe in Chinese help.”

Other evidence indicating the United States used to be the world's dominant power was withheld, which encouraged the Chinese to assert their claim to it.

“This could be the first major global crisis in decades without meaningful U.S. leadership and with significant Chinese leadership,” said Rush Doshi, director of the China Strategy Initiative at the Brookings Institution in Washington.

The fundamental objective of China is likewise poorly portrayed via testimonial.

“The coronavirus pandemic has become a battleground,” said Bruno Maçães, a former secretary of state for European Affairs in Portugal who is now a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute. “I see China focused on using the crisis as an opportunity to play up the superiority of its model.”

Testimonials are also used to demonstrate how little other nations care about China's motives for helping. One of these nations that accepts Chinese assistance without questioning its objectives is Iraq. Iraq is chosen to demonstrate how China is competing with America in this article because it wants to achieve a certain political outcome in the country, which has been the focus of American foreign policy for decades.

“The Iraqi people value this initiative of the Chinese people,” Jassim Al-Falahi, the deputy minister of health, said as he met the arriving team.

c. Plain flocks: This technique is used when Jack Ma, one of China’s leading entrepreneurs, calls for cooperation in this time of crisis.

“This is no longer a challenge that a country can solve on its own, but it requires all of us to work together,”

Another instance, shows the Chinese officials’ insistence on cooperation.

Chinese officials have insisted that a pandemic should be an arena for political cooperation, not competition.

The latter two instances indicate Chinese authorities' insistence on collaboration, which conceals an intention, rather than presenting them favorably.

d. Bandwagon: In the article, this technique is used once when Ursula von der Leyen, the president of the European Commission, calls for collaboration during a crisis.

“We need each other’s support in times of need.”

e. Card stacking: It is the technique that is employed the most in this article. It is used to highlight a variety of unfavorable actions taken by China, such as its geopolitical ambition, its early inability to contain the virus, its transmitting the instability in Europe and the United States with an almost schadenfreude-like attitude, as well as other unacceptable actions.

The state news media has also highlighted the chaos in Europe and the United States with something close to schadenfreude. People’s Daily cheered the news this week that the pace of infections and deaths overseas now exceeds that inside China.

Card stacking is also employed to highlight the European committees' regressive attitude, which, according to the report, encouraged China to advance its stance.

President Trump has increasingly ceded in his “America First” retreat from international engagement.

“If somebody is worried China is doing too much, the gap is open to other countries,” he said. “This is what other countries should do.”

Card stacking also highlights the unfavorable mindset of nations receiving Chinese aid without inquiring as to why they do it.

“I don’t know and now I don’t care,” Michele Geraci, a former undersecretary in the Italian economic development ministry, said in an interview when asked whether the assistance reflected China’s geopolitical ambitions as much as humanitarian concerns.

Other instances of card stacking are used to card stack Iraq and other nations into accepting Chinese support without examining the underlying goals of such assistance.

For countries on the receiving end of China's largess, questions about the country's motives have largely taken a back seat. That has been especially clear in Iraq, a country that has been a focus of American foreign policy for decades.

5. Framing Dimension

a. Conflict frame: The poles of the conflict must be shown as two rivals in order to fit the conflict frame. In this article, China is represented by one pole, while America and the entire world are represented by the other pole. A variety of instances are used to illustrate the dispute, which mostly involves China and the United States. The instances that follow demonstrate that China and America, two rivals, are engaged in 'competition.' The epidemic is also seen as being used as a "battleground" and background for geopolitical competition." But the final case demonstrates how China is using the media to express its animosity for Europeans.

*Chinese officials have insisted that a pandemic should be an arena for political cooperation, not **competition**.*

*China has long aspired to assert a more prominent role in the United Nations and other international organizations while projecting its political, economic and military influence in more and more parts of the world — at times in direct **competition** with the United States.*

*"The coronavirus pandemic has become a **battleground**," said Bruno Maçães, a former secretary of state for European Affairs in Portugal who is now a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute. "I see China focused on using the crisis as an opportunity to play up the superiority of its model."*

*"I think this also shows what climate change could look like in the future," he added, "less an opportunity for global cooperation and more the **background for geopolitical competition**, with every major actor trying to do better than its **rivals**."*

*The state news media has also highlighted the chaos in Europe and the United States with something close to **schadenfreude**. People's Daily **cheered** the news this week that the pace of infections and deaths overseas now exceeds that inside China.*

b. Human interest frame: This frame lays a lot of attention on how people respond to and feel about a situation. Additionally, it has a psychological impact on people that aids in their ability to determine who is in charge and accountable in a crisis. The article makes it obvious that China is to blame for the outbreak that has caused a global mortality catastrophe. Additionally, it faults China for its first ineffective control of the disease's genesis (see victimization strategy of ideology). The report also raises the notion that China manufactured the virus or purposefully spread it because it mentions China's preparation and precaution of a big number of masks before to the outbreak.

Others have warned that China was using its dominant role in the production of respirators and masks to reward friendly nations. China made half the world's masks before the coronavirus emerged there and it has greatly expanded production nearly 12-fold since then, although it has kept more of the supply for itself.

c. Economic consequences frame: When an issue, problem, or event has an effect on a particular individual, group, organization, or country, it is covered in the economic consequences frame. Economic ramifications are considered to have major news value since they may have a big influence on individuals, communities, businesses, nations, and even the entire planet. The article does not specifically address the economic side, but it does allude to it as a result of China's geo-economic ambitions, as in the example of Iraq, which accepted China's support in exchange for an agreement for other projects in Iraq.

A statement by the Iraqi foreign ministry made clear that the coronavirus was only one of the projects the two countries would be working on

together: The others include the oil industry and updating some of Iraq's aging electricity infrastructure.

d. Mortality frame: This framework covers occurrences, fears, or difficulties as well as ethical, societal, and religious concerns. China is depicted as immoral due to a variety of actions it takes, such as emphasizing the chaos in Europe and the United States with behavior that is akin to schadenfreude and cheering the rate of infections and deaths outside of China now surpassing that inside, selling medical supplies rather than giving them away, and producing a huge quantity of masks before the outbreak even began.

The state news media has also highlighted the chaos in Europe and the United States with something close to schadenfreude. People's Daily cheered the news this week that the pace of infections and deaths overseas now exceeds that inside China.

Many in Italy, angrily pointed out that China was selling masks, respirators and other medical equipment, not donating them, and claimed that some of the materials were meant for Chinese citizens in the country.

Others have warned that China was using its dominant role in the production of respirators and masks to reward friendly nations. China made half the world's masks before the coronavirus emerged there and it has greatly expanded production nearly 12-fold since then, although it has kept more of the supply for itself.

f. Responsibility frame: Responsibility identifies who is at fault for the conflicts and which party should be held accountable. Due to its decision to play the role of a rival in order to compete unfairly with America, it is clear that China is to be responsible for the war.

"I see China focused on using the crisis as an opportunity to play up the superiority of its model."

6. Discussion

Since Van Dijk's approach is a socio-cognitive one, this section is devoted to discuss the role of both cognition and sociology in revealing the ideologies and agendas of the article.

Cognitively, the article emphasizes how China wants to help other countries in order to advance its agenda, which includes challenging the dominance of the United States and Europe on the international stage and demonstrating the superiority of its communist party policies over American democracy. This has been reinforced by highlighting China's blitz of help to other nations to strengthen its reputation before the world's organizations, and by highlighting its support to Iraq as a country under US auspices.

For countries on the receiving end of China's largess, questions about the country's motives have largely taken a back seat. That has been especially clear in Iraq, a country that has been a focus of American foreign policy for decades.

The report also aims to cast doubt on China's support when it cites uses of how China is allegedly selling medical supplies and supplying solely Chinese nationals in nations to whom it delivers aid.

Many in Italy, angrily pointed out that China was selling masks, respirators and other medical equipment, not donating them, and claimed that some of the materials were meant for Chinese citizens in the country.

Another instance where its benevolent goal is questioned is when it provides support to Iraq; this assistance is not provided for free; rather, it is provided in exchange for projects in Iraq.

A statement by the Iraqi foreign ministry made clear that the coronavirus was only one of the projects the two countries would be working on

together: The others include the oil industry and updating some of Iraq's aging electricity infrastructure.

The article adds that China exclusively aids friendly nations, which is another example of China's discriminating behavior.

Others have warned that China was using its dominant role in the production of respirators and masks to reward friendly nations.

Questioning the fact that China produced half of the masks required by the globe before the virus ever emerged, increases suspicions that China may have had a hand in creating the virus. Another situation that causes concerns is when China only accepts assistance from other nations during a crisis and then, after quickly controlling the virus there, decides to assist other countries in combating the virus. Additionally, its support for Iraq, which made it possible for it to work on more projects, demonstrates its desire to dominate.

China made half the world's masks before the coronavirus emerged there and it has greatly expanded production nearly 12-fold since then, although it has kept more of the supply for itself.

The article also exhibits its fury over America's and Europe's backward leadership throughout the epidemic, which allowed China to advance and succeed with its agenda. Many nations that accept the help and never examine the goals seem to dismiss the fact that China's advancement conceals a malicious objective.

Sociologically, the article makes reference to the American involvement throughout every prior crises, demonstrating its status as a responsible, proactive nation that supports other countries without prejudice. To demonstrate America's strong relations with other nations, American interest in Iraq is also displayed. Another illustration of America's care for other countries is their motto, "United we stand, divided we fall," which was used by one of China's top businessmen

and portrays America as a kind and responsible nation. China, on the other hand, is seen as a chance seeker whose help to other nations is intended to win investments and trade agreements. Additionally, because it exclusively aids allies and Chinese living in other countries, it is discriminating in its support. Another thing that should be condemned is the article's discussion of China's schadenfreude in the chaos that occurred in America and Europe, which demonstrates its inhuman conduct.

The state news media has also highlighted the chaos in Europe and the United States with something close to schadenfreude. People's Daily cheered the news this week that the pace of infections and deaths overseas now exceeds that inside China.

4.1.1.1.2 Article (2)

James T. Areddy authored the article on March 13, 2020. This article is entitled **“U.S. and China Trade Barbs Over What to Call coronavirus”** in the (WSJ).

As a result of identifying the virus, it is used to characterize the verbal scuffles between American and Chinese authorities. The article makes some references to the use of this word by American government officials and also discusses how China reacted to this. This behavior leads to references to the virus's origins being highlighted in the article. Thus, the article's focus may be summed up as being on the several names given to the virus and the location of its origin.

1. Socio-cognitive Dimension

(A) Macro-structure (thematic)

The article largely focused on disputing claims regarding the COVID-19's origin. The American officials' designation of the virus as the "Wuhan virus" infuriated the Chinese authorities, who then vigorously retaliated and even raised

the possibility that the infection may not have originated in China at all. Some Chinese macro officials even go so far as to claim that the virus may have its origins in America.

(B) Micro-structure

(i) Syntactic analysis

a. Sentence form

Including the lead and headline, the article is composed of 46 sentences. These sentences were dispersed among thirty paragraphs, including the lead and the headline. The longest paragraph consists of three sentences. The other, though, is short—just one or two sentences. All of the sentences are complex to organize the information in a hierarchical order and to attract audience's attention. They are all declarative because declarative sentences are more effective in disseminating the information. Besides, the sentences are in the active voice. Since it mimics how people perceive and take in information, the active voice is the best style for a journalist to use while attempting to describe events in a way that is more comprehensible and direct.

b. Pronoun

The majority of the pronouns used in this article lack ideological connotation, however there are some instances of pronouns that do. The subjective personal pronoun 'we,' employed by Geng Shuang, is an example of one of these pronouns.

“We oppose the stigmatization and making an issue out of this.”

This pronoun is used by Geng to express the viewpoint of his government. As a result, 'we' refers to the Chinese and is an inclusive pronoun. It is clear from

the context of this speech that the speaker is demonstrating the strength and power of his nation, which enable him to speak so forcefully.

Tedros Adhanom, the director general of the WHO, also refers to the executives of the organization who will choose what to title the virus as ‘we’ in an inclusive manner.

“We had to find a name that did not refer to a geographical location, an animal, an individual or group of people,”

There are 11 instances of the subjective pronoun ‘it,’ seven of which make reference to the Corona virus. The remaining references are empty references.

“It first appeared in China, but not necessarily originated in China.”

While it is important to understand the origins of a virus,

As can be seen, in the first case, ‘it’ refers to the infection, but in the second, ‘it’ is used as an empty reference.

In order to demonstrate the offensiveness of naming epidemics after specific locations, Keiji Fukuda, a former WHO official who is currently a professor at the University of Hong Kong, uses the pronoun "you" in the opposite sense of ‘we.’

*“The naming of these epidemics **you** think is straightforward, but it turns out to be very sensitive,” he said.*

Additionally, the article's usage of the subjective personal pronoun ‘they’ bears no ideological importance. It is used three times to refer to three different identities: once to studies about the origin of the corona virus, once to outbreaks of various diseases, and once to virologists from the US and Europe who look for

the origin of the corona virus outside of China but have not found any convincing evidence to support this.

*Five virologists in the U.S. and Europe told The Wall Street Journal **they** have seen no convincing evidence that the coronavirus originated anywhere but in China.*

Two times, the inclusive possessive pronoun "their" is used, once to allude to Trump and members of his administration who insist that the coronavirus originated in China. To avoid interpreting Trump and the members of his government as representing all Americans, it is evident in this use that they are referred to as an isolated group, meaning that they are the only ones responsible for their actions.

*With the virus now threatening the U.S., Trump administration officials in recent days have stepped up **their** attempts to characterize the coronavirus's origin as Chinese.*

The second usage of "their" is made by Geng Shuang, a spokesperson for the Chinese Foreign Ministry. He criticizes US authorities for identifying the virus and urges them to focus their efforts on fighting the infection and fostering collaboration rather than blaming China.

“concentrate their energy on responding to the virus and promoting cooperation, and not on shifting the blame to China.”

(ii) Semantic analysis

a. Presupposition

Specific presupposition instances were used throughout the article. Starting from the lead of the article, the use of the change-of-state verb "began" assumes

that China is where the virus originally appeared, and this is what the rest of the article focuses on.

*U.S. officials have used ‘Wuhan virus’ or ‘Chinese coronavirus’ as labels; Chinese officials question claims virus necessarily **began** in China*

Another example that emphasizes the same concept uses the verbs "originated" and "started," both of which are change-of-state verbs that essentially pointed to China as the virus's initial source.

*“the coronavirus outbreak that **started** in China.”*

*Five virologists in the U.S. and Europe told The Wall Street Journal they have seen no convincing evidence that the coronavirus **originated** anywhere but in China.*

The article places more focus on the same concept.

*No one doubts the outbreak was **first detected** late last year in Wuhan and spread among workers and customers at a local seafood market.*

*“It **first appeared** in China, but not necessarily originated in China.”*

The aforementioned presumption is raised by the presence of the existential presupposition trigger "first," as well as the verbs "detected" and "appeared." In another instance, word like “initial” along with the word “detection” also has the same presupposition. For instance,

“despite its initial detection in the central Chinese city of Wuhan”

One more example of the same purpose includes an adverbial clause with ‘where.’

*The U.S. and China are tussling over what to call the fast-spreading coronavirus and **where it originated**,*

*China says it has acted responsibly and that no evidence has definitively determined **where the coronavirus originated**, despite its initial detection in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, **where the bulk of the early cases appeared**.*

*Five virologists in the U.S. and Europe told The Wall Street Journal they have seen no convincing evidence that the coronavirus originated **anywhere but in China**.*

(iii) Stylistic analysis

The article focuses on the idea that the virus originated in China, as was already mentioned. The article employs a number of stylistic cues to convey this point. The usage of distinct verbs like ‘began,’ ‘started,’ ‘originated,’ ‘appeared,’ and ‘detected’ are uses of these variations. Additionally, there are other phrases that signify the same thing, such as " where it originated," " the coronavirus’s origin," " its initial detection," " where the bulk of the early cases appeared," " evidence of a Chinese origin," " the outbreak’s origin," " the epidemic’s origins" and " a precise geographic location for the coronavirus’s origin."

It has been noticed that a pre-modified nouns are employed enormously in the article. Accordingly, the virus is described as “fast-spreading coronavirus,” “Wuhan virus,” “Chinese coronavirus,” “a contagious and little-understood virus,” “novel coronavirus,” “still-mysterious nature of the coronavirus,” and that it carries “big economic and social consequences.” All these expressions are used to show how dangerous and mysterious it is. In addition, in order to intensify that the virus is originated in China, references to the “initial detection” and “early cases” which appear at a “local seafood market” in “the central Chinese city of Wuhan.”

Also, the reporter tries to offer proof that the infection originated in China. The US virologists' assertion that there is no "convincing evidence" that the coronavirus originated anywhere other than China is the first evidence. Another evidence comes from China's "best-known doctor" who told the "domestic media" that the virus first appeared in China, but not necessarily originated there. This "skeptical tone" of the Chinese doctors is echoed by "several Chinese government officials." A number of "China's own scientific findings" assert that the virus originated in China and this has been declared in "China's own media outlets" "one January headline in the official Xinhua News Agency and several in the Communist Party-controlled Global Times." To these evidences, it can be added that "a WHO-China joint mission" who was studying how the virus transmitted from animals to human found that there is an "intermediate host." The "mission summary" concerning human to human transmission was that most of "the recorded cases" were imported from or had "direct links" to Wuhan/Hubei.

(iv) Rhetorical analysis:

Simile

One of the rhetorical devices in this article is the simile. Starting from the lead of the article, it includes an instance of simile.

U.S. officials have used 'Wuhan virus' or 'Chinese coronavirus' as labels; Chinese officials question claims virus necessarily began in China

The comparison between the phrases "Wuhan virus" and "Chinese virus," which are both employed by certain American authorities, and the word "label" is made very apparent in the example. As a result, these various names have taken on the meaning of a brand.

China's help is compared to a "hollow gesture" in relation to the underlying objective that it may be concealing.

China's critics dismiss the assistance as hollow gesture, even cynical ones.

A different analogy links the "reservoir" of the virus—rather than the transmitter—and the bats, who are thought to be the corona virus' primary hosts. Because of this, the transmitter is perceived as being unclear, which leads to the suspension of what that transmitter actually was.

A WHO-China joint mission to Wuhan last month endorsed the genome findings that bats likely served as a “reservoir” for the new coronavirus.

2. Ideological square Dimension

a. Illegality: It is a pragmatic strategy. America is the in-group whereas China is the out-group.

“Senior U.S. officials, including Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, have referred to the pathogen as the “Wuhan virus” or the “Chinese coronavirus,” rather than using the name Covid-19, the World Health Organization’s designation for the disease caused by the virus.”

Mike Pompeo is defying a directive from the WHO that the corona virus must be referred to as COVID-19 and instead insisted on using the terms "Wuhan virus" and "Chinese virus" since any decisions made by WHO as an international agency must be presumed to be correct.

b. Derogation: This is a pragmatic strategy. It is used to demonstrate how Chinese authorities accuse the American side of many behaviors, such as racism, xenophobia, and lack of transparency, in addition to charging America with

delivering the virus to China, despite China's inability to recognize the infection's nature. China also accuses America of pursuing blaming theory rather than facing the virus head-on and working with other countries to eradicate it. The in-group is America whereas the out-group is China.

“During the ministry’s regular briefing Friday, the spokesman Mr. Geng sidestepped questions about his colleague’s accusations of a U.S. military role by reiterating criticism of some U.S. comments and stressing the importance of science to address uncertainties about the outbreak’s origin.”

c. Irony: It is a rhetorical strategy. In the following case, the irony lies in the fact that China is portraying itself as a victim of American racism and xenophobia while disregarding the growing worldwide outcry that Beijing responded too slowly and concealed information about the new coronavirus that may have earlier stopped it.

“In response, China has accused the Trump administration of racism and xenophobia, casting itself as a victim amid intensifying international criticism that Beijing moved too slowly and suppressed information about the new coronavirus that might have headed it off earlier.”

d. National self-glorification: This is a pragmatic strategy. An instance is used to show that China is trying to present itself as a nation that is doing responsibly in response to the epidemic. America is the in-group and China is the out-group.

“China says it has acted responsibly.”

e. Victimization: This strategy is a semantic one. The in-group in this case is China whereas the out-group is America. It is used to show China as a victim of American stigmatization policy, which incenses the Chinese and is opposed by Chinese leaders.

“Asked for evidence that the virus had originated adding: “We oppose the stigmatization and making an issue out of this.”

f. Implication: this is a pragmatic strategy. The reporter uses it to hint to his main aim that is to assert on the virus origin. America is the in-group and China is the out-group.

“On Wednesday night, in an address from the Oval Office, President Trump avoided the WHO’s preferred terminology, describing the pathogen as “a foreign virus” and as “the coronavirus outbreak that started in China.””

Although he avoids using the WHO's name for the virus, Trump’s reference to the virus as “a foreign virus” and as “the coronavirus outbreak that started in China,” infers that the virus is not American, and its origin in China, is being insisted upon. **g. Evidentiality:** This is a syntactic strategy. It is used as proof from various authorities that the virus originated in certain regions. Everyone is pointing out that the virus is Chinese in origin. America is the in-group and China is the out-group.

“No less authority than the Chinese Communist Party said it came from Wuhan. So don’t take Mike Pompeo’s word for it.”

“Five virologists in the U.S. and Europe told The Wall Street Journal they have seen no convincing evidence that the coronavirus originated anywhere but in China.”

h. Actor description: It is a semantic strategy. America is the in-group and China is the out-group.

“Geng Shuang, a spokesman for China’s Foreign Ministry, denounced the U.S. on Thursday as “immoral and irresponsible,”

Geng Shuang describes US of being immoral and irresponsible.

i. Norm expression: It is a syntactic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“Asked for evidence that the virus had originated anywhere other than central China, Mr. Geng called it “an issue of science,”

In order to identify the origin of the virus, Geng Shuang permits science to be the deciding element.

j. Norm expression: It is a syntactic strategy. America is the in-group and China is the out-group.

“We had to find a name that did not refer to a geographical location, an animal, an individual or group of people,” WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus said at the time, underlining the importance of avoiding “names that can be inaccurate or stigmatizing.”

In this case, the WHO's director-general enumerates the moral criteria that they used to choose the name of the virus. The purpose of quoting WHO's remark is to demonstrate that WHO does not dispute that the virus originated in China but rather that they chose a neutral name for the virus to avoid sensitivity.

k. Number game: It is a rhetoric strategy. America is the in-group and China is the out-group.

“A number of China’s own scientific findings appear to place the epidemic’s origins in China, including a landmark article by 29 scientists at the Wuhan Institute of Virology that said the novel coronavirus shared 96.2% of the genome sequence of one in bats from another province, Yunnan.”

To emphasize that China is the original source of the virus, the final two uses provide percentages of viral cases in China.

l. Burden: It is a syntactic strategy. America is the in-group and China is the out-group.

“But health experts say outbreaks often put governments on the defensive, since they often carry big economic and social consequences.”

The instance makes reference to the outbreak's consequences, which is the major justification for the defensive measures implemented by some nations (America's situation is alluded at here).

m. Euphemism: It is a rhetoric strategy. America is the in-group and China is the out-group.

“With the virus now threatening the U.S., Trump administration officials in recent days have stepped up their attempts to characterize the coronavirus’s origin as Chinese.”

Although the scenario shows China as a victim of the American naming act, a defense of the American politicians' actions is introduced as a basis for that negative action. Furthermore, the American politicians' actions are not amplified or characterized as stigmatizing or xenophobic; rather, they are mitigated.

n. Example: It is a rhetoric strategy. America is the in-group and China is the out-group.

“Authorities last month in northern China also detained a man for spreading a rumor suggesting U.S. military involvement in the coronavirus spread.”

This is an example of how China and America are trading accusations over the source of the virus.

3. IN Dimension

Some directly and indirectly reported speech is present in the article. There are 13 instances of the direct speech and 7 instances of indirect ones. The verbs that mark the direct speech are “said” with 6 occurrences, “told,” “noted,” “adding,” and “denounced” with one occurrence for each. All of these verbs display objectivity, with the exception of the final one, "denounced," which conveys the speaker's strong opinion. It is used to denote Geng Shuang, a

spokesperson for the Chinese Foreign Ministry, who criticizes the US act of naming the virus, in his speech.

Indirect speech is further identified by certain verbs, such as ‘say,’ which occurs twice, ‘told,’ and ‘said,’ each appears once, and the phrase ‘according to,’ which is used to identify one of these indirect speeches. These verbs demonstrate the objectivity of the reporter. The word ‘accused’ is also used once to describe the Trump administration’s approach toward China, whom they accuse of harboring racial and ethnic prejudice. The negative reporting verb ‘accuse’ conveys the reporter’s skepticism about the information that follows that verb.

a. In terms of intertextuality, the technique of IN that records the highest frequency is mentioning of a person, document, or statements. This technique is mostly employed to draw attention to remarks made by certain individuals, notably those that pertain to the genesis of the corona virus.

Senior U.S. officials, including Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, have referred to the pathogen as the “Wuhan virus” or the “Chinese coronavirus,” rather than using the name Covid-19, the World Health Organization’s designation for the disease caused by the virus.

The example makes explicit reference to specific individuals who are US officials as well as to the names by which they refer to the infection.

The reporter also makes reference, employing the same technique, to specific documents or statements that are offered as proof of the location of the virus's initial discovery.

A number of China’s own scientific findings appear to place the epidemic’s origins in China, including a landmark article by 29 scientists at the Wuhan Institute of Virology that said the novel coronavirus shared

96.2% of the genome sequence of one in bats from another province, Yunnan.

b. Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice is the method that appears second in its frequencies. These generally focus on reactions to specific declarations, statements, or even actions made by certain American or Chinese authorities in relation to the argument about the virus's origin.

The U.S. and China are tussling over what to call the fast-spreading coronavirus and where it originated, as the pandemic grows ever more politically charged.

In response, China has accused the Trump administration of racism and xenophobia, casting itself as a victim amid intensifying international criticism that Beijing moved too slowly and suppressed information about the new coronavirus that might have headed it off earlier.

The flow of accusations between China and America over the coronavirus's origin is illustrated in the first case. The second instance shows the reporter's perspective on how Chinese authorities responded to Trump's claim, portraying themselves as victims even though they are widely criticized for acting slowly and obstructing information about the virus.

c. The direct quotation is the third technique for recording high frequencies. These quotations mostly focus on the debate around the coronavirus's origin.

Asked for evidence that the virus had originated anywhere other than central China, Mr. Geng called it “an issue of science,” adding: “We oppose the stigmatization and making an issue out of this.”

d. The last technique used in this article is the indirect quotation. The assertion of the Chinese official's persistence in denying that the virus's origin is in China is one instance of an incident that uses this technique.

Five virologists in the U.S. and Europe told The Wall Street Journal they have seen no convincing evidence that the coronavirus originated anywhere but in China.

Another instance of this technique is utilized to emphasize the significant economic and social effects of the pandemic.

But health experts say outbreaks often put governments on the defensive, since they often carry big economic and social consequences.

By citing particular authorities' or experts' points of view and ideas in this article, it is intended to persuade the audience and to let them trusted in what is written.

4. PA Dimension

a. Name calling: Even though he tries to avoid naming the virus, Trump uses this strategy to label the virus and claim that it is not American in origin but rather began in China.

On Wednesday night, in an address from the Oval Office, President Trump avoided the WHO's preferred terminology, describing the pathogen as "a foreign virus" and as "the coronavirus outbreak that started in China."

Pompeo employs this technique to name the virus in an effort to claim that the virus originated in China.

““This is the Wuhan coronavirus,” he said in an interview last week.”

The technique is also used by the reporter to convey his stance toward naming the virus. In place of using any other term, he intends to say that he prefers to utilize the COVID-19 designation bestowed by the WHO.

“Blandly, Covid-19 stands for a coronavirus disease detected in 2019.”

b. Glittering generalities: This technique is used 3 times, two of them is used by Geng Shuang, a spokesman for China’s Foreign Ministry when asked about the virus origin. His statement that science should be consulted in this case and his attitude that they are opposing stigmatization are instances of glittering generalities.

Asked for evidence that the virus had originated anywhere other than central China, Mr. Geng called it “an issue of science,” adding: “We oppose the stigmatization and making an issue out of this.”

This instance is an example of negative glittering generality. It demonstrates how the Chinese promote themselves. While they are fully aware that the virus originated in China, they use their position on the naming acts and their arbitration to science as propaganda to cast themselves as victims.

The next instance serves to illustrate the criteria that the WHO and global health authorities take into account when designating diseases. For instance,

“We had to find a name that did not refer to a geographical location, an animal, an individual or group of people,” WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus said at the time, underlining the importance of avoiding “names that can be inaccurate or stigmatizing.”

The article seems to adopt these views though they are not said by Americans. They serve to demonstrate that the newspaper is supporting the anti-stigmatizing decisions and sticking to science.

c. Testimonial: In this article, a variety of testimonies are offered, most of which center on the virus's genesis. Some of which are chosen as proof that the coronavirus was initially discovered in China. Evidences from Chinese officials, including the communist party, the most renowned epidemiologist, Dr. Zhong

Nanshan, Chinese scientists, WHO-China joint mission, Xinhua News Agency, the Communist Party-controlled Global Times and virologists in the US and Europe are supposed to support the claim that Chinese officials are admitting that the virus originated in China.

“No less authority than the Chinese Communist Party said it came from Wuhan. So don’t take Mike Pompeo’s word for it.”

A WHO-China joint mission to Wuhan last month endorsed the genome findings, “most of the recorded cases were imported from or had direct links to Wuhan/Hubei.”.

Inconclusiveness in identifying the virus's origin is discussed in other testimonies. These are, however, only two instances, which is less than those that claim the virus originated in China. These are brought to show the neutrality of the reporter.

“So far, studies by scientists from countries like the United States, Europe and Japan show that the source of novel coronavirus is still inconclusive,” Lin Songtian, China’s ambassador to South Africa, said in a speech last week.

Another significant instance is that of Mr. Fukuda, a former WHO official, whose statement can be interpreted as admitting that naming the virus after its location is something straightforward, implying that American politicians are not doing anything wrong, despite the fact that such an act is sensitive for those affected.

“The naming of these epidemic you think is straightforward, but it turns out to be very sensitive”

The final instance of testimony, given by the health experts, justifies whatever actions that other countries, including America, have taken against China, such naming the virus.

“But health experts say outbreaks often put governments on the defensive, since they often carry big economic and social consequences.”

The illustration shows that the outbreak's significant economic and social repercussions serve as the basis for any step taken against China.

d. Card stacking: Since card stacking entails the selection of facts or lies, it is apparent that the reporter chooses only 4 instances that are regarded to be card stacking against American officials while choosing 16 instances against Chinese officials.

With the virus now threatening the U.S., Trump administration officials in recent days have stepped up their attempts to characterize the coronavirus’s origin as Chinese.

This instance is intended to card stack American officials, however, in the scenario, the phrase "with the virus now threatening the US" minimizes the card stacking. It appears to be an explanation for their decision to give the virus a name.

The other instances are intended to put Chinese officials on the defensive, in particular because they continue to argue that the virus did not originate in China despite the overwhelming amount of evidence to the contrary.

China says it has acted responsibly and that no evidence has definitively determined where the coronavirus originated, despite its initial detection in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, where the bulk of the early cases appeared.

China has also come under fire for its mishandling of the virus during its early epidemic.

In response, China has accused the Trump administration of racism and xenophobia, casting itself as a victim amid intensifying international criticism that Beijing moved too slowly and suppressed information about the new coronavirus that might have headed it off earlier.

China is also charged with obstructing news coverage of the outbreak during its early stages.

Scrutiny of China has intensified as the disease spread beyond its borders—to more than 100 countries, according to WHO data—amid evidence Beijing suppressed news of the outbreak during its initial weeks.

Another illustration demonstrates how China is not only denying that the virus originated there but is also blaming America for introducing the disease to the country.

“It might be US army who brought the epidemic to Wuhan.”

Instead of being worried in identifying the source of the virus, China is perceived as caring more about other incidental issues, such as being held responsible during the epidemic.

While it is important to understand the origins of a virus, “countries are understandably concerned about being blamed,” said Keiji Fukuda, a former WHO official who now teaches at the University of Hong Kong.

Furthermore, three occasions in the article stack card both America and China. Both of these incidents claim that both sides are criticizing each other.

“U.S. and China trade barbs over what to call coronavirus.”

5. Framing Dimension

a. Conflict frame: Officials from the United States and China are the article's opposing poles. In the article, the conflict between China and America is portrayed as being intense. The phrase "trade barbs" is used in the text to allude to the disagreement from the headline.

U.S. and China Trade Barbs Over What to Call Coronavirus

This idea is emphasized later in the article immediately after the lead.

The U.S. and China are tussling over what to call the fast-spreading coronavirus and where it originated, as the pandemic grows ever more politically charged.

Numerous additional indications point to the presence of a confrontation similar to the one in which Chinese officials are accusing Pompeo of manipulating the situation to advance his political stance against China.

Chinese officials, and some scientists, have pushed back especially hard against Mr. Pompeo for appearing to use the crisis to further his hard political line against China.

Other instances include phrases like “shifting blame,” “we oppose stigmatization” and “debunking conspiracy theories”.

b. Human interest frame: Despite the reporter's efforts to seem objective in delivering the facts, there is an obvious tendency to blame China for the epidemic and for how the virus was handled during the initial outbreak.

Scrutiny of China has intensified as the disease spread beyond its borders—to more than 100 countries, according to WHO data—amid evidence Beijing suppressed news of the outbreak during its initial weeks.

c. Economic consequences frame: The Chinese carelessness in combating the virus affects several nations and has severe economic and social repercussions.

But health experts say outbreaks often put governments on the defensive, since they often carry big economic and social consequences.

d. Mortality frame: Although the reporter is obviously certain that the virus came from China, he acknowledges that the WHO's name should be taken into account because it adheres to many moral norms.

Blandly, Covid-19 stands for a coronavirus disease detected in 2019.

“We had to find a name that did not refer to a geographical location, an animal, an individual or group of people,” WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus said at the time, underlining the importance of avoiding “names that can be inaccurate or stigmatizing.”

Another situation shows Trump following the WHO's position, therefore he refrains from identifying the illness.

On Wednesday night, in an address from the Oval Office, President Trump avoided the WHO's preferred terminology, describing the pathogen as “a foreign virus” and as “the coronavirus outbreak that started in China.”

In another case, the Chinese are seen as immoral as they resist Trump and Pompeo.

Chinese officials, and some scientists, have pushed back especially hard against Mr. Pompeo for appearing to use the crisis to further his hard political line against China.

e. Responsibility frame: As they trade criticism and accusations, it is evident that a lot of emphasis is placed on the fact that both sides are guilty for the disagreement. As a result, China's failure to properly manage the virus's first outbreak, its deliberate concealment of the virus's origin, and its accusation of America of transferring the virus to America are seen as the cause for Americans to accuse China, whereas American politicians' naming of the virus that links it to China is portrayed as the main cause of the conflict. However, more emphasis is placed on China's to hold responsibility due to the reasons mentioned above while America are only blamed only for not using WHO's name of the virus to avoid any racism or discriminatory acts.

In response, China has accused the Trump administration of racism and xenophobia, casting itself as a victim amid intensifying international criticism that Beijing moved too slowly and surpassed information about the new coronavirus that might have headed it off earlier.

6. Discussion

Cognitively speaking, although the reporter initially accuses American authorities of misrepresenting the virus as a Chinese virus, angering the Chinese, this criticism is ultimately toned down since it is shown to be an understandable reaction to the serious economic and social effects. However, the remainder of the article is devoted to laying further responsibility for China for several reasons. China's purposeful concealment of information at the start of the pandemic is one of these factors.

Several Chinese government officials and scientists have since echoed his skeptical tone, though without providing any evidence to pack up the claim. Chinese diplomats, meanwhile, have been emphasizing the still-mysterious nature of the coronavirus.

Furthermore, the health professionals' ability to predict how to handle any future pandemic is made more difficult by Chinese insistence on denying that the virus originated in their nation without any supporting proof. Another justification for blaming China for the epidemic is their early treatment of the virus that caused it to spread globally and their participation in the finger-pointing instead. As evidence for his points, the reporter uses quotations from various sources to show these Chinese washouts.

Additionally, there are several sentences in the article that raise doubts about the Chinese government's transparency, particularly those that raise issues regarding the method by which the virus is transferred from animals to humans, or more specifically, those that raise issues regarding the intermediate host between the animals and humans.

Significant scientific questions do remain, including exactly how a contagious and little-understood virus jumped from animals, the believed host of the virus, to humans. Pinning down the origin can help scientists better understand how to contain the current pandemic and address future outbreaks.

A WHO-China joint mission to Wuhan last month endorsed the genome findings that bats likely served as a “reservoir” for the new coronavirus. What remained unclear was the identification of one or more “intermediate” hosts before it jumped to humans.

Although the article highlights that the virus originated in China and several arguments are offered in the article to support this, it also promotes the usage of the nomenclature provided by WHO to identify the virus since it adheres to moral norms.

Sociologically, all the issues stated before suggest that China's social relations with other nations are not wholly positive.

The article cites a circumstance in which Trump refrains from using the term "Chinese virus," demonstrating his adherence to the beliefs of these institutes and demonstrating the positive relationship that America has with foreign organizations.

4.1.1.2 Qualitative Analysis of the Chinese Articles

4.1.1.2.1 Article (1)

Yang Sheng published this article in the Global Times on 2020/3/17. The article is entitled **“Trump’s tweet infuriate China.”** It is written in the GT. It has 1860 words total, including the title. The article, as its title suggests, explores several Chinese perspectives on Trump's tweet designating the illness as a "Chinese virus." All of the current opinions are statements of anger and displeasure at a tweet like that, which encourages racism. All people included in the article contend that Trump uses this tweet to abdicate his duty to his country. He seeks to hide the various degrees of his administration's failure, such as high unemployment and weak economic growth. The article also highlights China's constructive cooperation, emphasizing how they provide the United States with several pharmaceutical products to help them get through the crisis. Thus it is better for Trump’s administration to avoid the Chinese retaliation.

1. Socio-cognitive Dimension

(A) Macro-structure (thematic)

The main elements of this article, which is inferred from the headline and lead of the article, is the politicization of the virus source by the US with a focus on Trump's tweet and the outraged Chinese response to it as well as potential future repercussions. This idea is reiterated in several statements throughout the article, in the form of reported speech which conveys the standpoints of some Chinese politicians and experts. The majority of these viewpoints condemn the

tweet and see it as an effort to politicize the virus and to stigmatize China. Moreover, Trump's tweet is linked to his subpar leadership of America.

In any case, the main topic is used to highlight and bring to light the good role that China played as a worldwide force during the pandemic, as well as other uses that are meant to serve as a reminder to the intended audience of China's importance globally.

(B) Micro-structure

(i) Syntactic analysis

a. Sentence form

The article contains fifty-eight sentences including the headline, the lead and four clauses to introduce certain paragraphs. These sentences spread upon thirty-eight paragraph excluding the headline and the lead. The longest paragraph is three sentences long. The others, however, have only one or two sentences. Most of the sentences are long and complex and in the form of reported speech. Using long sentences is to compete for the reader's interest. Using complex sentences demonstrates the hierarchical organization of the information in the sentence; certain concepts may be subordinate to others. These are declarative sentences. This is explained by the fact that declarative sentences are effective in spreading information and streamlining its presentation to the reader, who relies on it to form opinions about the subject or societal issue the editorial seeks to address. In addition, all these sentences are in the active voice which is the best form because it mimics how readers think and take in information, allowing the writer to describe events in a way that is clearer and more intelligible.

b. Pronoun

Regarding pronoun usage, the article exhibits certain uses of pronouns including subjective personal pronouns such as (he/ we/ they). The pronoun 'he'

is used nine times, but five of them are in references to Trump's motivation for his tweet, the likelihood that he will lose the next election, the potential to deceive US voters into forgiving or ignoring the poor performance of his administration, and the potential for him to take additional irresponsible actions.

*“**he** wants to make Americans to blame China and cover his own administration's terrible response.”*

*“**he** can fool US voters to forgive or ignore his administration's undesirable performance.”*

*“**he** will surely lose the election”*

*“No matter what **he** does, if **he** turns provocations into concrete actions.”*

Here, it is clear that the pronoun ‘he’ is being used on purpose to distinguish Trump from the Americans, i.e., that Trump's attitude toward China is one that is personal and motivated by personal interests and is not representative of the American viewpoint. However, in other cases, Trump is referred to by the plural personal pronoun ‘they.’

*“**They** were already informed, and still **they** failed to make efforts to prevent and control the outbreak.”*

*“**They** can't just cover up their inability by blaming China and fool their own people.”*

In these uses, ‘they’ can be incorporated into an opposing setting and is utilized to establish a “we against them” antagonistic dichotomy.

In addition, ‘he’ is used as neutral reference to Zhao, the Chinese politician and the deputy director of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Department. For Serbia's President Aleksandar Vucic and for Peter Navarro. And, the pronoun ‘they’ is used as a neutral reference to the Chinese experts.

“as he only raised a reasonable query rather than spreading disinformation.”

“He told the Global Times on Tuesday that it is totally reasonable for Zhao to question the US and to urge it to be transparent.”

“he believes the US should reduce dependency on drug imports from other countries like China.”

“He branded European solidarity a "fairytale," and praised China instead, saying it was the only country that would help, CGTN reported.”

“They also thought Zhao was repeating "the wrong conspiracy theory" similar to what US politicians use to smear China.”

“they blame Zhao for "infuriating" the US.”

The spokesperson for the foreign ministry, Geng Shuang, uses the pronoun ‘we’ just once to add to this list.

“We urge the US side to immediately correct its mistakes.”

The pronoun ‘we’ is an inclusive term. It is used here to convey the China’s reaction to Trump’s tweet. According to Wales (1996:66), ‘we’ often refers to the speaker and any third persons who may or may not be present in the current context.

The article also employs objective personal pronouns such as (him/them). The pronoun ‘him’ is used once in reference to Trump whereas ‘them’ is used twice once to neutrally describe WHO declaration.

“so this also made him want to distract domestic attention from criticizing his lack of responsibility by blaming China”

*“The World Health Organization and the international community are and regions and to stigmatizing **them**,”*

When ‘them’ is used in the second sense, it expresses opposition, as in "us versus them."

*“Chinese professional teams have held many video conferences with US professionals to share data and keep **them** updated.”*

Personal possessive pronouns show occurrences in this article. The pronoun ‘his’ occurs 6 times to refer to Trump’s poor administration and it occurs one time to refer to Zhao’s tweet. The pronoun ‘their’ is also used to refer to Trump’s administration.

*“They can't just cover up **their** inability by blaming China and fool **their** own people,” he noted.”*

(ii) Semantic analysis

a. Presupposition

The other notion in micro-structure after background is the use of presupposition. In this article, there are some uses of presupposition:

*“by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being **confronted** with will get worse, especially the stock market, as the two biggest economies of the world could see a new conflict amid a pandemic.”*

The reporter is attempting to get the addressee's attention by utilizing the provocative verb "confront" by pointing out the potential repercussions of American politicians continuing to incite China. In the paragraphs that follow, the same concept is underlined once more.

*“Trump's irresponsible tweet that offended China seriously is likely to trigger a "circuit breaker" for the stock market **again** as the tweet signaled a potential conflict launched by the US against China”*

The usage of the iterative particle "again" in this instance assumes that the stock market had a decrease in the past. The purpose of this usage is to incite the recipients. It serves as a warning to Americans that their president has the power to plunge both their country and the entire world into disaster.

In this article, there are additional presupposition.

*“The warfare of public opinion launched by the US to stigmatize China is doomed to **fail**”*

*"any scheme to smear China will be doomed to **fail**"*

Using the implicative verb “fail” triggers the presupposition that there are warfare of public opinion or schemes to stigmatize or smear China. Of course, this is negatively counted against the American policy. The reporter then reveals what will happen if Trump continues to irritate China.

*“**if** he turns provocations into concrete actions, China would surely retaliate and the world economy would be further compromised”*

*“**if** the US provokes China, it would make it very difficult for China to assist the US,”*

The use of the counterfactual conditional is what sets off the presupposition, therefore it is implied from these two statements, which have a kinship in meaning, that there would be negative economic repercussions if America persisted in provoking China.

(iii) Stylistic analysis

The stylistic analysis points to variation in the chosen lexicons. The journalist also uses a noticeable number of pre-modified noun phrases such as “terrible response”, “groundless accusation”, “outlandish rumors”, “baseless conspiracy”, “totally reasonable”, “groundless rumors” and “historic decline”. The use of such pre-modified noun phrases is of purpose since the pragmatic function of the pre-modifier is “to shorten the length of the noun phrases into which they are inserted. This reduction implies that the interlocutor can send the message using minimal coding, saving space and time by creating compact packages of information” (Gómez, 2009: 34).in addition, Mastrine writes:

Adjectives do indicate bias — even if the descriptor is not one you’d deem unfair, it indicates a viewpoint. That’s why being able to spot the use of adjectives in journalistic writing is important. While a journalist may use an adjective that you would deem fair or accurate, sometimes they don’t — and the resulting bias can manipulate someone’s view. (Mastrine, 2022)

Moreover, there are different terms used to assert the “racism” such as “anti-China sentiment”, “hying up”, “stigmatizes”, “slander”, “smear”, “conspiracy theories”, “insult”, “discrimination”, “groundless rumors”, “groundless accusations”, “provoking China”, “blame”, "Wuhan virus", “disinformation”, “discriminatory and racist stance of the US”, “provocations”, “accuse”, and “hatred”. Different vocabularies are used to describe Trump’s administration, such as, “inability”, “irresponsibility”, “his administration's terrible response”, “failure”, “lose support”, “historic decline”, “financial crisis”, “distract domestic attention”, “lack of responsibility”, “unemployment”, “poor economic performance”, “undesirable performance”, “manipulate”, “divert domestic attention”, “ignorance”, “failed to” and “cover up”.

(iv) Rhetorical analysis:

a. Interrogation:

The article makes use of rhetorical devices as well. One of these devices is interrogation, as seen in the sentences that follow:

"So how dare the Trump administration blame us?"

Who is the more responsible global power, who should be thanked and who should be blamed?

Such queries are forms of persuasion used to influence an audience and they demand agreement. This type of query is described by Quirk et al. (1985: 1478) as they state: "in communicative effect, it [rhetorical question] is similar to tag question since it seeks confirmation of what the speaker has explicitly assumed (by preceding declarative) to be agreed as truth." The first use clearly expresses the objection of the Beijing-based expert to Trump's blaming. In the second use, the speaker explicitly refers to China's role to control the pandemic as well as its role in helping other countries to overcome the crisis.

b. Alliteration

A case of alliteration is also provided in the text. In this use, the use of alliteration highlights a certain text section and creates aesthetic linguistic impact.

*"The US heavily relies on imports of China-made **m**edicines and **m**edical **m**aterials."*

It is obvious that the notion that the Americans depend on the Chinese' medical supplies is being emphasized. To explain the significance of China to Americans, this card is used.

2. Ideological square Dimension

The article uses a number of IDSs in a clear and consistent manner, which can be explained as follows:

a. Actor description: It is a semantic strategy. China is the in-group and Trump is the out-group.

“US President Donald Trump using the term “Chinese Virus” to refer to the COVID-19 in his tweet is an act of inability and irresponsibility, as he wants to make Americans to blame China and cover his own administration's terrible response to the predictable outbreak and his failure to ease panic in the US stock market, said Chinese experts on Tuesday, adding that hyping up racism and anti-China sentiment won't help the US deal with the pandemic at all.”

This example characterizes Trump and his administration. There are references to his failure in a variety of areas, including his inability to address and contain the COVID-19 pandemic, unemployment, and low economic performance.

b. National self-glorification: It is a semantic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group. It is used to highlight China's constructive attitudes and initiatives in halting the spread of COVID-19.

“China has been open, transparent, and responsible in sharing information about COVID-19 with the WHO and other countries, including the United States, and these prevention and control measures adopted by the Chinese government have bought time for global prevention and control work.”

The assistance China provides to other countries throughout the pandemic is also highlighted. China, as a global power, thereby plays a beneficial role that strengthens its authority and responsibilities.

c. Burden: It is a syntactic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the stock market.”

“Trump's irresponsible tweet that offended China seriously is likely to trigger a "circuit breaker" for the stock market again.”

These themes illustrate the potential repercussions that the world, generally, and America, specifically, might experience if the provocative behavior persists.

d. Evidentiality: It is a syntactic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“Serbia's President praised China instead, saying it was the only country that would help.”

In this instance, the president of Serbia commends China for its assistance during the pandemic. It is intended to show that China played a significant, beneficial role during the pandemic, a role that China is claimed to have assumed and a role that America consistently denies.

e. Generalization: It is a semantic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“He branded European solidarity a "fairytale.””

The president of Serbia condemns the European assistance and describes it as a “fairy tale”. It is an evidence that hints at the negative participation of America during the pandemic.

f. Number game: It is a rhetoric strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group. The statistics used in the first instance refers to the failure of the American administration during Trump’s period.

“Volatility in US stocks surged to a record after benchmark indexes suffered the biggest rout since 1987, Bloomberg reported on Tuesday.”

The last instances highlight China's advantageous contributions.

“Chinese pharmaceutical companies have supplied more than 90 percent of US antibiotics, vitamin C, ibuprofen and hydrocortisone, as well as 70 percent of acetaminophen and 40 to 45 percent of heparin in recent years,”

g. Victimization: It is a semantic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“as he wants to make Americans to blame China.”

“hyping up racism and anti-China sentiment.”

With these instances, China is shown to be a victim of American activity.

h. Illegality: It is a pragmatic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“The World Health Organization and the international community are clearly opposed to linking viruses to specific countries and regions and to stigmatizing them.”

“despite the WHO formally naming it COVID-19 to avoid discrimination.”
The decision by the WHO to name the corona virus is mentioned in the article. It is meant to convey that what Americans do is illegal.

i. Example: It is a semantic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“Because the flu season in America started in September, and in October, the US military delegation came to Wuhan for the Military World Games, so it is totally possible that US military personnel unintentionally brought the virus to China, since at that time, no one in China knew the existence of COVID-19 if it really originated in the US.”

The history of the Military World Games, which are hosted in China and to which a US military group traveled before the outbreak, provides an explanation for the potential that COVID-19 could arise in America.

j. Comparison: It is a semantic strategy. Zhao is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“the wrong conspiracy theory” similar to what US politicians use to smear China.”

“Zhao's question for the US was neither an accusation nor a rumor, but a reasonable query that is totally different from US politicians' groundless rumors and insults against China.”

In the first example, Zhao tweet is considered similar to that of Trump and it might thus infuriate the Americans. In the second example, Jin Canrong disputes this assertion, arguing that the tweet poses a logical question that demands an immediate response.

k. Metaphor: It is a rhetoric strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“it seems US people aren't buying Trump's tactics to distract their attention.”

In first instance, Trump's strategy is contrasted with consumable goods. The journalist aims to convey through the use of this metaphor that Trump is attempting to trick American voters who have grown tired of his lies by accusing China.

“this is the wrong prescription that may harm many more ordinary Americans.”

Another usage of metaphor is made by Geng, a spokesperson for the Chinese Foreign Ministry, who calls Peter Navarro's recommendation to stop importing medical equipment from China “wrong prescription”. Geng compares Navarro's idea to a doctor's prescription, but it is incorrect, proving that America already has a health problem and will only become worse if it follows this advice. There is a reference to Trump’s administration failure.

l. Repetition: It is a rhetoric strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

*“he wants to make Americans to **blame** China”*

*“the pandemic urgently need cooperation rather than being **blamed**”*

*“Trump could also further **blame** China on many other issues,”*

*“So how dare the Trump administration **blame** us?”*

*“More countries like Spain, Serbia and the Philippines are also seeking help from China as they trust China's experiences and credibility..... so when asked who is the more responsible global power, who should be thanked and who should be **blamed**, people around the world know the answer clearly, said Chinese experts.”*

*“Pompeo conveyed strong US objections to China's "efforts to shift **blame** for COVID-19 to the United States.”*

*“they **blame** Zhao for "infuriating" the US.”*

*“this is not the time to **blame** Zhao”*

The verb “blame” is repeated 8 times, yet 5 of them are used in reference to Trump action. Orizu and He (2016: 4124) define the verb “blame” as “to blame an entity is to hold that entity morally responsible for doing something of a negative outcome.” In this sense, Trump negative act of blaming is emphasized to give more excuses to the Chinese reaction. In addition, “blame” is also used to mark the “blame shifting” game into which both powers involved. One use of this is used by Pompeo to reject the act, Repetition in these instances is intended to emphasize the American’s negative act of blaming. Quoting Pompeo’s speech is intended to later justify Zhao’s question of transparency. The word "blame" is used twice in the article to indicate that Zhao is held accountable by Chinese experts for his tweet, but the reporter also finds other defenses for Zhao, arguing that now is not the time to assign blame and that Zhao's tweet is merely a “question” or “query” rather than an accusation.

m. Hyperbole: It is a rhetoric strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“China banned the export of drugs, "the US would sink into the hell of a novel coronavirus epidemic,”

This overstated statement is meant to serve as a warning to the US that if China forbids the export of medications to America, the results will be catastrophic.

3. IN Dimension

IN is a necessary condition of significance and meaning. Its usage has a significance of its own in the text. Even the claim that IN exists because it is a typical strategy used in a certain text suggests that the meaning is present. It is a regular practice, which is the message being sent there. As a result, the meaning that results from the usage of IN in a text should not be equated with the lexical meaning of words.

Both types of reported speech: direct and indirect are exploited in this article. Forty indirect reported speeches and nine direct ones are included. Regarding indirect phrases, various verbs are used to report the speech, such as ‘said,’ which is used fifteen times, ‘noted,’ which is used four times, ‘told,’ which is used three times, ‘expressed,’ which is used two times, as well as a number of other verbs that are used one time each, such as ‘warned,’ ‘admitted,’ ‘conveyed,’ ‘stressed,’ ‘worry,’ ‘thought,’ ‘commented,’ ‘announced’ and ‘reported’.

The journalist uses a variety of verbs to describe the speech of the chosen individuals, whose speech is taken for granted to weave the entire story. Moreover, it is observed that verbs of certainty, such as ‘said,’ ‘expressed,’ ‘warned,’ ‘noted,’ ‘admitted,’ ‘stressed,’ ‘reported,’ ‘told,’ ‘commented,’ and ‘announced,’ are utilized to mark the speech of Chinese people. While the American people are identified by the verb ‘claim,’ which conveys uncertainty.

*The Chinese Foreign Ministry **expressed** strong indignation and firm opposition to Trump's tweet calling COVID-19 the "Chinese Virus."*

*“Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng Shuang **said** at a press briefing Tuesday afternoon that Trump's act stigmatizes China, which China strongly condemns.”*

It is vital to note that there is an instance where two sentences are reported by one reporting verb.

*“Trump could also further blame China on many other issues, such as unemployment and poor economic performance, so that he can fool US voters to forgive or ignore his administration's undesirable performance. He would then use [.....], Chinese experts **commented.**”*

Nine instances of direct speech are noted, three of which begin with a quotation mark rather than reporting verbs.

"We urge the US side to immediately correct its mistakes and stop making groundless accusations against China."

Other direct reported speech uses are done through the use of verbs like ‘stressed’ and ‘noted.’

The employment of such verbs in direct and indirect reported speech, particularly ‘said,’ which is used seventeen times, together with a verb like ‘told,’ which is used four times, is meant to demonstrate neutrality (Floyd, 2000: 45).

a. The reporter clearly makes frequent use of direct quotations in this article. To reveal the views of Chinese officials and experts on the topic that the reporter chose as the subject of his article, he compiles a variety of their statements.

"The World Health Organization and the international community are clearly opposed to linking viruses to specific countries and regions and to stigmatizing them," Geng said.

*"If Trump can't stop the current trend and potentially makes it worse [due to lack of management], when the stock market crashes to a lower level than before he got elected four years ago, he will surely lose the election."
"The US should answer this question and be transparent to not only China, but also its own people and the rest of the world."*

Additionally, he makes references to a few other quotations from American politicians in an effort to reveal the opponent's position and response to the subject.

The secretary stressed that "this is not the time to spread disinformation and outlandish rumors,"

The purpose of using a verbatim quotation like this is to keep the reporter out of the tale. It aims to demonstrate the reporter's objectivity by presenting only other people's opinions.

b. Indirect quotation, on the other hand, occurs more frequently than the direct one.

US President Donald Trump using the term "Chinese Virus" to refer to the COVID-19 in his tweet is an act of inability and irresponsibility, as he wants to make Americans to blame China and cover his own administration's terrible response to the predictable outbreak and his failure to ease panic in the US stock market, said Chinese experts.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry expressed strong indignation and firm opposition to Trump's tweet calling COVID-19 the "Chinese Virus."

Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng Shuang said at a press briefing Tuesday afternoon that Trump's act stigmatizes China, which China strongly condemns.

The technique of indirect quotation filters meaning through the reporter's words and attitude, allowing the meanings to be more fully infused with his purpose. Additionally, both direct and indirect quotation enable the reporter to quote the passage that best serves his needs. These are very plausible justification for the frequent use of this technique in this article. An extremely clear illustration that would demonstrate this is the following instance.

Some observers noted that Trump's tweet could be a reaction to a tweet sent by Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Zhao Lijian on his personal Twitter account that asked the US to be transparent about its epidemic situation, as Robert Redfield, director of the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), openly admitted last week at a hearing at the House of Representatives on the outbreak, that some COVID-19 deaths have been misdiagnosed as influenza in the US.

Although at first glance it appears that the quotation is attempting to place blame on Zhao, it actually attempts to excuse Zhao's behavior. The reference to Robert Redfield's remarks is designed to suggest that Redfield urged Zhao to act in this way. Zhao's tweet was based on a statement made by an American expert, as suggested by the fact that Robert Redfield is listed as being American and the head of the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Additionally, Robert Redfield's speech included the verb 'admit,' which was purposefully chosen to suggest that Redfield was acknowledging a mistake because admit means to admit a mistake or an unpleasant fact.

It is meant to encourage audience members to believe particular authorities' or experts' viewpoints and ideologies by mentioning them in their speeches.

c. Only four sentences that make up the article as a whole, are meant to belong to the reporter. Of them four belong to the technique of mentioning a person, document or statements.

According to the facts, it was the US politicians who started the rumor offensive and began spreading baseless conspiracy theories, such as Senator Tom Cotton's claim that "the virus is related to China's bioweapon program" to insult and smear China without any hard evidence, and Pompeo also continually called the epidemic "Wuhan virus" despite the WHO formally naming it COVID-19 to avoid discrimination.

It is aimed to establish a connection between these negative actions and their causes by using the phrases "the virus is related to China's bioweapon program" and "Wuhan virus" together with those who use them. As a result, any potential

future action taken by China will be justified as a legitimate response to what the American have previously done.

d. The article also employs an instance which belongs to the technique of comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice.

“China will never ‘surrender to US moves to politicalize virus source.’”

This is an instance of a reporter's statement or judgment on the Chinese predicted reaction to the American blaming act.

4. PA Dimension

a. **Name calling:** This technique is being used to disparage Trump's tweet, which has been roundly rejected and condemned. Thus, his tweet is taken advantage of and branded negatively in order to set an agenda against Trump. Trump's tweet is called "Trump's act" in order to underline that it is a genuine act that has stigmatized the Chinese and enraged them. The purpose of this is to make the targeted audience hold Trump responsible for such an unacceptable act. Other names used to call Trump's tweet are “mistake,” “groundless accusations,” “disinformation,” “outlandish rumors,” “Washington's intent to slander and smear China's efforts,” “US politicians' groundless rumors,” “provocations,” “the current trend.”

"We urge the US side to immediately correct its mistakes and stop making groundless accusations against China."

All of these names are meant to dishonor and expose Trump's true motives for the tweet. The tweet is referred to as being unfounded, an outrageous rumor, and nothing more than misinformation, all of which suggest that Trump's statement was not supported by any proof and, consequently, convicts him. The fact that

the tweet is also referred to as the "current trend" strengthens the notion that it is unsupported by proof and that the author is only trying to earn notoriety by stoking rumors about the Chinese. This also aims to paint Trump as a careless leader whose actions are not taken into account. The other names given to Trump's tweet, such as "this tactic," "scheme to smear China," and "The warfare of public opinion," are intended to portray Trump as a villainous leader who will resort to any evil means at his disposal in order to discredit his rivals and mislead the public in order to win their support. The next two labels, "the discriminatory and racist stance of the US" and "Trump's current stance" are meant to draw attention to Trump's other malign objective, which is his propensity for racism.

"If Trump can't stop the current trend and potentially makes it worse [due to lack of management], when the stock market crashes to a lower level than before he got elected four years ago, he will surely lose the election."

This article sheds the light on and condemns the American usage of the technique of name calling when it calls for Trump's naming the virus "Chinese virus" and Pompeo's "Wuhan virus". Therefore, it can be deduced that this technique is employed to achieve two separate goals: to disparage Trump's tweet and persuade people to support China, and to denounce Trump and Pompeo for using it.

Pompeo also continually called the epidemic "Wuhan virus" despite the WHO formally naming it COVID-19 to avoid discrimination.

Name calling is also utilized to defend Zhao's tweet which is believed to retaliate America. It is called "Zhao's question" and "reasonable query". Both names underline the impartiality of Zhao's tweet while also giving it right and legitimacy, even though it suggests an accusation against the American.

Zhao's question for the US was neither an accusation nor a rumor, but a reasonable query that is totally different from US politicians' groundless rumors and insults against China, Jin noted.

The White House trade advisor Peter Navarro is the target of yet another case of name-calling. The American advisor's incompetence and lack of administrative knowledge when crafting "an executive order" is referred to as "wrong prescription."

Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng said at the press conference that "this is the wrong prescription that may harm many more ordinary Americans."

Finally, the reporter cited the president of Serbia's description of European cooperation as a "fairy tale" in support of his claim. The purpose of this is to allude to the embarrassing and inappropriate role that America played during the pandemic, one that does not fit with its status as a global power.

He branded European solidarity a "fairy tale," and praised China instead, saying it was the only country that would help, CGTN reported.

b. Glittering generalities: Glittering generalities is noticed in this article to glorify the Chinese as a "responsible global power" which has a very positive role during the pandemic. The Chinese government's "prevention and control measures," which are "open," "transparent," and "responsible in sharing information about COVID-19 with WHO and other countries" have bought time for global prevention and control work. Also, "China's assistance to other countries" which is based on "humanitarian principles" won "praise and appreciation" of different countries as those countries trust "China's experiences and credibility".

More countries like Spain, Serbia and the Philippines are also seeking help from China as they trust China's experiences and credibility,

China is given credit for all of these glittering generalities in order to enhance its reputation abroad and to inform the audience of the very responsible role it played during the pandemic, which had a significant impact and received praise in contrast to the American role, which was supposed to be affected but is not.

The other glittering generalities used in this article show China's standing in the world as well as its prowess in technology and industry. These include “biggest economy of the world” and “China's high-tech firms.” The “Chinese pharmaceutical companies” that provide America with various medicines and the “China-made medicines and medical materials” on which America significantly depends, are also highlighted. These glittering generalities really serve to portray America as a dependent nation that would struggle to survive without Chinese assistance in addition to portraying China as an industrially productive and benevolent nation. The "Chinese professional teams," which exchange videos and experiences with their fellow American professionals, are another glittering generality that applies to all of these glitters. Such a generality conveys both the medical advancement in China and its beneficial intention. Last but not least, China's "unshakable reputation" aims to portray it as a peaceful state with excellent relations with other countries. As a result, its reputation cannot be damaged.

The warfare of public opinion launched by the US to stigmatize China is doomed to fail as too many facts have proven China's reputation and image in the international community is unshakable, and Washington can only "bring itself into disrepute," said Lü from the CASS.

Glittering generalities are not simply used in this report to assign China's virtues and good deeds to acquire legitimacy and prestige, but also to incite their audience to criticize the Trump's administration. One of these glittering

generalities that allude to Trump's administration calls his tweet “an act of inability and irresponsibility” and is meant to paint Trump as someone who does not take his position as the head of a potent democratic power seriously. Not only his tweet is exploited, but different glittering generalities are used to criticize his administration poor achievements, such as “his lack of responsibility,” “lack of management,” “unemployment and poor economic performance,” “their inability,” “his administration's undesirable performance,” “his failure to ease panic in the US stock market,” “his own administration's terrible response to the predictable outbreak,” “distracting attention,” “The historic decline of US stock markets” and “financial crisis”. All these generalities aim to paint Trump as a careless and unsteady leader, and as a result, they are pleading with their audience to refuse his government once more.

c. Transfer: In addition to all the excellent characteristics that are employed as glittering generalities to beautify China’s image, transfer, as a PA technique, is also utilized to put more emphasis on this beautiful image. In the following uses, Chinese drug is figuratively compared to the savior who can deliver Americans from the coronavirus epidemic's torment.

if China banned the export of drugs, "the US would sink into the hell of a novel coronavirus epidemic,"

Here, the dependence of the United States on Chinese industry, particularly medical supplies, is alluded to in order to demonstrate the significance of China to the United States and to subtly warn of the potential repercussions of continued American provocations. More crucially, the United States' reliance on Chinese supply is meant to contrast American retirement with Chinese progress (relates to the role-exchange where China takes over the role that was formerly played by America).

d. Testimonial: Following the article's display of a number of exquisite images of China, the need for any credible evidence is now apparent. Mentioning the praise and appreciations from member of the international community and the WHO. The Serbian president praised China in a statement that was cited in the report.

He branded European solidarity a "fairytale," and praised China instead, saying it was the only country that would help, CGTN reported.

e. Plain flock: Chinese people employ this technique to arouse feelings of involvement. It tries to convey how deeply concerned China is for the suffering of people everywhere because of the pandemic. Therefore, cooperation is required this time.

At this moment, countries which become impacted by the pandemic urgently need cooperation rather than being blamed so that the stock market can at least see some positive signs, otherwise it may only add more uncertainty and panic.

China actively demonstrates its attitude of cooperation by lending assistance to other nations.

China dispatches a team of nine medical experts to Italy, on Thursday, to help fight the COVID-19 pandemic, along with 31 tons of medical supplies, including ICU ward equipment, protective outfits, and antiviral drugs.

This assistance won't terminate or be restricted to just one country; rather, it will continue and grow to encompass other nations.

Geng said at the Tuesday press conference that China will firmly stand with the Serbian people side by side to fight the virus, and China will provide emergency material assistance including ventilators, medical masks and protection suits to Serbia, and will send medical experts there to share experiences regarding epidemic prevention and control, as well as diagnosing and treating patients.

f. Band wagon: This technique is utilized once to agitate the Chinese to take a defensive position against American politicians due to their continuous offense.

“Time to be tough”

g. Card stacking: This article employs card stacking to put more emphasis on Trump's poor administration, depicting him as a vindictive leader who lacks political acumen because his naming the disease a "Chinese virus" is meant to suggest “stigmatizes China”. Additionally, to increase viewer sympathy and demonstrate the cruelty and illegality of this conduct, the article refers to the WHO and the international community opposition to such act.

“The World Health Organization and the international community are clearly opposed to linking viruses to specific countries and regions and to stigmatizing them,”

Additionally, the article criticizes Trump for his provocations at this moment, which call for cooperation rather than finger-pointing. The purpose of this agenda is to allow the audience to contrast the responsible Chinese power’s attitude with the haughty and reckless American power’s attitude.

Where the virus had come from should be a topic for science rather than politics, and by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the stock market, as the two biggest economies of the world could see a new conflict amid a pandemic that has already brought serious harms to the world economy, analysts warned.

In this uses, China's request for allowing scientists to determine the origin of COVID-19 appears to be more objective and legitimate than Trump's attitude, who bases his actions solely on accusations. As a result, the audience may be more sympathetic to China's position (and this is what article is intended to gain).

The article then makes apparent use of Redfield's remark as an explanation for Zhao's tweet, but its real goal is to cast doubt on the origin of COVID 19, which might be of American origin. By presenting the events in this way, the audience will be able to compare Zhao's tweet, which is based on Robert Redfield's remark (which is supported by scientific fact and was announced by an American scientific expert), with Trump's unfounded tweet.

Some observers noted that Trump's tweet could be a reaction to a tweet sent by Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Zhao Lijian on his personal Twitter account that asked the US to be transparent about its epidemic situation, as Robert Redfield, director of the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), openly admitted last week at a hearing at the House of Representatives on the outbreak, that some COVID-19 deaths have been misdiagnosed as influenza in the US.

Another card stacking used is “Washington's intent to "slander and smear China's efforts" in containing the COVID-19.” By stacking this card, Trump is painted as a villain who shirks his duties as the world's leader and instead seeks to disparage and discredit China's heroic response to the pandemic.

Trump is also a proven unsuccessful liar because he was informed about COVID-19 but made no effort to control it, adding even another card to the deck.

"So how dare the Trump administration blame us? They were already informed, and still they failed to make efforts to prevent and control the outbreak. They can't just cover up their inability by blaming China and fool their own people.

Along with these qualities, Trump was also portrayed as a twister who used China as an excuse to divert attention from his administration's shortcomings, but this was no longer effective with the American people.

However, this tactic may neither help Trump to regain support nor protect US people from COVID-19, and according to the current feedback from

the US public on the internet, it seems US people aren't buying Trump's tactics to distract their attention.

Trump's failure is depicted in numerical form to show the general public the catastrophic decline that he brings about in America. Another card stacking was applied to strengthen the agenda set in this article.

Volatility in US stocks surged to a record after benchmark indexes suffered the biggest rout since 1987, Bloomberg reported on Tuesday. The Cboe Volatility Index closed Monday at 82.69 as the S&P 500 Index tumbled 12 percent. The index's previously highest rating was 80.86 on November 20, 2008.

The article portrays Trump as a barrier whose provocations might result in China's assistance to the United States being stopped while also portraying China as a helpful nation in order to mobilize the public against him.

But if the US provokes China, it would make it very difficult for China to assist the US, experts said, and innocent Americans who need masks and vital drugs badly will likely pay for the inability and ignorance of the Trump administration.

5. Framing Dimension

This article makes use of every frame that is implied by the model. The following will clarify these:

a. Conflict frame: The conflict frame demands that two adversaries be portrayed as the conflict's poles. Thus, the Chinese government and the Trump administration are presented as rivals. Starting with the title, which had the word "infuriate" in quotation marks, the fight is depicted. It is believed that the tweet itself was sent with malicious intent which is differently presented in the article.

“Trump tweet infuriates China”

Accordingly, this implied intention calls for possible conflict “the world could see a new conflict amid a pandemic”. Then, a variety of various verbal strategies are employed repeatedly to create conflict, including the word ‘conflict,’ ‘rumor,’ ‘blame,’ ‘smear,’ ‘stigmatize,’ ‘question,’ ‘query’ and ‘transparent’ (see repetition) as well as other words like other phrases like ‘provoke,’ ‘harm,’ ‘slander,’ “provoking” and “retaliate.” Additionally, all of the references to Trump's intended tweet that serve as the foundation for many scenarios are presented as foreboding signs of conflict.

Trump's irresponsible tweet that offended China seriously is likely to trigger a "circuit breaker" for the stock market again as the tweet signaled a potential conflict launched by the US against China, amid the pandemic, said Lü Xiang, a research fellow on US studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing.

These hypothetical situations speculate on what might occur if Trump provokes China further. Aside from Trump, other American politicians are also involved in the conflict, including Pompeo, who intensifies the use of the term "Wuhan virus," and Senator Tom Cotton, who links the virus to "China's bioweapon program."

According to the facts, it was the US politicians who started the rumor offensive and began spreading baseless conspiracy theories, such as Senator Tom Cotton's claim that "the virus is related to China's bioweapon program" to insult and smear China without any hard evidence, and Pompeo also continually called the epidemic "Wuhan virus" despite the WHO formally naming it COVID-19 to avoid discrimination.

b. Human interest frame: This frame places a lot of emphasis on how individuals react to a problem and how they feel about it. It also has a psychological effect on people that helps them judge who is in charge and responsible in a crisis. The article plainly portrays China as the victim and

highlights the serious offense that Chinese people have had as a result of the "discriminatory and racist stance of the US" in an effort to influence the audience's decision over which side to support (see victimization strategy of ideology).

After the Trump's tweet was released on Tuesday, more Chinese experts noted that this is not the time to blame Zhao and "surrender" to the US, as he only raised a reasonable query rather than spreading disinformation, and it is time for China to be tough in striking back against the discriminatory and racist stance of the US.

The article also demonstrates China's concern for the American people, who stand to lose out if their government keeps hurting China, which will then react.

The article also shows how much the Chinese worry about the fate of the American people, if China ceases assisting America as a result of the American administration's continued provocations.

But if the US provokes China, it would make it very difficult for China to assist the US, experts said, and innocent Americans who need masks and vital drugs badly will likely pay for the inability and ignorance of the Trump administration, said a Beijing-based expert on epidemic prevention and control who asked for anonymity.

c. Economic consequences frame: An issue, problem, or event is covered in the economic repercussions frame when it has an impact on a specific person, group, organization, or nation. Because the economic repercussions of some events can have a significant impact on people, communities, organizations, countries, and even the entire world, economic ramifications are thought to have considerable news value. The article makes predictions about all potential economic repercussions of the ongoing provocation. There are allusions to what will happen to the stock market and how it will impact not only America but the entire world. Because everyone is worried about this issue in particular, the stock market is being highlighted in an effort to grab everyone's attention.

Trump's irresponsible tweet that offended China seriously is likely to trigger a "circuit breaker" for the stock market again as the tweet signaled a potential conflict launched by the US against China, amid the pandemic, said Lü Xiang, a research fellow on US studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing.

d. Mortality frame: This framework encompasses events, concerns, or problems in terms of morality, social doctrine, and religious beliefs. This framework is used by the article under study to establish its agenda. When the Chinese side calls for turning to science to resolve the debate over the origin of the virus, it portrays them as moral, responsible, and wise.

Where the virus had come from should be a topic for science rather than politics, and by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the stock market, as the two biggest economies of the world could see a new conflict amid a pandemic that has already brought serious harms to the world economy, analysts warned.

Additionally, it urges nations to work together (cooperation) rather to engage in confrontation, particularly in this pressing situation.

At this moment, countries which become impacted by the pandemic urgently need cooperation rather than being blamed so that the stock market can at least see some positive signs, otherwise it may only add more uncertainty and panic, Lü said.

Another lesson in morality is the commitment to aiding other countries out of humanitarian principles.

Based on humanitarian principles, China will keep providing assistance worldwide and won't cut off supplies to any country.

f. Responsibility frame: Responsibility defines who should bear the blame for the conflicts and which party should be held accountable. It goes without saying

that Trump and his fellow politicians bear full responsibility. Their designation of the virus as a clue to its origin and the association of the virus with a Chinese bioweapon provoke response from the Chinese side and pave the way for a potential conflict.

Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng Shuang said at a press briefing Tuesday afternoon that Trump's act stigmatizes China, which China strongly condemns.

6. Discussion

Cognitively, the article's core point was succinctly explained by compiling the differing opinions of many Chinese government officials. It demonstrates how deeply offensive Trump's tweet was to them. But it goes further than that, emphasizing Trump's poor leadership. His administration is criticized for a number of things, including “unemployment”, “poor economic performance”, decline in the stock market, and the failure to control the spread of the virus. Such emphasis was unmistakably meant to enrage Americans against Trump by reminding them of his poor administration and washouts, and as a result they will not vote for him in the upcoming presidential election. Different terms throughout the article, such as “US people aren't buying Trump's tactics”, “Trump lose support from Americans” greatly intensify this objective. And finally, the article comes with a phrase that exhibit the anti-Trump agenda that is “he will surely lose the election.”

Trump's washouts are made worse by the article, which holds him accountable for any potential conflict between the United States and China. This conflict would undoubtedly hurt Americans, who are concerned about them in China, but China is powerless to stop it because of their president's negligence.

The main ideology in this article is to portray China as a responsible global power that is strong on the economic, industrial, and commercial fronts and that takes its responsibilities as a global power seriously. In contrast to America,

which is supposed to play that role, China has aided various countries during the pandemic.

Furthermore, there are other hints that suggest an American plot against China. The American military squad that visited China for the Military World Games is believed to have brought the virus from America. As a result, America is accused of lacking transparency.

Sociologically speaking, China is portrayed as a good and helpful nation. It is further characterized as a nation having good relations with other nations, one that proceeds to assist these nations, including America itself, during times of crisis. This viewpoint is highlighted and supported by citing several commendatory statements made by WHO and the leaders of different nations.

China's assistance to countries like Italy, Japan and Iran has already won praise and appreciations from members of the international community and the World Health Organization (WHO).

More countries like Spain, Serbia and the Philippines are also seeking help from China as they trust China's experiences and credibility, but the US only announced travel bans against other countries and hyped up racism to spread hatred without making any notable contribution to this global fight against COVID-19, so when asked who is the more responsible global power, who should be thanked and who should be blamed, people around the world know the answer clearly, said Chinese experts.

However, in their interactions with other nations, America and other European nations are characterized as being reckless and deluded.

Serbia's President Aleksandar Vucic announced a nationwide state of emergency on Sunday to fight the spread of the novel coronavirus. He branded European solidarity a "fairytale," and praised China instead, saying it was the only country that would help, CGTN reported.

4.1.1.2.2 Article (2):

This article is written by Philip J. Cunningham in the CD. It is entitled “**US blame game puts innocent people at risk.**” It discusses the blame game being played by American politicians, which puts innocent people's safety at risk. This kind of charge is not new, the article claims; rather, a lot of identical incidents that have harmed specific people in the past have also happened. Thus, although not portraying it as a favorable response, the article does not blame the average person for their attitude and instead sees it as a recurring reaction. What is more noteworthy about the COVID-19 narrative is that certain politicians are using it as a way to further their own agendas and stoke anti-Chinese sentiment in the public.

1. Socio-cognitive Dimension

(A) Macro-structure (thematic)

The story begins with a provocative headline that accuses America of putting innocent people in danger because of the blame game they are waging, but it quickly moves on to describe the horrific circumstances in which America found itself during the epidemic. The decline of the American stock market, the chills of a stalled economy, the shuttering of factories and stores, the dimming of lights from Broadway to Las Vegas, the overcrowding of hospitals with seriously ill patients, lockdowns of hard-hit areas, and shelter-in-place orders for major cities are all key contributors to the country's confused, resentful, and fear-tinged mood. Thus, these appear to be defenses for the antagonistic behavior of those who are impacted by all of these negative effects.

(B) Micro-structure

(i) Syntactic analysis

a. Sentence form

The headline and one phrase that introduces each of the five sections into which the article is divided are included in the article's sixty total sentences. Three further clauses are used to introduce the remaining three parts of the article in addition to these two. These sentences spread upon twenty-eight paragraphs including the headline. The longest paragraph is five sentences long. However, the length of the other paragraphs ranges from one to four. The majority of these sentences are complex because there are forty-nine of them. Five simple sentences and four compound sentences make up the remaining text. Using complex sentences is meant to order the information in accordance with their importance. The sentences are also long to pile up as much information as possible in order to pack in as much information as possible, the sentences are too lengthy. They are also declarative as it is the best type of sentences that help in disseminating the news.

In terms of voice, forty-four sentences are written in the active voice, which is crucial for grabbing readers' attention; nevertheless, six sentences are written in the passive voice for various reasons.

After the devastating Great Kanto earthquake of 1923, ethnic Korean residents of Tokyo were rumored to be a cause of trouble and were massacred in the thousands.

The punishing economic conditions of Germany after World War I are frequently cited as a key factor leading to a rise in anti-Semitism so toxic and pervasive that they led to genocide.

These uses serve as a reminder to relate these occurrences to the custom of accusing Chinese people of COVID-19. Both examples highlight the horrific atrocities performed against the Koreans, who are held responsible for the Kanto earthquake, and the Jews, who are held accountable for the German economic crisis. It is evident from both situations that there is no mention of who was responsible for the act of blaming. Regardless of who is responsible, their act is

designed to gravely harm a certain race, nation, or group of people in order to advance the political objectives of a different group of people.

The purpose of the second passive voice line is to clarify why Wuhan was associated with the virus.

Only scientists can definitively answer questions about the origin of the novel coronavirus, but the city of Wuhan, capital of Hubei province, is indelibly tied to public awareness of the disease because the first wave of the epidemic in China erupted there.

The purpose of the use is to disassociate Wuhan from being the site of the virus's genesis while also defending the association of the virus with Wuhan on the grounds that it was the site of the virus's initial appearance. Another use that shows the virus is an 'invader' to Wuhan and not something that originated in Wuhan further supports this hypothesis.

Wuhan was the first city to be hit by the microscopic invader on a massive scale.

The report then refers to the process of giving the virus several names that associate it with China without naming the perpetrator but referencing that it happened "far from China's shore" and he mentions the New York Times as one of those that use these terms to make things clear for the audience who are the perpetrator.

Another instance involves the reporter highlighting Trump's act of naming as a negative act by utilizing the passive voice. This is evident when the reporter first names the action and then uses the by-clause to reference to the doer of the action. The doer in this case is "his political base", which refers to the republicans. For example,

The US leader's use of the term "foreign virus" on March 11 was eagerly picked up by his political base, and social media use of the term "surged into the tens of millions" according to the Atlantic Council's Digital Forensic Research Lab.

The last instance of the passive voice is seen in a quote from Trump when he discusses his accomplishments during the COVID-19 outbreak. Numerous lives have been saved, which is one of these accomplishments.

"Many lives were saved."

b. Pronoun

The article exhibits certain use of pronouns including subjective personal pronouns such as (they/he/she/I/ it). The pronoun 'they' is used twice. One of which refers to the "punishing economic conditions" that prompted the Holocaust against Jews after World War I.

The punishing economic conditions of Germany after World War I are frequently cited as a key factor leading to a rise in anti-Semitism so toxic and pervasive that they led to genocide.

Trump uses the second instance of "them" to allude to Chinese people. In response to a question about whether he believes that his usage of the "Chinese virus" puts Asian-Americans at danger, Trump uses this pronoun. For example,

"No. Not at all. I think they would probably agree with it 100 percent. It comes from China."

When discussing US Senator Tom Cotton's use of the epidemic to malign his political rival, the pronoun 'he' is once used to refer to Cotton. For example,

Although Cotton's hatred for China predates the outbreak and is rooted in a rigid anti-communist worldview, he has exploited the epidemic by conflating his political enemy with the hated virus.

Jiayang Fan, a Chinese-American journalist and writer for the New Yorker, is referred to using the pronoun 'she.' The tragedy that happened to her is used in the article as an illustration of the horror committed by Americans on Chinese-Americans.

*New Yorker writer Jiayang Fan reported in a tweet that **she** was accosted by a stranger using vile, racist language when **she** stepped out of her front door to take out the garbage. It left her feeling afraid to even walk down the street to go shopping.*

Trump refers to himself by using the pronoun 'I' when discussing his accomplishments during the epidemic and when discussing the fallout from his usage of the term "Chinese virus."

Finally, the pronoun 'it' is used 16 times. It is used 3 times to refer to coronavirus.

*Leaving aside the thorny question of where the microscopic novel coronavirus came from, most scientists consider **it** to have been a freaky but otherwise natural zoonotic transfer of virus from animal to man.*

'It' is also used 5 times as an empty reference.

*Manipulative populism and playing to the hidden prejudice of a conservative political base came into play. **It** was no longer loud-mouth radio hosts and redneck politicians talking that way, and as such could not be easily dismissed.*

The pronoun 'it' is used eight times to allude to the virus's many names as well as the act of naming itself.

*By the time the official moniker was coined, the more general term "coronavirus" was in such widespread use that **it** has remained the default term for describing the novel coronavirus.*

***It** is racist, **it** is wrong and ruling US politicians owe us all an apology.*

The pronoun 'it' in the first use alludes to the virus's previous name (coronavirus), COVID-19, which was in use at the time. However, in the second example, it is used to describe the act of naming the virus, which is deemed to be racist and calls on those responsible to apologize.

The article also makes use of personal possessive pronouns like (his/her/their/its). The pronoun "his" is used 8 times: one of them to refer to US Senator Tom Cotton's political enemy which he shows during the outbreak. The remaining 7 times are used to discuss Trump's unfavorable actions and those of his followers or political base. Trump's unfavorable actions are shown as his incompetence in treating the virus as a typical cold, his failure to lead a national response to the pandemic, his injudicious use of "Chinese Virus" and his use of the term "Chinese virus".

*When questioned about **his** injudicious use of "Chinese Virus" at a press conference later in the day, Trump doubled down in **his** use of the term.*

When referring to the acts of Trump's supporters and political base, the pronoun 'his' is utilized.

*This incendiary term came short of tagging China directly, but by then the narrative of presumptive guilt had been well established and **his own supporters** were bad-mouthing China with increasing frequency.*

The pronoun "her" is used twice.

*New Yorker writer Jiayang Fan reported in a tweet that she was accosted by a stranger using vile, racist language when she stepped out of **her** front*

*door to take out the garbage. It left **her** feeling afraid to even walk down the street to go shopping.*

The pronoun ‘their’ is used 3 times. This pronoun is used to refer to the millions of the Chinese who stayed at home during the pandemic.

Wuhan was the first city to be hit by the microscopic invader on a massive scale. With more than 3,000 dead and tens of thousands ill, and millions more confined to their homes for the duration, the suffering and anguish of the people have been palpable.

‘Their’ can also allude to the political agenda and prejudice that American politicians imposed throughout the epidemic.

A virus carries no passport—scientists and medical doctors know that better than anyone else—but politicians have their own agendas, and popular prejudice cannot be waved away with a magic wand.

Last but not least, the Chinese policies are referred to use the pronoun ‘its.’

Reasonable people can disagree with Beijing and its policies.

(ii) Semantic analysis

a. Presupposition

The article employs a variety of presupposition examples that may assist the writer in telling his narrative more effectively.

*There is **hardly** a nation on earth that has not been hit with the novel coronavirus, so international cooperation is essential.*

In the use above, the restrictive expression “hardly” restricts the range of nations that have not been impacted by the virus to indicate that the virus does not

recognize ethnicities to affect and hence collaboration is required rather than blame. In another example, another use of restrictive expression is used to presuppose another presupposition.

*"Only" scientists can definitively answer questions about the origin of the novel coronavirus, but the city of Wuhan, capital of Hubei province, is indelibly tied to public awareness of the disease because the **first** wave of the epidemic in China erupted there.*

The word 'only' is used to confine the decision of confining the virus's origin to scientists alone and not to anybody else, and therefore the argument will be used against American politicians who ascribe the virus to China. The use also includes the ordinal number 'first,' which causes another presupposition to arise. The expression "the first wave" presupposes that there was no previous wave, which helps to explain why many associate the virus with Wuhan. Furthermore, the word 'first' is utilized once more to stress the previously indicated meaning.

*Wuhan was the **first** city to be hit by the microscopic invader on a massive scale.*

Another use of the emphasis on scientists to arbitrate the issue of the virus and its spread to other nations is described using the comparative construction, which states that no one is better than the scientists who can explain this.

*A virus carries no passport —scientists and medical doctors know that **better than** anyone else —but politicians have their own agendas, and popular prejudice cannot be waved away with a magic wand.*

Finally, the adjective "new" is used to imply specific presupposition.

*But in early March a **new** wave of stigmatizing language entered the American discourse by close associates of US President Donald Trump.*

The existence of the word "new" implies that Trump's close allies utilize a different stigmatizing language than they did previously.

(iii) Stylistic analysis

After reading the article, it was discovered that the article uses a great amount of adjectives while expressing the various subsidiary topics that are linked to the primary issue. The adjectives employed are either attributive, predicative or appear later as subject-complements. The excessive use of adjectives can be linked to the reporter's attempt to stir feeling because adjectives are utilized for this purpose. The reason of using this excessive use of adjectives ensures the reporter's bias.

Starting with the headline, the expression "innocent people" refers to American-Chinese citizens who are put in danger as a result of the discriminatory act of blaming done by the American politicians. Besides, different adjectives are utilized to accentuate the scenario in the opening paragraph, which discusses America's dreadful predicament after being afflicted by the pandemic. By doing so, the reporter is implying that the American administration failed to cope with the disease. Examples of these include "precipitous drop in the United States' stock market," "stalled economy," "lights being dimmed," "hospitals overwhelmed with critically ill patients," "the American mood is confused, resentful and laced with fear," "hard-hit areas," "shelter-in-place orders for major cities are essential," "the growing psychological stress." Even the virus that causes this disaster is described as "a stealthy, highly contagious virus."

The second paragraph, which discusses earlier calamities that occurred to certain people and resulted in the scapegoating of certain races, similarly employs a variety of adjectives. What is meant is to link these horrible calamities to COVID-19 and the horrific discriminatory activities that followed these disasters to discriminatory acts against Chinese people. Earlier calamities are described as

"devastating Great Kanto earthquake of 1923" and "the punishing economic conditions of Germany after World War I". Another adjective used in this paragraph are "ethnic Korean residents of Tokyo" which is used to describe the scapegoat of Kanto earthquake, "key factor" which describe the economic conditions of Germany" and "so toxic and pervasive" which reference to the anti-Semitism.

The third paragraph which describes the world state after the outbreak includes expressions like "the novel coronavirus," "international cooperation," "the tribal fears," "the world's great tourist sites," and "ghost towns." This paragraph is intended to explain the heinous repercussions of the virus, which does not discriminate between states and hence need worldwide collaboration to combat owing to its virulent nature.

The following paragraph is introduced by a title that provides a summary of the paragraph. That title incorporates the comparative term "nastier" to characterize mental obstacles, which are seen to be nastier than "physical barriers." The paragraph then explains then this title by emphasizing the "documented benefit" of "social distancing" and "reduced flow of traffic" which are "physical barriers" and then these barriers turn to be barriers in the mind of people who have "wild imaginations" and who are "worried people." It is supposed to imply that the psychological stress caused by the quarantine is what led to the birth of the blame notion. The reporter then claims that only scientists can establish the origin of the "novel coronavirus," and that people link it to Wuhan because the "first wave" of the epidemic erupted there. While he believes that the answer to "the thorny question" of where "the microscopic novel coronavirus" comes from that it is "freaky," but a "natural zoonotic transfer" of virus from animal to human.

The reporter then adds that Wuhan was "the first city" to be assaulted on a "massive scale" by "the microscopic invader" causing people's sorrow to be

"palpable." Despite this, "the regrettable human tendency" to discriminate quickly appear as an "initial reaction" of "some people" in China to be "worry." Similarly, and by "the same weak leap of logic," when the disease appear in "other neighboring countries," the world began to look at China with a "jaundiced eye."

Later, the reporter states that while "medical doctors" are aware that the virus does not distinguish between nations, "popular prejudice" cannot be dispelled with a "magic wand." As a result, "international organizations" enlist the help of "experienced medical professionals" to give the disease a name that is not based on race or geography. COVID-19, which is not a "catchy term," was chosen to replace "the new coronavirus." By the time "the official moniker" was developed, "the more general term" coronavirus was in such "widespread use" that it has remained "the default term" for characterizing "the novel coronavirus." Even though it lacks the clarity of "the official name," it is "unobjectionable" in "social terms."

The next paragraph discusses the several labels given to "the perilous pathogen" that causes "anti-China sentiment." The text also discusses US Senator Tom Cotton's antipathy against China, which stems from a "rigid anti-communist worldview," and his use of the epidemic to confuse "his political enemy" and "the hated virus."

The expression "manipulative populism" in the title of the other section might provide a hint about what is featured in this part. It notes how a "few hot heads" of American politicians employ "incendiary rhetoric" that the "mainstream media" avoids by being "careful" and instead using the "scientific term COVID-19" or the "more general term" coronavirus instead. This was subsequently changed by a "new wave" of "stigmatizing language" introducing "manipulative populism" and "hidden prejudice" of "conservative political base" or the "close associates of the US president" into the "American discourse." Those politicians are dubbed as "loud-mouth radio hosts" and "redneck politicians."

Among those politicians is "US top diplomat" Mike Pompeo who uses the discriminatory term in "official statements" in "the first week of March" providing "political cover" for "closet racists" who are "anxious" to blame China. Despite his "two-month long pretense" that the virus is only the "common flu," Trump is frightened by an "undeniable breakout in the US." Trump's followers then establish this "withering use" of this "incendiary term" or "presumptive guilt".

The reporter then gives examples of "anti-Asian abuse," including what happened to New Yorker writer Jiayang Fan, who was met with "racist language" when she came out of her "front door," leaving her feeling "afraid."

Next, the author claims that Trump was a "credible defender" of China on certain "policy points" and that he largely rejected the "vocal deprecations" made by "intemperate political advisers," but that he subsequently faced the "mounting criticism of his failure" to lead a "national response" to the epidemic. As a result, he writes on his "official account" about his "early decisions" to combat the virus and how "The Fake News new narrative is disgraceful& false!"

People die as a result of "racial tensions," but "reasonable people," the reporter says, can disagree with China's policy and are not obligated to like "Chinese food" or "Chinese culture," but it is "inexcusable" to blame the disease, which does not discriminate between "ethnic groups" or "faraway nation."

Finally, the reporter claims that this racial conduct is called "intellectually dishonest," "cheap shot," and "racist" in order to deflect criticism and gain "populist support."

The article also demonstrates the usage of many adverbs for the same purpose as adjectives. These adverbs mostly used to modify verbs. According to Doumit and Minaia (2012: 249), recent research has focused on the sentiment dimension in order to better detect and describe news bias, which may be

performed by examining the adjective and adverb terms found in news items. Examples of these adverbs are "sadly," which is used to express the reporter's reaction to the terrible occurrences of scapegoating that occurred in the past. His expression of this attitude is meant to parallel what occurred to the Chinese during the pandemic.

Another use is provided to demonstrate that Germany's harsh economic situation is the "frequently cited" reason of the Jewish extermination. The reporter seeks to draw the audience's attention to how the Jews have been victimized for an unjustifiable reason, and hence will connect this to what is happening to the Chinese.

The adverb "hardly" is also used to stress that practically all nations have been infected with the virus, necessitating collaboration rather than blame. Furthermore, the expression "definitely answer" is used to underline the significance of science in determining the origin of the virus. In another case, the reporter intends to illustrate why Wuhan is "indelibly tied" to public knowledge of the virus. This is done to disassociate China from the virus's origin. Then, the expression "quickly gelled" refers to people's hastiness in discriminating.

Furthermore, the expression "cannot be easily dismissed" indicates how difficult it is to silence American politicians who use discriminatory rhetoric in the media and thereby skew people's thinking. While the phrase "finally shaken" is intentionally intended to refer to America's tardiness in treating the illness. "Eagerly picked up" is another use which describes Trump's political base's reaction to his usage of the term "foreign virus."

The article also shows that Trump's previous relationship with China was very good, and he was a defender who "generally resisted" political advisers' vocal deprecations, but he "suddenly joined" other blamers of China, and when asked if accusing China of the virus will hurt Asian-Americans, he says they will

not, and they "probably agree with it 100 percent." Finally, the reporter concludes his article by the sentence "The views don't necessarily reflect those of China Daily." The expression "necessarily reflect" implies that the article represents the writer's point of view.

(iv) Rhetorical analysis:

Tautology

Tautology is a figure of speech in which words with identical meanings are used to emphasize the environment or scenario surrounding the primary problem inside the phrases. According to (Sinder, 2015:611) Tautology is used to persuade people in any culture; professional speakers, politicians, and authors are allowed to utilize it in their language. Tautological utterances are used to accentuate a concept or to highlight poetic aspects in what is spoken; they repeat the words to provide effective communication and to reinforce meaning.

This article contains an instance of tautology.

*However, the tribal fears invoked in **border barriers, lockdowns, shutdowns and quarantines** have put the very project of globalization on the defensive.*

The reporter uses tautology to persuade the audience that the virus that has infected practically every nation has an impact on the globalization initiative itself through the lockdowns.

2. Ideological square Dimension

The article uses a number of IDSs in a clear and consistent manner, which can be explained as follows:

a. Derogation: It is a rhetorical strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“With factories and stores closing down, lights being dimmed from Broadway to Las Vegas, and hospitals overwhelmed with critically ill patients, the American mood is confused, resentful and laced with fear.”

“Lockdowns of hard-hit areas and shelter-in-place orders for major cities are essential to contain the outbreak but add to the growing psychological stress.”

The two examples are used to allude to America's terrible and awful position after getting infected with the virus. It is designed to discredit Trump's earlier treatment of the virus. It also seeks to demonstrate that America is no better than China in dealing with the epidemic, and that such a situation horrifies Americans.

b. Implication: It is a pragmatic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“Sadly for the human record, scapegoating often emerges from reaction to disaster.”

To illustrate the implications of blaming others, the writer outlines its history and then gives two well-known examples to help his reader connect what is occurring or what can happen later to the Chinese as a result of the American blame of the Chinese.

c. Metaphor: It is a pragmatic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“A stealthy, highly contagious virus has caused a precipitous drop in the United States' stock market and sent shudders down the spine of a stalled economy.”

“Thousands of planes have been idled, trains run empty and highways are free of cars, while the world's great tourist sites have turned into ghost towns.”

The first and second occurrences are both meant to showcase the terrible American scenario during the epidemic in order to educate the world that America, which is supposed to be magnificent in every way, seems to be not as it collapses after the first pandemic hit. In the first scenario, the American

economy is likened to a human body whose spine is shuddering. Such a comparison indicates that the virus has a significant impact on the American economy. This metaphor is designed to demonstrate the magnitude of the virus's impact on the already halted economy. The second instance discusses the effect of lockdowns and quarantine on communities, and towns are compared to ghost towns to represent emptiness.

A metaphor is used to exonerate China from being the virus's source.

Wuhan was the first city to be hit by the microscopic invader on a massive scale.

The expression “the microscopic invader” implies that the virus is a foreigner who infiltrates China, and so China is portrayed as a victim of the virus.

d. Victimization: It is a semantic strategy. Wuhan people is the in-group and other Chinese people is the out-group.

“Yet the regrettable human tendency to discriminate quickly gelled and took root, and the initial reaction of some people in China was to be wary of compatriots from Wuhan.”

In this case, the reporter shows how Wuhan residents were harmed by other Chinese citizens following the virus's breakout in Wuhan. This victimization is the outcome of some people's limited thinking. The reporter aims to state that prejudice is a natural human propensity that practically everyone possesses.

Another example of victimization presents China as the in-group and America is the out-group.

“US blame game puts innocent people”

“However, far from China's shores, other names were being concocted to describe the perilous pathogen, and terms such as “Wuhan flu” and

"Wuhan coronavirus" (which was used by The New York Times) began to be bandied about."

The examples above show how attempts are made to depict American actions that are thought to victimize Chinese people. Among these efforts is the labeling of the virus by some American politicians, which encourages anti-Asian violence and jeopardizes the American-Chinese community.

e. Burden: It is a pragmatic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

"Politicians have their own agendas and prejudices"

"A virus carries no passport — scientists and medical doctors know that better than anyone else — but politicians have their own agendas, and popular prejudice cannot be waved away with a magic wand."

These two examples demonstrate the burden placed on the Chinese as a result of American politicians' agendas and prejudices towards China, which are difficult to correct.

f. Norm expression: It is a syntactic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

"There is hardly a nation on earth that has not been hit with the novel coronavirus, so international cooperation is essential."

"It is racist, it is wrong and ruling US politicians owe us all an apology."

Instead of blame, the preceding examples indicate what should be followed or done to cope with the virus. The first use is a plea for nations to work together. The second example demonstrate that accusing in order to gain popular support is dishonest and racist, and hence America should apologize to China.

g. Populism: It is a syntactic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“Manipulative populism and playing to the hidden prejudice of a conservative political base came into play.”

“It was no longer loud-mouth radio hosts and redneck politicians talking that way, and as such could not be easily dismissed.”

The examples demonstrate how American politicians influence people's attitudes by influencing their brains. The instances demonstrate how successful populism is, as it drives many politicians, including Trump, who a Chinese defender at times, to join others who criticize China.

h. Actor description: It is a syntactic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“Unwilling to take blame, Trump found it useful to deflect criticism away from his own negligence by making withering use of the term “foreign virus”.”

This scenario aims to portray Trump as a deft dodger who blames China to avoid criticism after first dismissing the virus as a common flu.

i. Repetition: It is a syntactic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“US Senator Tom Cotton from Arkansas throughout the crisis has made statements designed to inflame and arouse anti-China sentiment by blaming China for the virus.”

“Although Cotton's hatred for China predates the outbreak and is rooted in a rigid anti-communist worldview, he has exploited the epidemic by conflating his political enemy with the hated virus.”

“Anti-Asian abuse and violence on the rise”

“Around the same time, reports on social media and elsewhere described an uptick in anti-Asian abuse and violence.”

The American politicians' hostility toward the Chinese is stressed. The Chinese are referred to as Asian, China, and communist throughout the article, but in all

of these allusions, the particle anti is included to accentuate this animosity and antagonism.

j. Evidentiality: It is a syntactic strategy. China is the in-group and America is the out-group.

“The US president, for reasons best known to him, has been a credible defender of China on certain policy points and has generally resisted the vocal deprecations used by intemperate political advisers such as Stephen Miller, Peter Navarro, and Steve Bannon.”

The above use demonstrates the influence of populism on Trump. Trump's shift from defender to blamer of China reinforces this impact.

3. IN Dimension

a. The article employs four types of IN techniques. Among these techniques is the direct quotation, which is recorded seven times. These are mostly taken from Trump's speech; in which he discusses his early choices to combat the virus as well as his accomplishments. This comment is provided to demonstrate his shift in mindset from defender to adversary of China in order to hide his inability to lead a national response to the pandemic.

"I always treated the Chinese Virus very seriously, and have done a very good job from the beginning, including my very early decision to close the 'borders' from China — against the wishes of almost all. Many lives were saved. The Fake News new narrative is disgraceful& false!"

b. Indirect quotation is used 3 times to show examples of a racist conduct committed against an American-Chinese as a result of the blaming act.

New Yorker writer Jiayang Fan reported in a tweet that she was accosted by a stranger using vile, racist language when she stepped out of her

front door to take out the garbage. It left her feeling afraid to even walk down the street to go shopping.

It is meant to persuade the audience of certain attitudes and ideologies by quoting certain authorities' or experts' viewpoints and ideas in their articles.

c. The mention of a person, document, or phrase is the third strategy utilized in this article. It is utilized to highlight historical accidents that occurred overseas rather than in China in which scapegoating occurred to certain innocent people; these instances are offered to allow people to connect this to what is happening to the Chinese; as a result, the reporter perceives the Chinese as scapegoat.

After the devastating Great Kanto earthquake of 1923, ethnic Korean residents of Tokyo were rumored to be a cause of trouble and were massacred in the thousands.

In other cases, the technique is used to explain how scientists characterize the virus and why the WHO chose the term COVID -19 to label it.

Leaving aside the thorny question of where the microscopic novel coronavirus came from, most scientists consider it to have been a freaky but otherwise natural zoonotic transfer of virus from animal to man.

It is also used to describe the virus's devastation in Wuhan, which was the first city to be infected.

Wuhan was the first city to be hit by the microscopic invader on a massive scale. With more than 3,000 dead and tens of thousands ill, and millions more confined to their homes for the duration, the suffering and anguish of the people have been palpable.

Later examples of this technique are used to refer to the attitudes and actions of a number of American politicians who persisted on labeling the virus as a Chinese virus.

The US president, for reasons best known to him, has been a credible defender of China on certain policy points and has generally resisted the vocal deprecations used by intemperate political advisers such as Stephen Miller, Peter Navarro, and Steve Bannon.

d. The last technique used in this article is the technique of comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice. It is the one which record the highest frequencies in this article. It records 35 times of the whole sentences. It is used to comment on the devastation caused by the viral spread in America and other countries.

A stealthy, highly contagious virus has caused a precipitous drop in the United States' stock market and sent shudders down the spine of a stalled economy.

4. PA Dimension

In this article, the following PA techniques are utilized:

a. Name calling: This technique is used three times, primarily to name American politicians who oppose Chinese policy and blame China for the virus.

*Despite the incendiary rhetoric of a few **hot heads**, references to the virus designed to indict China as a co-conspirator faded in February, and the mainstream media, The New York Times included, was careful to stick to the scientific term COVID-19 or the more general term, coronavirus.*

*It was no longer **loud-mouth radio hosts and redneck politicians** talking that way, and as such could not be easily dismissed.*

Hot heads, loud-mouth radio hosts, and redneck politicians are terms used to describe American politicians who use fiery speech and media to control people's minds.

Trump's use of the term "foreign virus" is named as "incendiary term" which lead to "bad-mouthing China with increasing frequency."

This incendiary term came short of tagging China directly, but by then the narrative of presumptive guilt had been well established and his own supporters were bad-mouthing China with increasing frequency.

b. Glittering generalities: Glittering generalities are used to disparage American politicians and their actions. They are said to have an "agenda and prejudice." Among those politicians is Tom Cotton, whose statement during the pandemic crisis appears to have been meant to "inflame and arouse anti-China sentiment." For example,

US Senator Tom Cotton from Arkansas throughout the crisis has made statements designed to inflame and arouse anti-China sentiment by blaming China for the virus.

Trump's conservative political base start using a "new wave of stigmatizing language" and a "manipulative populism and playing to the hidden prejudice". Those are also seen to be "racist anxious to pin blame on China."

But in early March a new wave of stigmatizing language entered the American discourse by close associates of US President Donald Trump.

Moreover, the atrocity and the danger of Trump's naming of the virus as a "foreign virus" causes "Anti-Asian abuse and violence on the rise."

Around the same time, reports on social media and elsewhere described an uptick in anti-Asian abuse and violence.

The article also make reference to Trump's "failure to lead a national response" which was weary to face the "mounting criticism."

But looking weary in the face of mounting criticism of his failure to lead a national response to the pandemic,

c. Transfer: The negative transfer is used in the article to connect the American act of blaming China to some historical actions of scapegoating. Mentioning these crimes is done to connect the American act with these activities, so that the American act might be perceived as a scapegoating act with a concealed political agenda.

The punishing economic conditions of Germany after World War I are frequently cited as a key factor leading to a rise in anti-Semitism so toxic and pervasive that they led to genocide.

Using the same technique, the writer describes how Chinese people outside of Wuhan see Wuhan inhabitants differently following the viral epidemic. This same discriminatory act is utilized by persons outside of China following the outbreak of the virus in other countries.

By the same weak leap of logic, when the disease also emerged in Thailand, Japan, the Republic of Korea and other neighboring countries, the world began to turn a jaundiced eye to China.

d. Testimonials: Testimonials are used as evidence to back up the article's title. The tweet of New Yorker writer Jiayang Fan, an Asian-American, is said to be for the aforementioned aim. Her being verbally abused by a stranger while bringing out the rubbish is regarded as an example of aggression and anti-Asian sentiment.

New Yorker writer Jiayang Fan reported in a tweet that she was accosted by a stranger using vile, racist language when she stepped out of her front door to take out the garbage. It left her feeling afraid to even walk down the street to go shopping.

Another use is Trump's previous attitude toward China. Trump is seen as a reliable supporter of China who opposes his Republican colleagues. This testimony is given against American politicians, particularly Trump, to demonstrate that the sudden shift in American attitudes toward China is due to a specific agenda.

And it's only getting worse. The US president, for reasons best known to him, has been a credible defender of China on certain policy points and has generally resisted the vocal deprecations used by intemperate political advisers such as Stephen Miller, Peter Navarro, and Steve Bannon.

Another use is Trump's response to a query regarding whether his use of the term "Chinese virus" puts Asian-Americans at danger. In his response, he denies any risk and insists that the Chinese will agree with him because the infection appears there. This evidence demonstrates his steadfast adherence to the same strategy of blaming without regard for the violence perpetrated against Asian-Americans, as well as his shift in stance toward China. For example,

"No. Not at all. I think they would probably agree with it 100 percent. It comes from China."

e. Band wagon: This article contains an example of a band wagon. It urges for worldwide collaboration to combat the virus, which has infected nearly every country.

There is hardly a nation on earth that has not been hit with the novel coronavirus, so international cooperation is essential.

f. Card stacking: In this article, the highest frequencies are recorded using this technique. It is utilized to highlight the American inability to combat the virus, as

well as the state of hospitals, roads, and factories, which have an impact on the American mood.

A stealthy, highly contagious virus has caused a precipitous drop in the United States' stock market and sent shudders down the spine of a stalled economy.

The technique is also used to criticize the act of naming the virus, which forces the WHO to invent a name that is not based on race or geography. It also alludes to Trump's long-held claim that the virus is a common flu.

Trump's two-month long pretense that the virus was nothing more than the common flu was finally shaken by an undeniable outbreak in the US.

5. Framing Dimension

a. Conflict frame: This frame is depicted by a variety of examples depicting a struggle between American politicians and China. The article's headline, "US blame game puts innocent people at risk," plainly suggests the presence of a conflict. Other instances address American officials' agendas and prejudices toward Chinese people.

A virus carries no passport —scientists and medical doctors know that better than anyone else — but politicians have their own agendas, and popular prejudice cannot be waved away with a magic wand.

Furthermore, the article identifies several of those politicians in order to demonstrate their antipathy for the Chinese, which precedes the virus's emergence.

Although Cotton's hatred for China predates the outbreak and is rooted in a rigid anti-communist worldview, he has exploited the epidemic by conflating his political enemy with the hated virus.

The article also sees such politicians manipulating populism through waves of stigmatizing rhetoric that is regarded as dishonest and racist.

But in early March a new wave of stigmatizing language entered the American discourse by close associates of US President Donald Trump. Manipulative populism and playing to the hidden prejudice of a conservative political base came into play.

b. Human interest frame: China is portrayed as a victim by the reporter in two ways: implicitly and explicitly. When he references the historical occurrence of scapegoating to relate them to what is occurring to the Chinese, he does so implicitly.

Sadly for the human record, scapegoating often emerges from reaction to disaster.

The reporter explicitly demonstrates how the worldwide response to the Chinese has shifted.

By the same weak leap of logic, when the disease also emerged in Thailand, Japan, the Republic of Korea and other neighboring countries, the world began to turn a jaundiced eye to China.

Another detailed use of victimization that shows how Asian-Americans are harmed as a result of the blaming act.

New Yorker writer Jiayang Fan reported in a tweet that she was accosted by a stranger using vile, racist language when she stepped out of her front door to take out the garbage. It left her feeling afraid to even walk down the street to go shopping.

c. Economic consequences frame: The effect of the viral epidemic in America on its already halted economic position is provided to adversely depict the American administration and to convey that because of this effect, among other horrific causes, American politicians blame China to conceal their miserable predicament. The article provides some detail regarding the overall situation in America, such as shuttered businesses, overcrowded hospitals, and general lockdowns that put the globalization effort on the defense.

However, the tribal fears invoked in border barriers, lockdowns, shutdowns and quarantines have put the very project of globalization on the defensive.

d. Mortality frame: The article under consideration uses this structure to determine its agenda. When the Chinese side advocates using science to address the virus's origin, it shows them as moral, responsible, and wise.

Only scientists can definitively answer questions about the origin of the novel coronavirus,

Furthermore, because the virus has affected practically every country, it urges governments to work together to combat it, which is another moral frame.

There is hardly a nation on earth that has not been hit with the novel coronavirus, so international cooperation is essential.

e. Responsibility frame: The text plainly maintains that American politicians, particularly conservatives, are to blame for what is occurring to Chinese in general and Asian-Americans in particular owing to their agendas and prejudices displayed in the media, which influence people's reactions.

Elsewhere, prejudice was becoming more overt. A White House aide joked about the China connection, telling CBS White House reporter Weijia Jiang that it was the "Kung Flu". Around the same time, reports on social

6. Discussion

Cognitively, in order to defend Americans' hostility against the Chinese, the article creates a division between the people and the politicians. It portrays people's circumstances as a reaction to psychological stress brought on mostly by the government's failure to combat the epidemic. The article uses the events that occurred in China when the virus first arrived in Wuhan as an example to further illustrate its point. It describes how Chinese people treat Wuhan residents unfairly. According to the article, it is a natural response that has persisted throughout all crises, just like those that followed the "Great Kanto earthquake of 1923" and the rise of Germanic "anti-Semitism" during World War II.

Politicians' actions, according to the article, are unjustified because they politicize the virus to further their goals and allay their ingrained animosity toward China. Their attitudes lead to discriminating innocent people. By bringing up the political attitude of several American politicians, like Pompeo, Cotton, and Navarro, this claim is made. Trump's current stance, whose political attitude has altered as a result of the epidemic, is included to this list.

Another implied ideology aims to portray Trump as a dishonest and careless individual whose beliefs shift to suit his interests. In order to avoid being held responsible for his inability to combat the virus, he has transformed from being a credible defender of China owing to specific interests to becoming antagonistic and aggressive against China. Another instance used to support this ideology is when the article refers to Trump's claim that the virus is just a common cold before subsequently changing it to indicate that he has taken the illness seriously and has saved countless lives. This suggests that it was his carelessness that caused the pandemonium in America, but he blames China of trying to cover up his failure.

The article also asserts that although people frequently link the virus with China since it first arose in Wuhan, Wuhan is not definitely the virus's original site and that the virus was not deliberately spread to other countries.

Sociologically, China is shown to be understanding of the prejudice held by individuals in America and other countries toward Chinese, which strengthens its favorable social ties. The article, however, presents the American president and American politicians as adversaries who do not respect the opinions of global organizations like WHO.

4.3.1.3 Contrastive Qualitative Analysis

After giving the qualitative analysis of the four articles, the following observations are stated to highlight the contrast between the American and the Chinese newspapers:

1. With regard to the thematic analysis, the NYT is considerably more focused on the topic of China's ambition to establish itself as the world power in order to seize America's role, whilst the WSJ is primarily focused on demonstrating that the virus originated in China. Both GT and CD focus on the Americans naming the virus, a move they explain to being a reaction to the American administration's failure and economic retreat as well as the turmoil that occurred there following the breakout and the incapacity to tackle it.
2. The majority of the sentence patterns employed in the four articles are complex, declarative, and active. The declarative sentence is favored because “it is found suitable for the dissemination of information” (Wiredu, 2012: 87). The complex sentences are also preferable because they “enables one to keep piling up ideas” (Wiredu, 2012: 87). As for the preference of the active voice, it is because “an active voice grabs the audience’s attention” (Smith, 2003: 19).

3. Besides, the polarizing pronouns are we/they us/them, the pronoun it (in the American articles) and he (in the Chinese articles) are both used as polarizing pronouns. In addition, different presupposition triggers are used in the four articles demonstrate ideological concern.

4. Each of the four articles uses rhetorical strategies to express their ideologies. However, these strategies are not of significant appearance.

5. In terms of a stylistic analysis, the four articles stand out for their extensive use of adjectives and pre-modified nouns to express their views. Moreover, American articles make use of somehow synonymous verbs along with some expressions to emphasize the idea that the virus originated in China. The Chinese articles on the other hand use the same technique to emphasize American racism.

6. The four articles use both direct and indirect quotation. For Van Dijk (1988: 87) newspaper reporters can use what linguists have historically referred to as reported speech to rhetorically shape their stories as verbal performances that, as objective language, must persuade readers that the narrative is a real, true, correct, and verifiable portrayal. Therefore, verbs of certainty are frequently utilized in the American newspapers. However, in Chinese articles, verbs of certainty are employed to denote Chinese speech. The verb "claim," which denotes uncertainty, is used to mark the American speech.

7. With regard to IDSs, both American and Chinese newspaper articles utilize IDSs techniques. They do not, however, employ all of IDSs suggested by Van Dijk's (1988). They employ 21 strategies out of Van Dijk 27 strategies. The four articles only share 14 of these strategies: number game, national shelf-glorification, victimization, actor description, metaphor, repetition, derogation, implication, evidentiality, norm expression, example, burden, comparison, and exaggeration. The remaining 7 strategies fall into two groups: four strategies are utilized by the American articles (disclaimer, categorization, euphemism and

irony) but not by the Chinese, while three of the strategies are utilized by the Chinese articles but not by the American ones (illegality, generalization and populism). Among the shared strategies, half of them are used more frequently in Chinese articles than in American ones. These includes: national self-glorification, victimization, actor description, norm expression, metaphor, repetition, implication and burden). Other shared strategies namely; number game, derogation, evidentiality and comparison record higher frequencies in American articles than in the Chinese ones. Each of examples and hyperbole are noted once in each of these articles.

8. Regarding the IN techniques, they are used in both American and Chinese newspaper articles. However, not all of the methods are employed on an equal basis. American articles use all six techniques but Chinese articles employ only four. In comparison to Chinese articles, American articles employ direct quotation more frequently. This is because, even though the reporter may only quote details that support his or her main idea, direct quotations are intended to accurately represent a source's account of an event, as well as that source's thoughts, attitudes, and sentiments surrounding the event. In this case, they demonstrate the reporter's greater objectivity in conveying the events. In contrast, Chinese articles use indirect quotations more frequently than American ones. A reporter can surreptitiously introduce and blend his/her thoughts into the text by using indirect speech. It also results in a version change, which muddles the lines and provides further layers of meaning. The technique of mentioning of a person, document, or statements is more frequent in American articles. The application of this technique has the impact of cognitive enlightenment on the reader, which contributes to his overall comprehension of the news items in which the piece of information has been provided using the technique under discussion. Then, the technique of comment or evaluation on a statement is more frequent in Chinese articles. In order to intertextually support their views and ideas, the reporters use

the readers' common knowledge as sources. Finally, the last two techniques namely, using recognizable phrasing and using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communication, are both used in American articles only. This suggests that the reporters try to avoid using any recognized terminology that may echo individual people or groups of people or certain documents and to make their articles unique.

9. Regarding the PA techniques, all of these techniques are utilized by both American and Chinese articles. With the exception of transfer and testimonial, all six of the other procedures are mentioned more frequently in Chinese press stories than in American ones. There is a significant discrepancy between them. In any case, card stacking is the most frequent one in both American and Chinese newspaper articles. The card stacking technique is used while pointing fingers to accomplish the desired outcome of portraying an opponent's worst-case scenario. This is because the impacts are emphasized with every negative statement made. Glittering generalities also record high frequency. Its purpose is to persuade individuals to support the newspaper's anti-opponent agenda by using mental manipulation. Name calling is also used more frequently in Chinese articles. It gives negative idea or label of the opponent to influence the audience to reject or condemn the opponent. Plain folk is used to persuade target audiences that newspapers' views are sound because they care about them. Bandwagon is the less frequent technique. It is employed to persuade readers to take part in whatever action that the newspaper is instructing them to take. Testimonial is more frequent in American articles than in Chinese ones. It is cited as support for particular ideologies that the reporters like to highlight. Finally, transfer is also more frequent in American articles. It is employed to link the opponent to specific undesirable behaviors that the audience is meant to reject.

10. As far as framing is concerned, both American and Chinese newspaper articles utilize all frames. Morality and responsibility frames, however, appear

more frequently in American articles. The articles are designed to demonstrate their moral and wise perspective on the problem through the frequent use of morality frames, whilst the opponents are supposed to be held accountable for the crisis through the frequent use of responsibility frames, leading the audience to believe as such. The other three frames, namely, conflict, human interest, and economic consequences show increased frequency in the Chinese articles. Human interest is meant to demonstrate to the public the moral and responsible position of the articles which care for people in the first rank. The conflict frame is used to illustrate and stress the presence of a dispute between the opponents. The usage of the economic economic frame is interpreted as a warning of the economic effects of a protracted conflict.

4.1.2 Quantitative Analysis

4.1.2.1 Quantitative Analysis of the American Articles

4.1.2.1.1 Article (1)

As stated earlier, the quantitative analysis in this study is devoted to calculate the ideological strategies, IN techniques, PA techniques and the frames.

Concerning the **IDSs** of this article, there have been ten IDSs employed in this article. The most frequent one, with 22 occurrences and a 26.51% percent, is repetition. It is used to assert that the virus originated in Wuhan, China, and to draw attention to the geopolitical aspirations that China conceals behind its humanitarian assistance. Disclaimer, which records 14 instances with a 16.87% percent, is the next strategy. By bringing up their implicit agenda, they are utilized to refute the helpful and responsible image that China seeks to project. The number game strategy records 12 instances with 14.46% percent. On the surface, these occurrences appear to be positive examples of China's assistance to other nations. However, the article refutes this, noting that China has a purpose hidden

behind all of these statistics of assistance. It also accuses China of concealing information regarding the fact that it produced numerous medical supplies prior to the virus's emergence and that it provides nations with these supplies during the outbreak. Victimization records 9 instances with 10.84% percent. Through these incidents, China's early handling of the pandemic and its lofty ambitions were shown to have America and the entire globe as victims. Categorization is a different strategy that records 7 instances with an 8.43% percent. Instead of classifying China, this technique classifies other nations rather than America, which accepts Chinese aid without taking into account the China's primary objective. Five instances of national self-glorification with a 6.03% percent are recorded. This tactic is employed to portray America as a responsible nation during all previous crises. In this article, metaphor is used five times with 6.03% percent. Of them, 4 of them are used to disparage China, while 1 of them is used to disparage the United States and other European nations. Actor description is mentioned 4 times, or 4.82% percent of all instances. They mainly describe China negatively. Comparison also records 4 occurrences with 4.82% percent. They are mainly used to expose the fundamental ideology that the Chinese hide beneath their aid to other countries. Finally, hyperbole occurs 1 time with 1.20% percent. It is used to exaggerate the extent of the conflict between America and China. The following table illustrates the frequencies and percent of the IDSs used in NYT:

Table (4.1) The frequencies and percentage of the IDSs used in NYT

IDSs	Frequencies	Percentage
Repetition	22	26.51%
Disclaimer	14	16.87%
Number game	12	14.46%
Victimization	9	10.84%
Categorization	7	8.43%
National self-glorification	5	6.03%
Metaphor	5	6.03%
Actor description	4	4.82%
Comparison	4	4.82%
Hyperbole	1	1.20%
Total	83	100%

As for **IN** techniques the article utilizes all the six techniques of Bazerman's approach. This article employs both direct and indirect methods, but the direct quotation yields a higher record than the indirect one. There are 20 instances of the direct quotation with a percentage of 33.90%, whereas there are 13 instances of the indirect quotation with a percentage of 22.03%. These are mostly used to criticize the Chinese aid blitz, which conceals a hidden agenda. Mentioning of a person, document, or statement ranks fourth on the list of techniques. It records 8 occurrences with 13.56% percent. These are employed to draw attention to a number of assertions that back up the article's primary goal, which is to identify China's key motivations for adopting a positive attitude throughout the epidemic. The frequency and percentage of IN techniques employed in the NYT is shown in the following table:

Table (4.2) The frequencies and percentage of the IN techniques used in NYT

IN Techniques	Frequencies	Percentage
Direct quotation	20	33.90%
indirect quotation	13	22.03%
Comment or evaluation on a statement	13	22.03%
Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	8	13.56%
Using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communication	4	6.79%
Using recognizable phrasing	1	1.69%
Total	59	100%

Comment or evaluation on a statement records 13 instances with 22.03% percent which focuses on analyzing China's adverse acts. What comes next is the technique of using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communication. It notes 4 instances with a 6.79% percent. China's goal behind its aiding other nation during the pandemic is revealed by means of utilizing political terminology. Finally, the technique of using recognizable phrasing comes last with 1 occurrence and 1.69% percent. In this article, five PA techniques are employed, but the one that records the biggest number of instances is card stacking, which documented 39 instances. Not all of them, however, are used to card stack China (the other), so it can be claimed that the 39 instances are separated into three categories. The first group, which has 20 occurrences with a presence rate of 33.33% percent, is utilized to stack card china. The second group, which appears 11 times and accounts for 18.34% percent of all occurrences, is committed to attacking any country that accepts Chinese help without scrutinizing the country's covert goals. The third group, which comes in at number 8 and accounts for 13.33% percent of the total, is committed to denouncing the retreating role of the United States and other European nations that has allowed China to assume their place and establish itself as the world's leading nation.

In accordance with its occurrences, testimonial is the following entry. Ten instances are noted, although they are broken up into three categories. The first category, which appears 6 times with 10% percent, is devoted to testimonials that expose China's agenda and decry its current position. The second category, which consists of 3 instances and 5% percent of the total, is cited as proof against those nations who take Chinese help without examining its goals and instead glorify China. The third category, which consists of 1 occurrence and 1.67% percent of the total, is intended to provide as proof that the US formerly held a dominant position in the globe. The frequency and percentage of PA techniques employed in the NYT is shown in the following table:

Table (4.3) The frequencies and percentage of the PA techniques used in NYT

PA techniques		Frequencies		Percentage	
Card stacking against the opposing country	Card stacking	20	39	33.33%	65%
Card stacking against the allies		11		18.34%	
Card stacking against the country to which the newspaper belongs		8		13.33%	
Testimonial against the opposing country		6	10	10%	16.67%
Testimonial against the country and its allies		3		5%	
Testimonial to praise America		1		1.67%	
Transfer		8		13.33%	
Plain folks		2		3.33%	
Bandwagon		1		1.67%	
Name calling		0		0%	
Glittering generalities		0		0%	
Total		60		100%	

Plain folks and bandwagon are the final two techniques utilized in this article, accounting for 2 instances with 3.33% percent and 1 instance with 1.67% percent of the total, respectively. Chinese officials use this technique to boost

their public image before the globe and international organizations and avoid answering questions regarding the virus's origin and their initial failure to contain it, which allowed it to spread over the whole world.

With regard to **framing**, the article makes use of the five frames to depict the existence of a conflict. The frame of morality occurred 26 times with 65% percent to portray China as an immoral country because of the immoral things it conducts. Next is responsibility frame occurs 7 times with 17.5% percent to hold china responsible for the conflict. The conflict frame is used with 5 occurrences and 12.5% percent to depict how the existence of a conflict between the two poles, America and China, and how the two poles are involved in a fight for leading of the globe. The frame of Human interest is used 1 time with 2.5% percent to allude to China's practice of discrimination in the distribution of medical supplies. The economic consequences frame is also used once with a 2.5% percent to allude to China's desire and goal in providing help to other nations. The following table displays the frequency and percentage of PA techniques used in the NYT:

Table (4.4) The frequencies and percentage of the frames used in NYT

Frame	Frequencies	Percentage
Mortality	26	65%
Responsibility	7	17.5%
Conflict	5	12.5%
Human interest	1	2.5%
Economic consequences	1	2.5%
Total	40	100%

4.1.2.1.2 Article (2)

This article employs 12 different **IDSs** in its argument. Derogation is one of the most frequent occurrences, accounting for 7 instances and 22.58% percent of all occurrences. These are mainly used to criticize China's conduct of accusing America of various things. Evidentiality is the strategy that comes second in the

article with 6 occurrences and 19.35%. All these occurrences are evidence for proving that the virus is of a Chinese origin. Number game and irony both rank third in terms of frequency. Each one contains 4 occurrences and 12.90% percent of the total. While the number game is primarily intended to demonstrate that China is the source of the virus, irony demonstrates how China makes assertions that it cannot support or confirm. The following table gives a detailed information of the frequencies and percentage of each IDSs used in the WSJ:

Table (4.5) The frequencies and percentage of the IDSs used in WSJ

IDSs	Frequencies	Percentage
Derogation	7	22.58%
Evidentiality	6	19.35%
Irony	4	12.90%
Number game	4	12.90%
Norm expression	3	9.66%
National self-glorification	1	3.23%
Implication	1	3.23%
Victimization	1	3.23%
Actor description	1	3.23%
Burden	1	3.23%
Euphemism	1	3.23%
Example	1	3.23%
Total	31	100%

Norm expression comes in at number four with three occurrences and 9.66% percent. They are used to denounce China's strong objection to being held responsible for the virus while neglecting the true global situation. The third instance with 3.23% percent, however, is used to china's insistence on appealing to science to determine the virus origin. Victimization, National self-glorification, Implication, Actor description, Burden, Euphemism, and Example are the remaining six techniques, each of which is used just once with 3.23% percent. And all of those are used to disparage China.

In terms of **IN**, this article makes use of four IN techniques. With 25 instances and 42.37% percent, mentioning of a person, document, or statements is the one that occurs most frequently. This technique is mostly used to bring attention to statements made by certain people, especially those that relate to the origin of the coronavirus and to particular specific documents or statements that are provided as evidence of the place of the virus's original detection which is China.

The following technique, which records 16 occurrences and 27.12% of the total, is comment or evaluation on a statement. These often concentrate on responses to certain pronouncements, remarks, or even acts undertaken by various American or Chinese officials in connection with the debate about the virus's origin. Third on the list is direct quotation. It occurs 14 times with a 23.73% percent. It concentrates on the contention about the coronavirus's genesis. Last on the list, with 4 instances and 6.78% percent of the total, is the indirect quotation. It is used to demonstrate how the Chinese officials continue to deny that the virus originated in China and to draw attention to the pandemic's significant economic and societal effects. The following table can best show the frequencies and percentage of the IN techniques used in this article:

Table (4.6) The frequencies and percentage of the IN techniques used in WSJ

IN Techniques	Frequencies	Percentage
Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	25	42.37%
Comment or evaluation on a statement	16	27.12%
Direct quotation	14	23.73%
indirect quotation	4	6.78%
Using recognizable phrasing	0	0%
Using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communication	0	0%
Total	59	100%

There are just four **PA** techniques utilized in this article. Considering frequency and percentage, card stacking came out on top. It lists 20 times, although only 16 of them with 43.24% percent are devoted to stack card China’s negative acts throughout the epidemic. The other four instances, accounting for 10.81% percent are utilized to stack card s America for labeling the virus.

In this article, a testimonial comes in second place with 11 instances and a 29.73% percent. The majority of these are used to debate the virus's genesis. Since each of them gets used three times and has a usage rate of 8.11% percent, they both come in last. While name calling is employed to highlight the usage of names by American politicians to label the virus, glittering generalities is used to illustrate China's insistence on reverting to science to discover the virus's origin, name-calling infection. The frequency and percentage of the PA techniques used in this article are best shown in the following table:

Table (4.7) The frequencies and percentage of the PA techniques used in WSJ

PA techniques		Frequencies		Percentage	
Card stacking against China	Card stacking	16	20	43.24%	54.05%
Card stacking against America		4		10.81%	
Testimonial		11		29.73%	
Name calling		3		8.11%	
Glittering generalities		3		8.11%	
Transfer		0		0%	
Plain folks		0		0%	
Bandwagon		0		0%	
total		37		100%	

To claim that there is a conflict between the two poles, all five **frames** are used. With 19 instances and 51.35% percent, the responsibility frame records the greatest frequencies. As a result of China's purposeful concealment of the virus's

origin and inability to effectively handle the first breakout of the virus, the United States has accused China of being the primary cause of the conflict. However, the conflict frame is used 9 times, accounting for 24.33% percent of the total, to illustrate how fierce the confrontation between China and America is. The morality frame, which ranks third with 7 occurrences and 18.92%, is used to emphasize the significance of utilizing the WHO's nomenclature for coronavirus in order to minimize sensitivity or discrimination. The following table provides an accurate representation of the frequency and percentage of the framing techniques used in this article:

Table (4.8) The frequencies and percentage of the frames used in WSJ

Frame	Frequencies	Percentage
Responsibility	19	51.35%
Conflict	9	24.33%
Mortality	7	18.92%
Human interest	1	2.70%
Economic consequences	1	2.70%
Total	37	100%

The last two frames on the list are the human interest and economic implications frames. Each of which happens just once, or 2.70 % percent. The human interest frame is used to blame China for the epidemic and how the virus was managed during the initial outbreak, whereas the economic consequences are used to show that the Chinese negligence in combating the virus affects several countries and has serious economic and social consequences.

4.1.2.2 Quantitative Analysis of the Chinese Articles

4.1.2.2.1 Article (1)

The primary ideologies in this article, which primarily aim to mobilize Americans against Trump's government, are implied through the use of thirteen ideological strategies. The first place goes to repetition, which had 46 occurrences and a 41.82% percent. In this article, several terms are used repeatedly to accuse and denounce the Other's (in this case, America) various acts that are depicted as being damaging to the Chinese. Actor description strategies are being used to highlight this ideology more and more, with 13 occurrences and 11.82% percent being used to characterize Trump as having various undesirable traits that exclude him from serving as US president. According to its frequency, victimization and national self-glorification tied for third place. Each of which records 12 occurrences with 10.91% percent. However, national self-glorification technique is used to glorify the various acts that China performs during the pandemic while victimization technique is used to portray China as a victim to all the discriminatory and racist acts done by the American politicians, especially Trump.

Burden, which is repeated 8 times with 7.27% percent, is the fourth-ranked strategy. The purpose of all these examples is to illustrate the possible consequences that the world, in general, and America, in particular, may encounter if the provocative behavior of Trump and his fellow politicians continues. Metaphor, which has 6 occurrences and a 5.45% percent, is the fifth-ranked strategy. These are mostly employed to denounce the adverse actions of American politicians and to highlight China's significant role as the world's economic controller. A full breakdown of the frequency and percentage of the IDSs employed in this article is provided in the table below.

Table (4.9) The frequencies and percentage of the IDSs used in GT

IDSs	Frequencies	Percentage
Repetition	46	41.82%
Actor description (Trump)	13	11.82%
Victimization	12	10.91%
National self-glorification	12	10.90%
Burden	8	7.27%
Metaphor	6	5.45%
Number game	5	4.55%
Illegality	2	1.82%
Comparison	2	1.82%
Evidentiality	1	0.91%
Generalization	1	0.91%
Example	1	0.91%
Hyperbole	1	0.91%
Total	110	100%

The number game strategy, which records 5 occurrences with 4.55% percent, takes sixth rank. These examples are aimed to illustrate the shortcomings of the American government under Trump and to draw attention to China's valuable contributions. Both comparison and illegality strategies with 2 occurrences and 1.82% percent for each is placed next to this. The two instances of comparison are meant to elevate Zhoa Lijian's charge against America by equating it to Trump's accusatory conduct and treating it like a simple query. Illegality strategies, on the other hand, are meant to present Trump's act of naming the virus to be illegal.

Four strategies, namely evidentiality, generalization, example, and hyperbole make up the final rank. Each of which happens just once with 0.91% percent. Evidentiality is meant to support China's positive portrayal, generalization is meant to discredit all European nations for their negative role in the pandemic, the example is primarily meant to raise the possibility that America is the virus's possible source, and hyperbole is meant to draw attention to China's significant economic position and how it will negatively impact America if

relations with China deteriorate. As a result, it serves as a warning to Americans to stay out of China's good graces.

Four **IN** techniques are used, but the indirect quotation technique comes out on top with 40 occurrences and 74.07% percent of the total. The reporter frequently used the technique of indirect quoting, which allows meaning to be more thoroughly infused with his goal, which is primarily to disparage Trump's actions and paint China as a victim of those actions. The article uses direct quotation 9 times with 16.67% percent for the same purpose. Then, with 4 occurrences and 7.41% percent comes the technique of mentioning of a person, document, or statements. These are mostly used to demonstrate that it was American politicians who first began to propagate untrue information about China, and to highlight the positive role China played throughout the pandemic. Finally, Comment or evaluation on a statement is used only once with 1.85% percent which is used to show reporter's statement or judgment on the Chinese predicted reaction to the American blaming act. The frequency and percentage of the IN techniques used in this article are best shown in the following table:

Table (4.10) The frequencies and percentage of the IN techniques used in GT

IN Techniques	Frequencies	Percentage
indirect quotation	40	74.07%
Direct quotation	9	16.67%
Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	4	7.41%
Comment or evaluation on a statement	1	1.85%
Using recognizable phrasing	0	0%
Using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communication	0	0%
Total	54	100%

In terms of **PA**, this article employs five different PA techniques. Card stacking comes in first place with 40 instances and 47.62%percent of the total. These are mostly employed to further Trump's record of careless behavior and

poor leadership. Coming in second place with 18 instances and 21.43% percent of the total, glittering generalizations are employed to emphasize and celebrate China's responsible role during the epidemic. Name-calling, which is used to criticize Trump's actions and disparage the solidarity of Europeans, comes in third place with 15 instances and 17.86% percent of the total. The fourth-placed technique, plain folks, has seven occurrences and an 8.33% percent, and it is mostly used to express how sincerely worried China is about the pain that the epidemic is causing people all over the world. With 2 instances and 2.38% percent of the total, testimony is the next technique used to present testimonials that extol China's responsible participation throughout the epidemic. Transfer and bandwagon, which each have 1 instance and 1.19% percent of the total, come in last. Transfer is aimed to contrast American retirement with Chinese advancement (relates to the role-exchange where China takes over the position that was formerly filled by America) by demonstrating how dependent the US is on Chinese supplies. On the other side, the bandwagon is intended to enrage Chinese people against American politicians' on-going offense. The frequency and percentage of the PA techniques used in this article are best shown in the following table:

Table (4.11) The frequencies and percentage of the PA techniques used in GT

PA techniques	Frequencies	Percentage
Card stacking	40	47.62%
Glittering generalities	18	21.43%
Name calling	15	17.86%
Plain folks	7	8.33%
Testimonial	2	2.38%
Transfer	1	1.19%
Bandwagon	1	1.19%
Total	84	100%

Although all five frames are used in this article, the conflict frame comes out on top with 30 occurrences and 52.63% percent of the total. These instances show that there is a conflict between the two poles. In order to depict both the Chinese and the Americans as victims of ongoing American attack, human interest comes in second with 12 times and 21.05% percent of the total. In this article, morality is the third-ranked frame. It has 6 occurrences and 10.53% percent. These are largely used to portray China favorably as a nation with moral values and good judgment. Responsibility frame comes next with 5 instances and 8.77% percent to hold America accountable for the conflict. Economic consequences are last with 4 instances and 7.02% percent of the total. All of these examples tells about to the consequences that will follow if America keeps up its offensive. The following table provides an accurate representation of the frequency and percentage of the framing techniques used in this article:

Table (4.12) The frequencies and percentage of the frames used in GT

Frame	Frequencies	Percentage
Conflict	30	52.63%
Human interest	12	21.05%
Mortality	6	10.53%
Responsibility	5	8.77%
Economic consequences	4	7.02%
Total	57	100%

4.1.2.2.2 Article (2)

The article employs ten techniques to polarize the Other on ideological grounds. Victimization is ranked highest with 16 occurrences and 27.12% percent. These incidents serve to portray China as a victim of American acts of bigotry that endanger the lives of Asian Americans. Repetition is ranked second with 11 occurrences and 18.64% percent. The unfavorable actions of American politicians against China are emphasized by using specific terms or expressions

repeatedly. Third on the list, with 9 instances and 15.25% percent, is populism. These incidents show how American politicians use this strategy to influence and rally the populace against China. The norm expression technique, with 8 instances and 13.56%, comes to hold the fourth rank. The examples given demonstrate the wisdom and norm-respecting behavior of Chinese leaders. Metaphor ranks fifth in terms of strategy. There are 5 occurrences and 8.48% percent. The examples are mostly used to illustrate the dire state of the American economy and to denounce racial prejudice and discrimination towards Chinese people.

The next strategy, implication, has 4 instances and 6.79% percent of the total. These examples demonstrate that there is frequently a purpose behind attributing a calamity on a certain group of individuals. With 2 incidents and 3.39% percent for each, derogation and burden are tied for eighth place. Derogation is used to suggest that America is in a dreadful and horrific position as a consequence of contracting the virus, whereas burden is used to highlight the weight that American officials have imposed on the Chinese as a result of their difficult-to-change agendas and biases toward China. With 1 incidence and 1.69% percent for each, actor description and evidentiality are last on the list. The actor description is used to disparage Trump, whose position on China has been modified to serve his interests. While evidence shows that Trump was influenced by populism. This effect is amplified by Trump's switch from China's supporter to critic. The table below provides a detailed analysis of the frequency and percentage of IDSs used in this article:

Table (4.13) The frequencies and percentage of the IDSs used in CD

IDSs	Frequencies	Percentage
Victimization	16	27.12%
Repetition	11	18.64%
Populism	9	15.25%
Norm expression	8	13.56%
Metaphor	5	8.48%
Implication	4	6.79%
Derogation	2	3.39%
Burden	2	3.39%
Actor description	1	1.69%
Evidentiality	1	1.69%
Total	59	100%

Four IN techniques are applied in this article. The highest rank is recorded by the technique of comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice. It has 35 occurrences and 56.45% percent. It is used to make commentary on the destruction brought on by the viral spread in the United States and other nations. In this article, the mention of a person, document, or phrase strategy comes second. It is mentioned 17 times with a 27.42% percent. This method is employed to with 7 instances and 11.29% percent of the article, direct quotation ranks third. These were primarily taken from Trump's address, when he talked about his early decisions to fight the virus as well as his successes. Last on the list is indirect quotation, which is used to illustrate instances of racist behavior towards an American-Chinese as a result of the act of blaming. There are 3 instances and 4.84% percent of indirect quotations, making it the least frequent IN technique. The following table best illustrates the frequency and percentage of IN techniques used in this article:

Table (4.14) The frequencies and percentage of the IN techniques used in CD

IN Techniques	Frequencies	Percentage
Comment or evaluation on a statement	35	56.45%
Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	17	27.42%
Direct quotation	7	11.29%
indirect quotation	3	4.84%
Using recognizable phrasing	0	0%
Using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communication	0	0%
Total	62	100%

This article makes use of six PA techniques. However, card stacking comes in first place with 21 instances and 38.89% percent to reflect America's incapacity to contain the infection and the country's general instability after the outbreak. Additionally, it makes reference to Trump's long-standing allegation that the virus is the common flu as well as criticism of the nomenclature of the virus. Glittering generalizations, which are employed as derogatory generalizations to criticize American politicians and their behavior, comes in second rank with 14 instances and 25.93% percent of the total. They are believed to have prejudice and an agenda. Testimonial is the third-ranked technique. It includes 10 incidents with a percentage of 18.52% to offer evidence in favor of the article's main thesis, which is to demonstrate American harm to the Chinese. Transfer is the fourth-ranked technique, with 5 occurrences and 9.25% percent. The article uses the negative transfer to link American accusations of China to earlier instances of scapegoating. Name-calling, which comes in at fourth rank with 3 instances and 5.56% percent of the total, is mostly used to criticize American politicians that support Chinese policies and attribute the virus to China. Bandwagon is the last technique, with 1 incidence and 1.85% percent. It is employed to call for international cooperation in the fight against the virus, which has affected almost every nation. The frequency and percentage of the PA techniques used in this article are best shown in the following table:

Table (4.15) The frequencies and percentage of the PA techniques used in CD

PA techniques	Frequencies	Percentage
Card stacking	21	38.89%
Glittering generalities	14	25.93%
Testimonial	10	18.52%
Transfer	5	9.25%
Name calling	3	5.56%
Bandwagon	1	1.85%
Plain folks	0	0%
Total	54	100%

Despite the fact that all five **frames** are employed in this article, the conflict frame dominates with 18 instances and 40% percent of the total. A range of instances showing a conflict between American politicians and China are used to illustrate these occurrences. The responsibility frame follows with 13 occurrences and 28.89% percent holding America responsible for the war as a result of their media-driven agendas and prejudices that shape public opinion. Third place is held by human interest, which accounts for 8 instances or 17.78% percent of the total. These incidents are exploited to depict Chinese people as the victims of the populism and anti-Chinese prejudice of American politicians. Economic consequences is the fourth-ranked frame in this article. It occurs 4 times and has an 8.89% percent. To portray the American administration negatively by emphasizing the impact of the outbreak on America's already stopped economic condition. The morality frame comes in last with only 2 instances and 4.44% percent of the total. It portrays China as conscientious and cooperative. The frequency and percentage of the framing techniques employed in this article are accurately depicted in the following table:

Table (4.16) The frequencies and percentage of the frames used in CD

Frame	Frequencies	Percentage
Conflict	18	40%
Responsibility	13	28.89%
Human interest	8	17.78%
Economic consequences	4	8.89%
Mortality	2	4.44%
Total	45	100%

4.1.2.3 Statistical Analysis

The key conclusions after using the statistical procedures are as follows:

1. Both American and Chinese newspapers articles reveal observable differences in the frequency of certain IDSs. They all indicate highly significant results, the American newspaper articles show (Pearson Chi-Square = 86.052 and P-Value = 0.00004) whereas the Chinese newspaper articles show (Pearson Chi-Square = 77.413 and P-Value = 0.00006). This suggests that the two countries' publications are pitting their ideologies against one another.

The following tables can best illustrate the statistics discussed:

Table (4.17): Relationship between Items and Articles according to Ideological strategies using Chi-square (X^2) statistical test. (American articles)

Items	Articles		
	NYT	WSJ	P-Value
Number game	12	4	Pearson Chi-Square = 86.052 P-Value = 0.00004 **
Disclaimer	14	0	
National self-glorification	5	1	
Victimization	9	1	
Categorization	7	0	
Actor description	4	1	
Metaphor	5	0	
Repetition	22	0	
Euphemism	0	1	
derogation	0	7	
Irony	0	4	
Implication	0	1	
Evidentiality	0	6	
norm expression	0	3	
Example	0	1	
Burden	0	1	
Comparison	4	0	
Hyperbole	1	0	
Total	83	31	
Mean	8.74	3.26	

Table (4.18): Relationship between Items and Articles according to Ideological strategies using Chi-square (X^2) statistical test. (Chinese articles)

Items	Articles		
	GT	CD	P-Value
Number game	5	0	Pearson Chi-Square = 77.413 P-Value = 0.00006 **
National self-glorification	12	0	
Victimization	12	20	
Actor description	13	1	
Illegality	2	0	
Generalization	1	0	
Metaphor	6	5	
Repetition	46	11	
derogation	0	2	
Implication	0	4	
Evidentiality	1	1	
norm expression	0	8	
Example	1	0	
Burden	8	2	
Comparison	2	0	
Hyperbole	1	0	
Populism	0	9	
Total	110	63	
Mean	12.22	7.00	

2. Both American and Chinese newspapers articles record high frequencies of IDSs. However, the difference between them is large. American articles are less in number of frequencies (114 occurrences), whereas the Chinese newspapers are more in number (173 occurrences). The Chinese newspaper GT reveals a highest significance by means of (6.47), followed by the American one NTY by means of (4.61). The next to come is the Chinese CD by means of (3.71) and finally comes the American WSJ by means of (1.72). This suggests that Chinese publications place a greater emphasis on their communist party's IDSs when reporting news.

The following table illustrates the means and P-value of the American and Chinese newspaper articles:

Table (4.19) The means and P-value of the American and Chinese newspaper articles

Articles	IDS	IN technique	PA technique	Frame
NYT	4.61 ab	10.00 a	5.45 bc	8.00 a
WSJ	1.72 c	9.83 a	3.36 c	7.40 a
GT	6.47 a	9.00 a	12.00 a	11.40 a
CD	3.71 bc	10.33 a	9.00 a	9.00 a
<i>P-value</i>	0.051 **	0.998 ns	0.047 *	0.900 ns

3. Both American and Chinese newspapers articles reveal observable differences in the frequency of certain IN techniques. They all indicate highly significant results, the American newspaper articles show (Pearson Chi-Square = 20.885 and P-Value = 0.001), whereas the Chinese newspaper articles show (Pearson Chi-Square = 72.037 and P-Value = 0.00005). Their frequencies are really close.

4. Both American and Chinese newspapers articles record high frequencies of IN techniques. The frequencies of the IN techniques in American newspaper articles are (119 occurrences) whereas their frequencies in Chinese articles are (116 occurrences). As a result, they are fairly similar in terms of the mean frequency of utilizing IN techniques: The mean for the CD is 10.33, the mean for the NYT is 10.00, the mean for the WSJ is 9.83, and the mean for the GT is 9.00. This suggests that the reporters are attempting to establish an intertextual relationship between news items and readers.

The following tables includes clearly explain the information discussed above:

Table (4.20): Relationship between Items and Articles according to Ideological strategies using Chi-square (X^2) statistical test. (American articles)

Items	Articles		
	NYT	WSJ	P-Value
Direct quotation	20	14	Pearson Chi-Square = 20.885 P-Value = 0.001
indirect quotation	13	4	
Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	8	25	
Comment or evaluation on a statement	13	16	
Using recognizable phrasing	2	0	
Using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communication	4	0	
Total	60	59	
Mean	17.14	16.86	

Table (4.21): Relationship between Items and Articles according to Ideological strategies using Chi-square (X^2) statistical test. (Chinese articles)

Items	Articles		
	GT	CD	P-Value
Direct quotation	9	7	Pearson Chi-Square = 72.037 P-Value = 0.00005
indirect quotation	40	3	
Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	4	17	
Comment or evaluation on a statement	1	35	
Using recognizable phrasing	0	0	
Using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communication	0	0	
Total	54	62	
Mean	15.43	17.71	

5. Both American and Chinese newspapers articles reveal observable differences in the frequency of certain PA techniques. They all indicate highly significant results, the American newspaper articles show (Pearson Chi-Square = 38.034 and P-Value = 0.0003), whereas the Chinese newspaper articles show (Pearson Chi-Square = 24.032 and P-Value = 0.002).

6. Both American and Chinese newspapers articles record high frequencies of PA techniques. Nevertheless, the difference between them is large; the frequencies of the PA techniques in American newspaper articles are (97 occurrences)

whereas their frequencies in Chinese articles are (138 occurrences). The Chinese newspaper GT reveals a highest significance by means of (12.00), followed by the Chinese CD by means of (9.00). Then, comes the American NYT by means of (5.45) and finally comes the American WSJ by means of (3.36). This suggests that by politicizing the virus, both China and America are propagating their own agendas against one another. The following table includes a detail of the statistics discussed above:

Table (4.22): Relationship between Items and Articles according to Ideological strategies using Chi-square (X^2) statistical test. (American articles)

Items	Articles		
	NYT	WSJ	P-Value
Testimonial against the country and its allies	3	0	** Pearson Chi-Square = 38.034 P-Value = 0.0003
Name calling	0	3	
Glittering generalities	0	3	
Transfer	8	0	
Testimonial against the opposing country	6	11	
Testimonial to praise the country	1	0	
Plain folks	2	0	
Bandwagon	1	0	
Card stacking against the opposing country	20	16	
Card stacking against the country to which the newspaper belongs	8	4	
Card stacking against the allies	11	0	
Total	60	37	
Mean	10.00	6.17	

Table (4.23): Relationship between Items and Articles according to Ideological strategies using Chi-square (X^2) statistical test. (Chinese articles)

Items	Articles		
	GT	CD	P-Value
Name calling	15	3	Pearson Chi-Square = 24.032 P-Value = 0.002 **
Glittering generalities	18	14	
Transfer	1	5	
Testimonial against the opposing country	2	10	
Plain folks	7	0	
Bandwagon	1	1	
Card stacking against the opposing country	40	21	
Total	84	54	
Mean	21.00	13.50	

7. Both American and Chinese newspapers articles reveal observable differences in the frequency of certain frames. Nevertheless, not all of them indicate highly significant results, the American newspaper articles show a statistically significant result (Pearson Chi-Square = 17.530 and P-Value = 0.031). The Chinese newspaper articles show no significant results (Pearson Chi-Square = 8.055 and P-Value = 0.090).

8. Both American and Chinese newspapers articles record high frequencies of frames. However, the difference between them is very large. The frequencies of the frames in American newspaper articles are (77 occurrences) whereas their frequencies in Chinese articles are (102 occurrences). But, there is no statistically significant result when comparing the means of the four articles. The mean for the GT is 11.40, the mean for the CD is 9.00, the mean for the NYT is 8.00 and the mean for the WSJ is 7.40. This shows that both Chinese and American publications are working to portray the confrontation between China and the United States as real. The following table is detailing the above-mentioned statistics:

Table (4.24): Relationship between Items and Articles according to Ideological strategies using Chi-square (X^2) statistical test. (American articles)

Items	Articles		
	NYT	WSJ	P-Value
Conflict	5	9	* Pearson Chi-Square = 17.530 P-Value = 0.031
Human interest	1	1	
Economic consequences	1	1	
Mortality	26	7	
Responsibility	7	19	
Total	40	37	
Mean	13.33	12.33	

Table (4.25): Relationship between Items and Articles according to Ideological strategies using Chi-square (X^2) statistical test. (Chinese articles)

Items	Articles		
	GT	CD	P-Value
Conflict	30	18	Ns Pearson Chi-Square = 8.055 P-Value = 0.090
Human interest	12	8	
Economic consequences	4	4	
Mortality	6	2	
Responsibility	5	13	
Total	57	45	
Mean	19.00	15.00	

4.2 Findings

The key findings are summarized in the following statements:

1. Twenty-one IDSs are utilized in the four articles. Some of these strategies are used by both Chinese and American publications (14 techniques), while others (7) are not. The commonly used strategies are number game, national shelf-

glorification, victimization, actor description, metaphor, repetition, derogation, implication, evidentiality, norm expression, example, burden, comparison, and exaggeration. The seven uncommon strategies are divided into: four strategies used exclusively in American articles (disclaimer, categorization, euphemism and irony) and three strategies used specifically in Chinese articles (illegality, generalization and populism). There is a significant variation in the total frequencies of the strategies between the American and Chinese newspapers, even though the Chinese articles use 17 different strategies, several of which have high frequencies.

a. Repetition is the most frequent technique whose use for persuading an audience to support the reporter's stance which mainly concentrates on China negative acts. Number game is the following technique which is mostly employed to criticize China's support to other countries. Third is disclaimer that is mostly used to dismiss any positive actions as being Chinese. Victimization is also used to demonstrate the impact of China's initial mismanagement of the virus on global populations. Derogation comes next to denounce China's actions against America. Categorization is used to categorize nations that accept China assistance. America's status before the epidemic is praised through national self-glorification. Evidentiality is mostly employed to provide proof of China's wrongdoings. China is disparaged by both metaphor and actor descriptions. Comparison is employed to expose the fundamental ideology that the Chinese hide beneath their aid to other nations. Norm expression is used to emphasize the norms. Irony is employed to contrast what China claims to have accomplished with the truth. Euphemism is used once to mitigate American politicians' act of naming by mentioning the reason that lead them to do so. Example, hyperbole and implication are all used once each. They are all used to disparage China.

b. Repetition occurs frequently in Chinese articles as well. It places emphasis on American aggression towards China. Victimization follows. It portrays China as a target of American stigmatization. Actor description which lists many

unfavorable characteristics of Trump and his administration comes third. By employing the technique of national self-glorification, Chinese publications likewise exalt their country. The use of metaphor then arises to contrast specific American careless behaviors with unfavorable scenarios or descriptions. Later, burden uses the hypothetical consequences that the world, in general, and America, in particular, may encounter if the provocative action continues. Then populism shows how American politicians shape people's minds to shape their opinions. Norm expression shows that China adheres to science and social standards in case of problems. Number game is also used to illustrate the shortcomings of the American government under Trump and to draw attention to China's valuable contributions. Each of the strategies of comparison, illegality, derogation and evidentiality occurs 2 times. By linking Zhoa Lijian's accusatory behavior with Trump's, and portraying it as a straightforward question, comparisons aim to raise Zhoa Lijian's allegation against America. However, illegality strategy aim to portray Trump's decision to label the virus as unlawful. Derogation is used to suggest that America is in a dreadful and horrific position as a result of contracting the virus, while evidentiality is intended to reinforce China's depiction of itself as being in a good position. Finally, each of the strategies of generalization, example and hyperbole appears once. Generalization is meant to discredit all European nations for their negative role in the pandemic, the example is primarily meant to raise the possibility that America is the virus's possible source, and hyperbole is intended to draw attention to China's significant economic position and how it will adversely affect America if relations with China deteriorate. It acts as a warning to Americans to avoid China's good graces as a result.

2. Nearly all of the IN techniques put forward by Bazerman are applied in the four articles, albeit at varying rates.

a. Mentioning of a person, document, or statements comes next. The reader is cognitively enlightened by the employment of this technique, which aids in his

comprehension of the news stories in which the information has been provided. The technique which comes third is comment or evaluation on a statement. To demonstrate their remarks and thoughts, the reporters used the readers' common knowledge as explicit intertextual sources. Indirect quotation comes fourth in rank. Indirect quotation is ranked fourth. It serves as a means of demonstrating the reliability and validity of the information's sources. Using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communication comes in the fifth place. It is used to reveal China's agendas as well as its policy when dealing with other nations. The last technique which records only 2 instance is using recognizable phrasing. It comes with a low frequency to prevent emulating other people's familiar phrasing and to keep their phrase distinctive to the audience.

b. Chinese articles utilize four IN techniques only. Indirect quotation comes in the first rank. Its frequent use can be attributed to the reporter's desire to sound more compelling so that the audience would interpret the material as part of a news story and give the reporters their trust. Comment or evaluation on a statement comes second. By employing this specific technique, the reporters are able to shape the narrative to support their ideologies without the audience realizing it. The third-ranked technique is mentioning of a person, document, or statements. It is used mainly to support the newspapers' ideologies. Finally, direct quotation comes last. Its usage along with the indirect one give more credibility to the articles.

3. Regarding PA approaches, the following can best demonstrate their use in the selected data.

a. Card stacking is mentioned the most in American articles. It mostly serves as a means of criticizing China for its negative actions toward America and the rest of the globe including its geopolitical ambition, its crooked dealings with other countries, and its lack of transparency over the origin of the virus. The second most used technique is testimonial. It is used to accomplish three functions: as

testimonies to glorify America previous role in leading the global crisis, as testimonies to reveal china's ambition and intention behind the aid it provides during the pandemic. Transfer is third frequently used technique. It is used to depict China as an exploitative country that seizes every opportunity to rival or usurp the leadership role that the US and Europe formerly had. These articles only include three occurrences of the name-calling technique. They seem to identify the virus's home country. Additionally, glittering generalizations list three instances. They serve to assert that the newspaper is adhering to science and supporting the anti-stigmatizing decisions. Plain folk is used twice. Instead of portraying Chinese officials favorably, the two instances highlight their insistence on cooperation, which hides an agenda. Band wagon occurs once to show the European Commission's decision and good intention which hide no agenda.

b. Card stacking also has the highest frequency in Chinese articles. It is mostly used to criticize Trump's actions against China, his poor leadership of his nation, and his inability to contain the virus's spread. It is also employed to denounce republicans' anti-Chinese prejudice and hate of China. Glittering generalities is the next technique. This technique is frequently employed to exalt China, project a positive image of it, and highlight its important and responsible contributions during the pandemic. Third in terms of frequency is name calling. It is used to label trump's tweet with different negative labels and it is used to describe the republicans with different labels. It is also used to label Zhao's tweet to America with different labels that cast it away from being an accusation. The fourth place goes to testimonial. Most of the testimonies from other countries and international organizations that thank China for its assistance are presented. The next technique is transfer. It is employed to link American anti-China actions to acts of scapegoating. Plain folk comes next. It is used to demonstrate how sincerely worried China is about the misery caused by the epidemic for everyone. The least frequencies are recorded by the band wagon. It is employed to exhort the Chinese

to challenge American actions of stigmatization and to promote international cooperation.

4. The four articles employ, at varied frequency, all the frames suggested by Semetko and Valkeburg's (2000) model.

a. The morality frame appears more frequently in American articles. It focuses on unethical Chinese behavior that may be used as justification for the conflict. The second-ranked frame is one of responsibility. It holds China accountable for a number of negative deeds that affect the globe and necessitate conflict. Conflict frame comes in at number three. Different terms are used to demonstrate that China is doing various actions to place itself in conflict with America. The least frequency of recordings is human interest. The extent of the virus's impact on human existence is mentioned. Economic consequences is also the least frequencies. It demonstrates the financial effects of the epidemic on the state of the world's economies. It also demonstrates China's desire to dominate the global economy.

b. In Chinese articles, conflict frame appears most frequently. The articles depict the existence of a dispute via the use of various expressions. Human interest comes after. It portrays China as a nation that values the lives of people. According to its frequency, responsibility is rated third. It blames America for starting the conflict. Economic consequences then ensue. It focuses on the potential economic consequences for Americans if their politicians continue to antagonize China. Morality comes last in terms of frequency. China is portrayed as a nation that values science and has little regard for international organizations.

Chapter Five

Conclusions, Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Studies

This chapter is dedicated to presenting the conclusions arrived at as well as the recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

5.1 Conclusions

The study reaches at the following conclusions:

1. The macro-structure analysis reveals the various themes used to illustrate the existence of the conflict in the thematic analysis and this verifies the first hypothesis. These topics include: while the NYT focuses on the idea of China's aim to position itself as the world power in order to take America's role, the WSJ is largely focused on proving that the virus originated in China. Both GT and CD concentrate on the Americans naming the virus, a decision they interpret as being a reaction to the American administration's failure and economic retreat in addition to the unrest that happened there following the spread and its inability to combat it.

2. The micro-structure has a far larger role in exposing the ideology of the articles and this verifies the second hypothesis. These contributions can be summarized as follows:

a. It provides comprehensive information on all pronouns used, including those with ideological purpose. As a result, it is discovered that not only they /we or them/us are the only polarizing pronouns, "he" in the case of Donald Trump is also employed as a polarizing pronoun, and "it" when referring to China serves the same purpose.

b. The use of various presupposition triggers communicates ideological motives. These triggers in American publications largely focus on the notion that China is the virus's origin and on its ambition to be the dominant power over the globe. In

the Chinese publications, the emphasis is on the consequences of American provocations and the necessity of letting scientists explain the virus's puzzling emergence.

c. A rhetorical analysis exposes the use of certain rhetorical devices that are motivated by ideologies. These are simile, interrogation, alliteration and tautology.

d. The four articles stand out in terms of stylistic analysis due to their significant use of adjectives and pre-modified nouns to communicate their ideologies. Additionally, American articles stress the notion that the virus originated in China by using verbs that are somewhat synonymous with one another as well as other expressions. On the other side, the Chinese articles employ the same strategy to highlight American racism.

3. It is observed that American newspapers employ specific ideological strategies to denounce specific actions taken during the epidemic by American officials. Furthermore, they criticize both America and the European nations for their passive leadership of the world throughout the epidemic, paving the way for China to establish itself as a dominant force. Therefore, national self-glorification is utilized as a strategy during the Trump administration to laud American prior stance rather than the present one. This is apparent, particularly in the NYT, and may be explained by the newspaper's stance on republicans, of whom Trump is one. Analyzing the excerpt from the NYT that states “Trump has increasingly ceded in his “America First” retreat from international engagement” can indicate this fact also. In Chinese articles, however, there is no such criticism to the country and its allies; on the contrary, national self-glorification is one of the strategies that appears frequently to laud China’s current position. All these findings verify the third hypothesis.

4. In both American and Chinese newspapers, IN techniques play part in exposing the reporters' extent of neutrality. They also play a role in revealing the ideologies of the newspapers. This verifies the fourth hypothesis.

5. In the Chinese articles, direct and in direct quotes are utilized more frequently. Furthermore, these articles utilize a variety of reporting verbs. As a result, while reporting on the speech of an American authority, the reporters used certainty verbs like "claim," but they employed quotative verbs like "say" when reporting on the speech of a Chinese authority.

In addition, despite the fact that both direct and indirect quotations occur often, the reporters' bias still exists since they selectively quote the quotations that support their stories.

6. It is evident that each of the two sides attempt to polarize the public in favor of their respective positions and this verifies the fifth hypothesis.

7. In the American articles, the positive and negative sides of propaganda techniques are used. They are employed to spread unfavorably some of the positions that Trump and the Republicans took during the outbreak and to spread unfavorably some of what China did. The Chinese newspapers employ these techniques only positively.

8. All the five frames of the used model are utilized with different frequencies. By illustrating all of a conflict's prerequisites, they are primarily utilized to portray the existence of a conflict.

9. Each of the four articles has a number of agendas:

a. In American articles:

(i) China is stepping up its humanitarian aid in an effort to establish itself as the world's most powerful leader and demonstrate that its one-party system is superior to the clumsy democracies in the West, particularly the United States. This is done to avoid being held accountable for how the virus was initially handled, which sparked the global crisis.

(ii) China has a geopolitical ambition which it desires to gain by utilizing the pandemic.

(iii) Without questioning its intentions, European and other nations welcome Chinese help.

(iv) China is not forthcoming with information on the virus's origin.

(v) Trump is responsible for America's declining role because of his “American first”.

(vi) China, the virus's original home, utilizes a variety of unlawful strategies to forge alliances with nations all around the world.

(vii) China is the birthplace of the virus.

b. In Chinese articles, the following agendas can be derived:

(i) American politicians stigmatize China and defame its image internationally.

(ii) American economical and health situation is disastrous

(iii) America is heavily dependent on China's economic and industrial help because of its excellent economic and industrial standing.

(iv) If Americans continue to demonize China, it will hurt both the American stock market and the global stock market in general.

(v) Since there is a chance that America is to blame for spreading the virus to China during the military Olympics, American leaders are not forthcoming with information about the virus's origin.

(vi) China contributes greatly to the fight against the epidemic. It was responsible in aiding other nations and transparent in the information it conveyed.

(vii) To cover up his inability to run his country, Trump accuses China of the virus.

(viii) US finger-pointing endangers innocent people.

(ix) The blame game that Americans engage in is comparable to the preceding act of scapegoating. Americans' psychological states are already strained due to the nation's economic predicament, and they are only becoming worse or more stressed as a result of the dreadful scenario that the virus has caused.

(x) Because the virus put the globalization effort itself on the defense, America blamed China.

(xi) Ordinary individuals discriminate against Chinese people due to the regrettable human propensity for prejudice, while politicians, particularly republicans, do so because to their prejudice and personal ambitions.

(xii) US politicians launched a rumor offensive and started disseminating unfounded conspiracy theories.

(xiii) Trump is losing American support, while China's standing is unwavering.

10. American republicans in general and Donald Trump in particular are targets of Chinese agendas.

11. The NYT actively discredits the republicans in general and Trump in particular. The article's employment of certain propaganda techniques and ideological strategies makes this obvious. It mostly focuses on extolling former American administrations. But the WSJ takes the opposite stance. It focuses on propagandizing against China and justifies or downplays the seriousness of the republicans' negative actions toward China.

12. Chinese articles focuses on exalting China and never shows any administrative shortcomings.

13. Despite the fact that CDA asserts to be a method of identifying the underlying ideologies in speech, the over-explanation of ideology may also serve as another ideological tool.

5.2 Recommendations

1. Media in general is now pervasive in today's environment, but individuals shouldn't be seen as passive recipients of it. Therefore, critical literacy has to be thoroughly included so that it becomes an integral element of the literacy pedagogy in Iraq.

2. Another significant factor that has to be taken into account is linguistic and pragmatic literacy. Consequently, it need to be included in literary pedagogy as well.
3. (For the Americans) Consulting or calling Chinese critical discourse analysts to investigate the prevalent stereotypes of Chinese people in all literary works.
4. It is recommended that CDA analysts are to be consulted by media outlets before releasing the news.

5.3 Suggestions for Further Studies

1. Researches with a bigger sample that take into account the variations in time (the beginning, middle, and conclusion of the epidemic) and what differences are represented in the conspiracies.
2. A CDA study can be conducted to investigate the student's ability to critically read the news in newspapers.
3. A CDA study can be conducted to investigate media consumers' ability to critically read the news in media.
4. A similar study can be conducted to investigate the American and Chinese publications' ideologies concerning the Russo-Ukrainian war.
5. A study of the ideological strategies employed by American publications when tackling the topic of the Chinese vaccine of COVID-19.
6. Conducting a similar study to compare the newspaper articles of some nations—such as Italy, Serbia, or Iraq—that accept Chinese assistance without questioning its goals with those that are unsatisfied with it because they believe there is a malicious Chinese intention behind it—such as Britain, Spain, or Japan.

7. Conducting a CDA study of the Chinese Anti-Democratic ideologies during Covid-19.

8. A CDA study of power abuse in the selected data.

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Appendix (i)

The American Article (1) The New York Times

Its Coronavirus Cases Dwindling, China Turns Focus Outward

Beijing is mounting a humanitarian aid blitz in countries struggling with their own outbreaks. In doing so, it's stepping into a role the West once dominated.

By [Steven Lee Myers](#) and [Alissa J. Rubin](#)

March 18, 2020

BEIJING — China's leader, [Xi Jinping](#), pledged to send more medical experts to Italy this week, on the same day Beijing sent 2,000 rapid diagnostic tests to the Philippines. Serbia's president pleaded for assistance not from the country's neighbors in Europe, which restricted the export of needed medical equipment, but from China.

"European solidarity does not exist," the Serbian leader, Aleksandar Vucic, said when he announced a state of emergency in [televised remarks](#). "That was a fairy tale on paper. I believe in my brother and friend Xi Jinping, and I believe in Chinese help."

Only a few weeks ago, China was overwhelmed by [the coronavirus](#) epidemic that began in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, accepting donations of masks and other medical supplies from nearly 80 nations and 10 international organizations.

Now, with new daily cases at home dwindling into the single digits, [China is mounting](#) a diplomatic offensive to help as the rest of the world struggles to get the virus under control. From Japan to Iraq, Spain to Peru, it has provided or pledged humanitarian assistance in the form of donations or medical expertise — an aid blitz that is giving China the chance [to reposition itself](#) not as [the authoritarian incubator](#) of a pandemic but as a responsible global leader at a moment of worldwide crisis.

In doing so, it has stepped into a role that the West once dominated in times of natural disaster or public health emergency, and that President Trump has increasingly ceded in his "America First" retreat from international engagement.

"This could be the first major global crisis in decades without meaningful U.S. leadership and with significant Chinese leadership," said Rush Doshi, director of the China Strategy Initiative at the Brookings Institution in Washington.

He noted that only a few years ago the United States led the fight against Ebola.

The outbreak that started in Wuhan, which has infected nearly 200,000 people and killed nearly 8,000 worldwide, has been a [staggering setback](#) for Mr. Xi's leadership, fanning discontent at home and questions abroad about the efficacy of the Communist state.

Now, the global failures in confronting the pandemic from Europe to the United States have given the Chinese leadership a platform to prove its model works — and potentially gain some lasting geopolitical currency.

As it has done in the past, the Chinese state is using its extensive tools and deep pockets to build partnerships around the world, relying on trade, investments and, in this case, [an advantageous position](#) as the world's largest maker of medicines and protective masks. The largess is going a long

way to help temper popular anger over its [initial mishandling](#) of the outbreak that is now wreaking havoc on every continent bar Antarctica.

“I don’t know and now I don’t care,” Michele Geraci, a former under secretary in the Italian economic development ministry, said in an interview when asked whether the assistance reflected China’s geopolitical ambitions as much as humanitarian concerns.

He said the urgent issue was to provide aid to save lives, something that Italy’s allies in the European Union were unable or unwilling to do.

“If somebody is worried China is doing too much, the gap is open to other countries,” he said. “This is what other countries should do.”

China has long aspired to assert a more prominent role in the United Nations and other international organizations while projecting its political, economic and military influence in more and more parts of the world — at times in direct competition with the United States.

“China is now trying to repair its severely damaged international image due to its mishandling of the outbreak in Wuhan in early January,” Minxin Pei, a professor of government at Claremont McKenna College in California, wrote in an email.

“Donating medical supplies shows China is a responsible and generous world power,” he added. “It is also touting its success in containing the coronavirus outbreak to suggest its one-party regime is superior to the bumbling democracies in the West, in particular the U.S.”

On Wednesday, China said it would provide two million surgical masks, 200,000 advanced masks and 50,000 testing kits to Europe. “We’re grateful for China’s support,” Ursula von der Leyen, the president of the European Commission, [said in tweet](#). “We need each other’s support in times of need.”

One of China’s leading entrepreneurs, Jack Ma, offered to donate 500,000 tests and one million masks to the United States, where hospitals are facing shortages despite having weeks of notice to prepare. In February, the United States flew in 17 tons of supplies to Wuhan aboard four flights that evacuated Americans from the city.

“This is no longer a challenge that a country can solve on its own, but it requires all of us to work together,” Mr. Ma’s foundation said in a statement that listed donations to dozens of countries, including all 54 nations in Africa.

The statement went on to cite Mr. Ma’s use on Weibo, a social media platform, of a familiar phrase in the American political lexicon: “United we stand, divided we fall.”

Chinese officials have insisted that a pandemic should be an arena for political cooperation, not competition. China’s success in slowing the disease’s spread, however, has emboldened officials and state media to push back harder — at times clumsily.

One foreign ministry spokesman, Zhao Lijian, floated [a conspiracy theory](#) that the United States Army was behind the virus, while another [squabbled](#) with Mario Vargas Llosa, the Peruvian author and Nobel Prize laureate, over a [newspaper column](#) he wrote about the pandemic.

The state news media has also highlighted the chaos in Europe and the United States with something close to schadenfreude. People’s Daily [cheered](#) the news this week that the pace of infections and deaths overseas now exceeds that inside China.

Early Wednesday, the foreign ministry announced that it was [expelling most American correspondents](#) from The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal and The Washington Post, saying it was retaliating for moves by the Trump administration against Chinese journalists in the United States.

“The coronavirus pandemic has become a battleground,” said Bruno Maçães, a former secretary of state for European Affairs in Portugal who is now a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute. “I see China focused on using the crisis as an opportunity to play up the superiority of its model.”

“I think this also shows what climate change could look like in the future,” he added, “less an opportunity for global cooperation and more the background for geopolitical competition, with every major actor trying to do better than its rivals.”

China’s critics dismiss the assistance as hollow gestures, even cynical ones.

Many in Italy, for example, angrily pointed out that China was selling masks, respirators and other medical equipment, not donating them, and claimed that some of the materials were meant for Chinese citizens in the country.

Others have warned that China was using its dominant role in the production of respirators and masks to reward friendly nations. China made half the world’s masks before the coronavirus emerged there and it has greatly expanded production nearly 12-fold since then, although it has kept more of the supply for itself.

Li Xingqian, the director of international trade at the commerce ministry in Beijing, said in a recent briefing that the government had not issued any rule to stop exports, but simply needed to meet strong domestic demand for masks and other protective equipment.

For countries on the receiving end of China’s largess, questions about the country’s motives have largely taken a back seat. That has been especially clear in Iraq, a country that has been a focus of American foreign policy for decades.

Ten days ago, a team of seven Chinese medical experts stepped off an Iraqi Airlines plane in Baghdad bearing medical equipment and supplies. Those included two machines that will allow Iraqi lab technicians to more than quadruple the number of coronavirus tests they do every day, according to doctors dealing with the outbreak.

“The Iraqi people value this initiative of the Chinese people,” Jassim Al-Falahi, the deputy minister of health, said as he met the arriving team.

In the days since, the Chinese experts have begun to brief doctors and health officials about steps to combat the coronavirus, conducting some discussions by teleconference with Iraqi hospital leaders, according to Dr. Hassan Al-Tamimi, the director general of Baghdad’s Medical City Teaching Hospital Complex.

A statement by the Iraqi foreign ministry made clear that the coronavirus was only one of the projects the two countries would be working on together: The others include the oil industry and updating some of Iraq’s aging electricity infrastructure.

It is not clear whether the Iraqis fully absorbed the lessons the Chinese have offered. At a signing ceremony on Tuesday for the installation of a new lab at Medical City, the Chinese ambassador to Iraq, Zhang Tao, appeared visibly anxious.

“Really, there are many people in this room, important people, government advisers and ministers — none of them is wearing a mask or gloves,” Mr. Zhang told Mohammed Waheen, a pulmonologist at Medical City Teaching Hospital, who also attended.

“Your prime minister is more than 70 years old,” Dr. Waheeb said, recalling his conversation with the ambassador. “You are not taking this seriously.”

Appendix (ii)

The American Article (2) Wall Street Journal

U.S. and China Trade Barbs Over What to Call Coronavirus

U.S. officials have used 'Wuhan virus' or 'Chinese coronavirus' as labels; Chinese officials question claims virus necessarily began in China

SHANGHAI—The U.S. and China are tussling over what to call the fast-spreading coronavirus and where it originated, as the pandemic grows ever more politically charged.

With the virus now [threatening the U.S.](#), Trump administration officials in recent days have stepped up their attempts to characterize the coronavirus's origin as Chinese. Senior U.S. officials, including Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, have referred to the pathogen as the "Wuhan virus" or the "Chinese coronavirus," rather than using the name Covid-19, the World Health Organization's designation for the disease caused by the virus.

In response, China has accused the Trump administration of racism and xenophobia, casting itself as a victim amid [intensifying international criticism](#) that Beijing moved too slowly and suppressed information about the new coronavirus that might have headed it off earlier.

China says it has acted responsibly and that no evidence has definitively determined where the coronavirus originated, despite its [initial detection](#) in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, where the bulk of the early cases appeared.

On Wednesday night, in an [address from the Oval Office](#), President Trump avoided the WHO's preferred terminology, describing the pathogen as "a foreign virus" and as "the coronavirus outbreak that started in China."

No one doubts the outbreak was first detected late last year in Wuhan and spread among [workers and customers at a local seafood market](#). But Chinese officials have rejected suggestions it necessarily began there.

Zeng Guang, chief scientist of epidemiology at the China Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, told domestic media this month the WHO should study coronaviruses detected elsewhere around the world to see if they match.

Chinese officials, and some scientists, have pushed back especially hard against Mr. Pompeo for appearing to use the crisis to further [his hard political line against China](#).

"This is the Wuhan coronavirus," he said in an interview last week. "No less authority than the Chinese Communist Party said it came from Wuhan. So don't take Mike Pompeo's word for it."

Geng Shuang, a spokesman for China's Foreign Ministry, denounced the U.S. on Thursday as "immoral and irresponsible," calling on officials in Washington to "concentrate their energy on responding to the virus and promoting cooperation, and not on shifting the blame to China."

Asked for evidence that the virus had originated anywhere other than central China, Mr. Geng called it “an issue of science,” adding: “We oppose the stigmatization and making an issue out of this.”

Scrutiny of China has intensified as the disease spread beyond its borders—to more than 100 countries, according to WHO data—amid evidence Beijing suppressed news of the outbreak during its initial weeks. Five virologists in the U.S. and Europe told *The Wall Street Journal* they have seen no convincing evidence that the coronavirus originated anywhere but in China.

Significant scientific questions do remain, including exactly how a contagious and little-understood virus jumped from animals, the believed host of the virus, to humans. Pinning down the origin can help scientists better understand how to contain the current pandemic and address future outbreaks.

But health experts say outbreaks often put governments on the defensive, since they often carry big economic and social consequences.

While it is important to understand the origins of a virus, “countries are understandably concerned about being blamed,” said Keiji Fukuda, a former WHO official who now teaches at the University of Hong Kong.

Five years ago, Mr. Fukuda was part of a process launched by global health authorities aimed at destigmatizing how diseases are identified by avoiding giving them names like [Spanish flu](#) and swine flu. “The naming of these epidemics you think is straightforward, but it turns out to be very sensitive,” he said.

Blandly, Covid-19 stands for a coronavirus disease detected in 2019. When the WHO unveiled the name in February, 99% of the confirmed cases were in China.

“We had to find a name that did not refer to a geographical location, an animal, an individual or group of people,” WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus said at the time, underlining the importance of avoiding “names that can be inaccurate or stigmatizing.”

Dr. Zhong Nanshan, a respected Chinese epidemiologist, has said the virus didn’t necessarily originate in China.

China’s pushback against the prevailing evidence of a Chinese origin began in earnest on Feb. 27, roughly a month after authorities locked down Wuhan.

Dr. Zhong Nanshan, a respected epidemiologist who is perhaps China’s best-known doctor, told domestic media: “It first appeared in China, but not necessarily originated in China.”

Several Chinese government officials and scientists have since echoed his skeptical tone, though without providing any evidence to back up the claim. Chinese diplomats, meanwhile, have been emphasizing the still-mysterious nature of the coronavirus.

“So far, studies by scientists from countries like the United States, Europe and Japan show that the source of novel coronavirus is still inconclusive,” Lin Songtian, China’s ambassador to South Africa, said in a speech last week. After China’s Foreign Ministry spent weeks

debunking conspiracy theories surrounding the origins of the virus, a spokesman for the ministry [took to Twitter](#) Thursday and Friday to accuse the U.S. of lacking transparency and suggesting, for example, “It might be US army who brought the epidemic to Wuhan.”

During the ministry’s regular briefing Friday, the spokesman Mr. Geng sidestepped questions about his colleague’s accusations of a U.S. military role by reiterating criticism of some U.S. comments and stressing the importance of science to address uncertainties about the outbreak’s origin.

A number of [China’s own scientific findings](#) appear to place the epidemic’s origins in China, including a landmark paper by 29 scientists at the [Wuhan Institute of Virology](#) that said the novel coronavirus shared 96.2% of the genome sequence of one in bats from another province, Yunnan.

Early in the outbreak, even China’s own media outlets used the “Wuhan virus” moniker, including [one January headline](#) in the official Xinhua News Agency and several in the Communist Party-controlled Global Times. Authorities last month in northern China also detained a man for spreading a rumor suggesting U.S. military involvement in the coronavirus spread.

A precise geographic location for the coronavirus’s origin may never be known, according to Alexander E. Gorbalenya, a microbiologist at Leiden University Medical Center in the Netherlands. “This line of research is very important, but has limitations,” he said.

A WHO-China joint mission to Wuhan last month endorsed the genome findings that bats likely served as a “reservoir” for the new coronavirus. What remained unclear was the identification of one or more “intermediate” hosts before it jumped to humans.

In terms of human-to-human transmission, the mission summary noted, “most of the recorded cases were imported from or had direct links to Wuhan/Hubei.”

Appendix (iii)

The Chinese Article (1) The Global Times

Trump tweet infuriates China

By Yang Sheng Source:Global Times Published: 2020/3/17 16:48:40 Last Updated: 2020/3/18 0:14:57

China will never 'surrender' to US moves to politicize virus source

US President Donald Trump using the term "Chinese Virus" to refer to the COVID-19 in his tweet is an act of inability and irresponsibility, as he wants to make Americans to blame China and cover his own administration's terrible response to the predictable outbreak and his failure to ease panic in the US stock market, said Chinese experts on Tuesday, adding that hyping up racism and anti-China sentiment won't help the US deal with the pandemic at all.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry expressed strong indignation and firm opposition to Trump's tweet calling COVID-19 the "Chinese Virus."

Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng Shuang said at a press briefing Tuesday afternoon that Trump's act stigmatizes China, which China strongly condemns.

"The World Health Organization and the international community are clearly opposed to linking viruses to specific countries and regions and to stigmatizing them," Geng said. "We urge the US side to immediately correct its mistakes and stop making groundless accusations against China."

Where the virus had come from should be a topic for science rather than politics, and by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the stock market, as the two biggest economies of the world could see a new conflict amid a pandemic that has already brought serious harms to the world economy, analysts warned.

Some observers noted that Trump's tweet could be a reaction to a tweet sent by Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Zhao Lijian on his personal Twitter account that asked the US to be transparent about its epidemic situation, as Robert Redfield, director of the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), openly admitted last week at a hearing at the House of Representatives on the outbreak, that some COVID-19 deaths have been misdiagnosed as influenza in the US.

On Monday, in a phone call requested by US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to Chinese State Councilor Yang Jiechi, Pompeo conveyed strong US objections to China's "efforts to shift blame for COVID-19 to the United States." The secretary stressed that "this is not the time to spread disinformation and outlandish rumors," according to the website of the US Department of State.

Yang, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee and the director of the Office of Foreign Affairs of the CPC Central Committee, expressed strong objections over Washington's intent to "slander and smear China's efforts" in containing the COVID-19.

Yang said China has been open, transparent, and responsible in sharing information about COVID-19 with the WHO and other countries, including the United States, and these prevention and control measures adopted by the Chinese government have bought time for global prevention and control work, Xinhua reported.

Time to be tough

According to the facts, it was the US politicians who started the rumor offensive and began

spreading baseless conspiracy theories, such as Senator Tom Cotton's claim that "the virus is related to China's bioweapon program" to insult and smear China without any hard evidence, and Pompeo also continually called the epidemic "Wuhan virus" despite the WHO formally naming it COVID-19 to avoid discrimination.

Some Chinese analysts worry that Zhao's tweets may cause the US to retaliate, and they blame Zhao for "infuriating" the US. They also thought Zhao was repeating "the wrong conspiracy theory" similar to what US politicians use to smear China.

Jin Canrong, associate dean of Renmin University of China's School of International Studies in Beijing, disagrees with this opinion. He told the Global Times on Tuesday that it is totally reasonable for Zhao to question the US and to urge it to be transparent.

Because the flu season in America started in September, and in October, the US military delegation came to Wuhan for the Military World Games, so it is totally possible that US military personnel unintentionally brought the virus to China, since at that time, no one in China knew the existence of COVID-19 if it really originated in the US, Jin said.

Zhao's question for the US was neither an accusation nor a rumor, but a reasonable query that is totally different from US politicians' groundless rumors and insults against China, Jin noted. "The US should answer this question and be transparent to not only China, but also its own people and the rest of the world."

After the Trump's tweet was released on Tuesday, more Chinese experts noted that this is not the time to blame Zhao and "surrender" to the US, as he only raised a reasonable query rather than spreading disinformation, and it is time for China to be tough in striking back against the discriminatory and racist stance of the US.

Distracting attention

The historic decline of US stock markets since the last financial crisis and appalling reaction to the epidemic situation made Trump lose support from Americans, so this also made him want to distract domestic attention from criticizing his lack of responsibility by blaming China, said Jin.

However, this tactic may neither help Trump to regain support nor protect US people from COVID-19, and according to the current feedback from the US public on the internet, it seems US people aren't buying Trump's tactics to distract their attention, said Diao Daming, a US studies expert from Renmin University of China.

Trump's irresponsible tweet that offended China seriously is likely to trigger a "circuit breaker" for the stock market again as the tweet signaled a potential conflict launched by the US against China, amid the pandemic, said Lü Xiang, a research fellow on US studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing.

Volatility in US stocks surged to a record after benchmark indexes suffered the biggest rout since 1987, Bloomberg reported on Tuesday. The Cboe Volatility Index closed Monday at 82.69 as the S&P 500 Index tumbled 12 percent. The index's previously highest rating was 80.86 on November 20, 2008.

At this moment, countries which become impacted by the pandemic urgently need cooperation rather than being blamed so that the stock market can at least see some positive signs, otherwise it may only add more uncertainty and panic, Lü said. "If Trump can't stop the current trend and

potentially makes it worse [due to lack of management], when the stock market crashes to a lower level than before he got elected four years ago, he will surely lose the election."

For the next step, based on Trump's current stance, his administration may potentially encourage those US firms which are particularly affected by COVID-19 to sue China for "compensation" or force China to pay for US losses in the pandemic, Jin said.

Trump could also further blame China on many other issues, such as unemployment and poor economic performance, so that he can fool US voters to forgive or ignore his administration's undesirable performance. He would then use such excuses to manipulate the exchange rate of the US dollar and sanction China's high-tech firms to force manufacturing industries to return to the US, or even tear up the signed trade deal to divert domestic attention, Chinese experts commented.

No matter what he does, if he turns provocations into concrete actions, China would surely retaliate and the world economy would be further compromised, Jin noted.

Consequences of racism

Yang told Pompeo via phone call on Monday that "any scheme to smear China will be doomed to fail" and China will counter such moves with determination.

The US heavily relies on imports of China-made medicines and medical materials. Based on humanitarian principles, China will keep providing assistance worldwide and won't cut off supplies to any country. But if the US provokes China, it would make it very difficult for China to assist the US, experts said, and innocent Americans who need masks and vital drugs badly will likely pay for the inability and ignorance of the Trump administration, said a Beijing-based expert on epidemic prevention and control who asked for anonymity.

Chinese pharmaceutical companies have supplied more than 90 percent of US antibiotics, vitamin C, ibuprofen and hydrocortisone, as well as 70 percent of acetaminophen and 40 to 45 percent of heparin in recent years, the New York Times reported on March 11.

An article published on March 4 by the Xinhua News Agency said that if China banned the export of drugs, "the US would sink into the hell of a novel coronavirus epidemic," so the US should be grateful rather than accuse China for political purposes.

The Beijing-based expert noted that Chinese professional teams have held many video conferences with US professionals to share data and keep them updated, and that China's public health authorities have also been communicating closely with the US CDC throughout the outbreak.

"So how dare the Trump administration blame us? They were already informed, and still they failed to make efforts to prevent and control the outbreak. They can't just cover up their inability by blaming China and fool their own people," he noted.

White House trade advisor Peter Navarro told CNBC on Monday that he's preparing an executive order that "would help relocate medical supply chains from overseas to the US," as he believes the US should reduce dependency on drug imports from other countries like China.

Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng said at the press conference that "this is the wrong prescription that may harm many more ordinary Americans."

Chinese experts said there could be only one result of this - the US people will need to spend more

money but can only buy less drugs.

China dispatches a team of nine medical experts to Italy, on Thursday, to help fight the COVID-19 pandemic, along with 31 tons of medical supplies, including ICU ward equipment, protective outfits, and antiviral drugs.

Unshakable reputation

The warfare of public opinion launched by the US to stigmatize China is doomed to fail as too many facts have proven China's reputation and image in the international community is unshakable, and Washington can only "bring itself into disrepute," said Lü from the CASS.

China's assistance to countries like Italy, Japan and Iran has already won praise and appreciations from members of the international community and the World Health Organization (WHO).

More countries like Spain, Serbia and the Philippines are also seeking help from China as they trust China's experiences and credibility, but the US only announced travel bans against other countries and hyped up racism to spread hatred without making any notable contribution to this global fight against COVID-19, so when asked who is the more responsible global power, who should be thanked and who should be blamed, people around the world know the answer clearly, said Chinese experts.

Serbia's President Aleksandar Vucic announced a nationwide state of emergency on Sunday to fight the spread of the novel coronavirus. He branded European solidarity a "fairytale," and praised China instead, saying it was the only country that would help, CGTN reported.

Geng said at the Tuesday press conference that China will firmly stand with the Serbian people side by side to fight the virus, and China will provide emergency material assistance including ventilators, medical masks and protection suits to Serbia, and will send medical experts there to share experiences regarding epidemic prevention and control, as well as diagnosing and treating patients.

Appendix (iv)

The Chinese Article (1) The Global Times

US blame game puts innocent people at risk

By Philip J. Cunningham | China Daily | Updated: 2020-03-24 08:27

A stealthy, highly contagious virus has caused a precipitous drop in the United States' stock market and sent shudders down the spine of a stalled economy. With factories and stores closing down, lights being dimmed from Broadway to Las Vegas, and hospitals overwhelmed with critically ill patients, the American mood is confused, resentful and laced with fear. Lockdowns of hard-hit areas and shelter-in-place orders for major cities are essential to contain the outbreak but add to the growing psychological stress.

Sadly for the human record, scapegoating often emerges from reaction to disaster. After the devastating Great Kanto earthquake of 1923, ethnic Korean residents of Tokyo were rumored to be a cause of trouble and were massacred in the thousands. The punishing economic conditions of

Germany after World War I are frequently cited as a key factor leading to a rise in anti-Semitism so toxic and pervasive that they led to genocide.

There is hardly a nation on earth that has not been hit with the novel coronavirus, so international cooperation is essential. However, the tribal fears invoked in border barriers, lockdowns, shutdowns and quarantines have put the very project of globalization on the defensive. Thousands of planes have been idled, trains run empty and highways are free of cars, while the world's great tourist sites have turned into ghost towns.

Barriers of minds nastier than physical boundaries

Although there is a documented benefit to be found in social distancing and reduced flow of traffic, the introduction of border controls, travel shutdowns and the rise of physical barriers have been mirrored by the barriers developed in the minds and the wild imaginations of worried people everywhere.

Only scientists can definitively answer questions about the origin of the novel coronavirus, but the city of Wuhan, capital of Hubei province, is indelibly tied to public awareness of the disease because the first wave of the epidemic in China erupted there. Leaving aside the thorny question of where the microscopic novel coronavirus came from, most scientists consider it to have been a freaky but otherwise natural zoonotic transfer of virus from animal to man.

Wuhan was the first city to be hit by the microscopic invader on a massive scale. With more than 3,000 dead and tens of thousands ill, and millions more confined to their homes for the duration, the suffering and anguish of the people have been palpable.

Yet the regrettable human tendency to discriminate quickly gelled and took root, and the initial reaction of some people in China was to be wary of compatriots from Wuhan. By the same weak leap of logic, when the disease also emerged in Thailand, Japan, the Republic of Korea and other neighboring countries, the world began to turn a jaundiced eye to China.

Politicians have their own agendas and prejudices

A virus carries no passport—scientists and medical doctors know that better than anyone else—but politicians have their own agendas, and popular prejudice cannot be waved away with a magic wand. That's why international organizations such as the World Health Organization called on experienced medical professionals to assign a name to the disease that did not reflect on race or location.

COVID-19 is not a catchy term, but it contains information about the year of the outbreak and categorizes the pathogen as a new coronavirus.

By the time the official moniker was coined, the more general term "coronavirus" was in such widespread use that it has remained the default term for describing the novel coronavirus. Even if it lacks the precision of the official name, it is unobjectionable in social terms.

However, far from China's shores, other names were being concocted to describe the perilous pathogen, and terms such as "Wuhan flu" and "Wuhan coronavirus" (which was used by The New York Times) began to be bandied about. US Senator Tom Cotton from Arkansas throughout the crisis has made statements designed to inflame and arouse anti-China sentiment by blaming China for the virus. Although Cotton's hatred for China predates the outbreak and is rooted in a rigid anti-communist worldview, he has exploited the epidemic by conflating his political enemy with the hated virus.

Manipulative populism at play in United States

Despite the incendiary rhetoric of a few hot heads, references to the virus designed to indict China as a co-conspirator faded in February, and the mainstream media, The New York Times included, was careful to stick to the scientific term COVID-19 or the more general term, coronavirus. But in early March a new wave of stigmatizing language entered the American discourse by close associates of US President Donald Trump. Manipulative populism and playing to the hidden prejudice of a conservative political base came into play. It was no longer loud-mouth radio hosts and redneck politicians talking that way, and as such could not be easily dismissed.

US top diplomat, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, started to use the terms "Wuhan virus" and "Chinese coronavirus" in official statements in the first week of March, giving political cover to closet racists anxious to pin blame on China.

Trump's two-month long pretense that the virus was nothing more than the common flu was finally shaken by an undeniable outbreak in the US.

Unwilling to take blame, Trump found it useful to deflect criticism away from his own negligence by making withering use of the term "foreign virus". This incendiary term came short of tagging China directly, but by then the narrative of presumptive guilt had been well established and his own supporters were bad-mouthing China with increasing frequency.

The US leader's use of the term "foreign virus" on March 11 was eagerly picked up by his political base, and social media use of the term "surged into the tens of millions" according to the Atlantic Council's Digital Forensic Research Lab.

Anti-Asian abuse and violence on the rise

Elsewhere, prejudice was becoming more overt. A White House aide joked about the China connection, telling CBS White House reporter Weijia Jiang that it was the "Kung Flu". Around the same time, reports on social media and elsewhere described an uptick in anti-Asian abuse and violence.

New Yorker writer Jiayang Fan reported in a tweet that she was accosted by a stranger using vile, racist language when she stepped out of her front door to take out the garbage. It left her feeling afraid to even walk down the street to go shopping.

Dozens, if not hundreds of such reports are now circulating on social media.

And it's only getting worse. The US president, for reasons best known to him, has been a credible defender of China on certain policy points and has generally resisted the vocal deprecations used by intemperate political advisers such as Stephen Miller, Peter Navarro, and Steve Bannon.

But looking weary in the face of mounting criticism of his failure to lead a national response to the pandemic, Trump suddenly joined the chorus of China-blaters as seen in this March 18 tweet from his official account:

"I always treated the Chinese Virus very seriously, and have done a very good job from the beginning, including my very early decision to close the 'borders' from China — against the wishes of almost all. Many lives were saved. The Fake News new narrative is disgraceful& false!"

When questioned about his injudicious use of "Chinese Virus" at a press conference later in the day, Trump doubled down in his use of the term. When Yamiche Alcindor of PBS asked him if using the

term "Chinese virus" puts Asian-Americans at risk, Trump bristled: "No. Not at all. I think they would probably agree with it 100 percent. It comes from China."

The die is now cast for racial tensions to follow. Reasonable people can disagree with Beijing and its policies. Not everyone has to like Chinese food or Chinese culture. But it is inexcusable to blame a disease that knows no boundaries and afflicts all humans regardless of race or an ethnic group or a faraway nation.

This is intellectually dishonest, and it is a cheap shot to deflect blame and arouse populist support.

It is racist, it is wrong and ruling US politicians owe us all an apology.

The author is a media researcher covering Asia issues.

The views don't necessarily reflect those of China Daily.

Appendix (v)

The IDSs of the American Article (1)

Ids	Level of the Strategy	In-group	Out-group
Disclaimer	Syntactic	America	China
Uses			
<i>“Beijing is mounting a humanitarian aid blitz in countries struggling with their own outbreaks. In doing so, it’s stepping into a role the West once dominated.”</i>			
<i>“China is mounting a diplomatic offensive to help as the rest of the world struggles to get the virus under control.”</i>			
<i>“From Japan to Iraq, Spain to Peru, it has provided or pledged humanitarian assistance in the form of donations or medical expertise — an aid blitz that is giving China the chance to reposition itself not as the authoritarian incubator of a pandemic but as a responsible global leader at a moment of worldwide crisis.”</i>			

“In doing so, it has stepped into a role that the West once dominated in times of natural disaster or public health emergency.”

“Now, the global failures in confronting the pandemic from Europe to the United States have given the Chinese leadership a platform to prove its model works — and potentially gain some lasting geopolitical currency.”

“As it has done in the past, the Chinese state is using its extensive tools and deep pockets to build partnerships around the world, relying on trade, investments and, in this case, an advantageous position as the world’s largest maker of medicines and protective masks.”

“The largess is going a long way to help temper popular anger over its initial mishandling of the outbreak that is now wreaking havoc on every continent bar Antarctica.”

“China has long aspired to assert a more prominent role in the United Nations and other international organizations while projecting its political, economic and military influence in more and more parts of the world — at times in direct competition with the United States.”

“China is now trying to repair its severely damaged international image due to its mishandling of the outbreak in Wuhan in early January,”

“Donating medical supplies shows China is a responsible and generous world power,” he added.

“It is also touting its success in containing the coronavirus outbreak to suggest its one-party regime is superior to the bumbling democracies in the West, in particular the U.S.”

“In the days since, the Chinese experts have begun to brief doctors and health officials about steps to combat the coronavirus, conducting some discussions by teleconference with Iraqi hospital leaders.”

“A statement by the Iraqi foreign ministry made clear that the coronavirus was only one of the projects the two countries would be working on together: The others include the oil industry and updating some of Iraq’s aging electricity infrastructure.”

“It is not clear whether the Iraqis fully absorbed the lessons the Chinese have offered.”

Explanation			
The aforementioned instances portray China as a responsible power that lends a helping hand when necessary, but they reject or denigrate this position since it suggests a malign purpose.			
Number game	Rhetoric	America	China
Uses			
<p><i>“China’s leader, Xi Jinping, pledged to send more medical experts to Italy this week, on the same day Beijing sent 2,000 rapid diagnostic tests to the Philippines.”</i></p> <p><i>“On Wednesday, China said it would provide two million surgical masks, 200,000 advanced masks and 50,000 testing kits to Europe.”</i></p> <p><i>“Ten days ago, a team of seven Chinese medical experts stepped off an Iraqi Airlines plane in Baghdad bearing medical equipment and supplies.</i></p> <p><i>“Those included two machines that will allow Iraqi lab technicians to more than quadruple the number of coronavirus tests they do every day, according to doctors dealing with the outbreak.”</i></p> <p><i>“Mr. Ma’s foundation said in a statement that listed donations to dozens of countries, including all 54 nations in Africa.”</i></p> <p><i>“Only a few weeks ago, China was overwhelmed by the coronavirus epidemic that began in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, accepting donations of masks and other medical supplies from nearly 80 nations and 10 international organizations.”</i></p> <p><i>“One of China’s leading entrepreneurs, Jack Ma, offered to donate 500,000 tests and one million masks to the United States, where hospitals are facing shortages despite having weeks of notice to prepare.”</i></p> <p><i>“In February, the United States flew in 17 tons of supplies to Wuhan aboard four flights that evacuated Americans from the city.”</i></p> <p><i>“The outbreak that started in Wuhan, which has infected nearly 200,000 people and killed nearly 8,000 worldwide, has been a staggering setback for Mr. Xi’s leadership.”</i></p>			

“China made half the world’s masks before the coronavirus emerged there and it has greatly expanded production nearly 12-fold since then, although it has kept more of the supply for itself.”

“Your prime minister is more than 70 years old,” Dr. Waheeb said, recalling his conversation with the ambassador. “You are not taking this seriously.”

“In February, the United States flew in 17 tons of supplies to Wuhan aboard four flights that evacuated Americans from the city.”

Explanation

Despite the fact that the information in the first four cases seems to improve China's image, this was not the article's intended outcome. Instead, it aimed to show what a vast amount China contributed to many countries in the short time that followed its recovery from the virus. Therefore, one must challenge this. The fifth and sixth use show how China need aid from other nations owing to the coronavirus's overwhelming condition just a few weeks before deciding to begin an aid blitz to other nations. So, how might China eventually assist other nations? The case for this point is strengthened by the placement of this use between two paragraphs that explain China's donations to other charitable organizations. However, the fifth case makes this disparity quite evident.

The seventh use makes the point made in the preceding case clearer by demonstrating how severely the disease afflicted China. While the eighth use confirms the concerns highlighted in the preceding instances by demonstrating the quantity of masks it creates, including the appearance of the coronavirus and the quantity it keeps to itself. There is definitely a malicious motive.

The latter case emphasizes the skepticism that was previously demonstrated. It depicts a remark made by Iraqi doctor Dr. Waheeb at a signing ceremony on Tuesday for the construction of a new lab between China and Iraq. He was critical of Chinese dignitaries for not donning masks, including their 70-year-old prime leader. Consequently, he believes that they are not treating the situation seriously, which suggests that there is an unclear situation.

The last instance places more focus on America's prior crisis-related duty.

Categorization	Semantic	America	Other countries that accept Chinese aid
Uses			
<p><i>“Serbia’s president pleaded for assistance not from the country’s neighbors in Europe”</i></p> <p><i>“the Serbian leader, Aleksandar Vucic, said when he announced a state of emergency in televised remarks. “That was a fairy tale on paper. I believe in my brother and friend Xi Jinping, and I believe in Chinese help.””</i></p> <p><i>“I don’t know and now I don’t care,” Michele Geraci, a former undersecretary in the Italian economic development ministry, said in an interview when asked whether the assistance reflected China’s geopolitical ambitions as much as humanitarian concerns.”</i></p> <p><i>“If somebody is worried China is doing too much, the gap is open to other countries,” he said. “This is what other countries should do.”</i></p> <p><i>“We’re grateful for China’s support,” Ursula von der Leyen, the president of the European Commission, said in tweet.”</i></p> <p><i>“For countries on the receiving end of China’s largess, questions about the country’s motives have largely taken a back seat. That has been especially clear in Iraq, a country that has been a focus of American foreign policy for decades.”</i></p> <p><i>“The Iraqi people value this initiative of the Chinese people,” Jassim Al-Falahi, the deputy minister of health, said as he met the arriving team.”</i></p>			
Explanation			
<p>These are some uses s of nations that accept Chinese help without questioning the country's overarching objectives. People are categorically divided into those who doubt help and those who do not.</p>			
National self-glorification	Pragmatic	America	China
Uses			
<p><i>“In doing so, it’s stepping into a role the West once dominated.”</i></p>			

“In doing so, it has stepped into a role that the West once dominated in times of natural disaster or public health emergency”

“This could be the first major global crisis in decades without meaningful U.S. leadership and with significant Chinese leadership,”

“He noted that only a few years ago the United States led the fight against Ebola.”

“of a familiar phrase in the American political lexicon: “United we stand, divided we fall.””

Explanation

The aforementioned uses extol the American and European roles in addressing crises across all prior eras. The final illustration, though, highlights how America often responds to crises.

Actor description	Semantic	America & some people from different countries	China
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Uses

“China’s critics dismiss the assistance as hollow gestures, even cynical ones.”

“Many in Italy, , angrily pointed out that China was selling masks, respirators and other medical equipment, not donating them, and claimed that some of the materials were meant for Chinese citizens in the country.”

“Others have warned that China was using its dominant role in the production of respirators and masks to reward friendly nations.”

“I see China focused on using the crisis as an opportunity to play up the superiority of its model.”

Explanation

These uses are provided to demonstrate the fundamental goal of China's humanitarian blitz in various nations. The incidents also demonstrate that the relief blitz is not always genuine.

Metaphor	Rhetorical	America	China
Uses			
<p><i>“China is mounting a diplomatic offensive to help as the rest of the world struggles to get the virus under control.”</i></p> <p><i>“an aid blitz that is giving China the chance to reposition itself not as the authoritarian incubator of a pandemic but as a responsible global leader at a moment of worldwide crisis.”</i></p> <p><i>“The outbreak that started in Wuhan, which has infected nearly 200,000 people and killed nearly 8,000 worldwide, has been a staggering setback for Mr. Xi’s leadership.”</i></p> <p><i>“For countries on the receiving end of China’s largess, questions about the country’s motives have largely taken a back seat.”</i></p>			
Explanation			
<p>A metaphor is used to indicate the inferred aim of China behind this support, which is not humanitarian as China portrays but a geopolitical one. This is done by referring to China's mission to help other nations as a diplomatic offensive.</p> <p>China is also described as “the authoritarian incubator of a pandemic”, a metaphor that is intended to emphasize the place where the virus originated.</p> <p>A figurative "staggering setback" is used to characterize the viral epidemic in Wuhan and its effects since they slow down China's otherwise fast development.</p> <p>The image of the person occupying the final seat represents nations ignoring or postponing the consideration of China's unstated intention behind aiding other nations.</p>			
Metaphor	Rhetorical	America and Europe	Serbia
Uses			

That was a fairy tale on paper.

Explanation

This adage is taken from a statement made on television by the president of Serbia, who described European cooperation as a fantasy tale on paper. He uses this metaphor to illustrate how the European nations were powerless to aid during the crisis.

Repetition

Rhetoric

China

America

*“Only a few weeks ago, China was overwhelmed by the coronavirus epidemic that began in the central Chinese city of **Wuhan**.”*

*“The outbreak that started in **Wuhan**, which has infected nearly 200,000 people and killed nearly 8,000 worldwide,”*

*“China is now trying to repair its severely damaged international image due to its mishandling of the outbreak in **Wuhan** in early January.”*

*“February, the United States flew in 17 tons of supplies to **Wuhan** aboard four flights that evacuated Americans from the city.”*

*“Serbia’s president pleaded for **assistance** not from the country’s neighbors in Europe.”*

*“it has provided or pledged **humanitarian assistance** in the form of donations or medical expertise”*

*“whether the **assistance** reflected China’s geopolitical ambitions as much as **humanitarian** concerns.”*

*“China’s critics dismiss the **assistance** as hollow gestures, even cynical ones.”*

*“Beijing is mounting a **humanitarian** aid blitz in countries struggling with their own outbreaks.”*

*“The **outbreak** that started in Wuhan, which has infected nearly 200,000 people and killed nearly 8,000 worldwide”*

*“The largess is going a long way to help temper popular anger over its initial mishandling of the **outbreak** that is now wreaking havoc on every continent bar Antarctica.”*

*“China is now trying to repair its severely damaged international image due to its mishandling of the **outbreak** in Wuhan in early January,”*

*“Beijing is mounting a humanitarian aid blitz in countries struggling with their own **outbreaks**.”*

*“It is also touting its success in containing the coronavirus **outbreak** to suggest its one-party regime is superior to the bumbling democracies in the West, in particular the U.S.”*

*“Those included two machines that will allow Iraqi lab technicians to more than quadruple the number of coronavirus tests they do every day, according to doctors dealing with the **outbreak**.”*

*“and potentially gain some lasting **geopolitical** currency.”*

*“whether the assistance reflected China’s **geopolitical** ambitions as much as humanitarian concerns.”*

*“less an opportunity for global cooperation and more the background for **geopolitical competition**,”*

*“at times in direct **competition** with the United States.”*

*“Chinese officials have insisted that a pandemic should be an arena for political cooperation, not **competition**.”*

*“Now, the global failures in confronting the pandemic from Europe to the United States have given the Chinese leadership a platform to prove its **model** works — and potentially gain some lasting geopolitical currency.”*

*“I see China focused on using the crisis as an opportunity to play up the superiority of its **model**.”*

Explanation

Repetition is used to highlight the fact that the virus originated in Wuhan.

The word ‘assistance’ is used several times in the article since it serves as the foundation for understanding its motivation. Additionally, the phrase

"humanitarian" is used several times to demonstrate that, despite China's claims, this support serves other goals as well.

The word 'outbreak' is repeated 6 times: 3 times to highlight where the virus started and 3 times to emphasize how severely it afflicted the countries. The repetition here is meant to enrage the audience against China, which created the virus and handled it improperly from the start.

Repetition of the terms 'geopolitical' and 'competition,' which are the major objectives of Chinese policy instead of the "cooperation" they are urging, reveals and emphasizes China ambition.

These are not China's only goals; it also wants to showcase its government as the model for all others, demonstrating its achievement.

Comparison	Syntactic	America and the glob	China
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Uses

China's critics dismiss the assistance as hollow gestures, even cynical ones.

"I see China focused on using the crisis as an opportunity to play up the superiority of its model."

From Japan to Iraq, Spain to Peru, it has provided or pledged humanitarian assistance in the form of donations or medical expertise — an aid blitz that is giving China the chance to reposition itself not as the authoritarian incubator of a pandemic but as a responsible global leader at a moment of worldwide crisis.

"I don't know and now I don't care," Michele Geraci, a former undersecretary in the Italian economic development ministry, said in an interview when asked whether the assistance reflected China's geopolitical ambitions as much as humanitarian concerns.

Explanation

All of these uses are meant to expose the fundamental ideology that the Chinese hide beneath their aid to other countries. Chinese help is compared in the first

case to empty gestures, which is that they conceal unknowable motives. The subsequent three uses make it clear that the goals of this aid are to emphasize the superiority of its model, to reposition China as a responsible global leader during a time of global crisis, and to represent China's geopolitical goals, respectively.

Victimization	Syntactic	America and the glob	China
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Uses

“The outbreak that started in Wuhan, which has infected nearly 200,000 people and killed nearly 8,000 worldwide, has been a staggering setback for Mr. Xi’s leadership, fanning discontent at home and questions abroad about the efficacy of the Communist state.”

“Now, the global failures in confronting the pandemic from Europe to the United States have given the Chinese leadership a platform to prove its model works — and potentially gain some lasting geopolitical currency.”

“The largess is going a long way to help temper popular anger over its initial mishandling of the outbreak that is now wreaking havoc on every continent bar Antarctica.”

“One foreign ministry spokesman, Zhao Lijian, floated a conspiracy theory that the United States Army was behind the virus, while another squabbled with Mario Vargas Llosa, the Peruvian author and Nobel Prize laureate, over a newspaper column he wrote about the pandemic.”

“The state news media has also highlighted the chaos in Europe and the United States with something close to schadenfreude.”

“People’s Daily cheered the news this week that the pace of infections and deaths overseas now exceeds that inside China.”

“Early Wednesday, the foreign ministry announced that it was expelling most American correspondents from The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal and The Washington Post, saying it was retaliating for moves by the Trump administration against Chinese journalists in the United States.”

“The coronavirus pandemic has become a battleground,” said Bruno Maçães, a former secretary of state for European Affairs in Portugal who is now a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute.”

“I think this also shows what climate change could look like in the future,” he added, “less an opportunity for global cooperation and more the background for geopolitical competition, with every major actor trying to do better than its rivals.”

Explanation

These instances demonstrate how China's evil agenda is harming both the United States and the entire world.

Appendix (vi)

The IDSs of the American Article (2)

IDS	Level of the Strategy	In-group	Out-group
Victimization	Semantic	China	America

Uses			
<i>“Asked for evidence that the virus had originated adding: “We oppose the stigmatization and making an issue out of this.””</i>			
Explanation			
The aforementioned instances show China as a victim of American stigmatization policy, which incenses the Chinese and is opposed by Chinese leaders.			
Illegality	Pragmatic	China	America
Uses			
<i>“Senior U.S. officials, including Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, have referred to the pathogen as the “Wuhan virus” or the “Chinese coronavirus,” rather than using the name Covid-19, the World Health Organization’s designation for the disease caused by the virus.”</i>			
Explanation			
Mike Pompeo is defying a directive from the WHO that the corona virus must be referred to as COVID-19 and instead insisted on using the terms "Wuhan virus" and "Chinese virus" since any decisions made by WHO as an international agency must be presumed to be correct.			
Derogation	Pragmatic	America	China
Uses			
<i>“In response, China has accused the Trump administration of racism and xenophobia,”</i>			
<i>“Several Chinese government officials and scientists have since echoed his skeptical tone, though without providing any evidence to back up the claim.”</i>			
<i>“After China’s Foreign Ministry spent weeks debunking conspiracy theories surrounding the origins of the virus,”</i>			
<i>“a spokesman for the ministry took to Twitter Thursday and Friday to accuse the U.S. of lacking transparency and suggesting,”</i>			

“It might be US army who brought the epidemic to Wuhan.”

“During the ministry’s regular briefing Friday, the spokesman Mr. Geng sidestepped questions about his colleague’s accusations of a U.S. military role by reiterating criticism of some U.S. comments and stressing the importance of science to address uncertainties about the outbreak’s origin.”

“Geng Shuang, .. calling on officials in Washington to “concentrate their energy on responding to the virus and promoting cooperation, and not on shifting the blame to China.””

Explanation

These instances demonstrate how Chinese authorities accuse the American side of many behaviors, such as racism, xenophobia, and lack of transparency, in addition to charging America with delivering the virus to China, despite China's inability to recognize the infection's nature. China also accuses America of pursuing blaming theory rather than facing the virus head-on and working with other countries to eradicate it.

Irony

Rhetorical

America

China

Uses

“In response, China has accused the Trump administration of racism and xenophobia, casting itself as a victim amid intensifying international criticism that Beijing moved too slowly and suppressed information about the new coronavirus that might have headed it off earlier.”

“China says it that no evidence has definitively determined where the coronavirus originated, despite its initial detection in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, where the bulk of the early cases appeared.”

“No one doubts the outbreak was first detected late last year in Wuhan and spread among workers and customers at a local seafood market. But Chinese officials have rejected suggestions it necessarily began there.”

“After China’s Foreign Ministry spent weeks debunking conspiracy theories surrounding the origin of the virus, a spokesman for the ministry took to Twitter Thursday and Friday to accuse the U.S. of lacking transparency and suggesting, for example, “it might be US army who brought the epidemic to Wuhan.”

Explanation

In the first instance, the irony lies in the fact that China is portraying itself as a victim of American racism and xenophobia while disregarding the growing worldwide outcry that Beijing responded too slowly and concealed information about the new coronavirus that may have earlier stopped it.

The irony in following situations arises from the Chinese suggestion that the virus originated elsewhere rather than in China, but they do not provide any proof to substantiate their claim.

The final use show that China engages in activities it denies to others. Thus, despite the fact that it refutes every conspiracy theory that other people have accused China of adopting, it accuses America of doing the same.

National glorification	self-	Pragmatic	China	America and other nations
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Uses

“China says it has acted responsibly.”

Explanation

It is clear that China is trying to present itself as a nation that is doing responsibly in response to the epidemic.

Implication	Pragmatic	America	China
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Uses

“On Wednesday night, in an address from the Oval Office, President Trump avoided the WHO’s preferred terminology, describing the pathogen as “a foreign virus” and as “the coronavirus outbreak that started in China.””

Explanation

Although he avoids using the WHO's name for the virus, Trump's reference to the virus as "a foreign virus" and as "the coronavirus outbreak that started in China," infers that the virus is not American, and its origin in China, is being insisted upon.

Evidentiality

Syntactic

America

China

Uses

"No less authority than the Chinese Communist Party said it came from Wuhan. So don't take Mike Pompeo's word for it."

"Five virologists in the U.S. and Europe told The Wall Street Journal they have seen no convincing evidence that the coronavirus originated anywhere but in China."

"Dr. Zhong Nanshan, a respected epidemiologist who is perhaps China's best-known doctor, told domestic media: "It first appeared in China, but not necessarily originated in China.""

"Early in the outbreak, even China's own media outlets used the "Wuhan virus" moniker, including one January headline in the official Xinhua News Agency and several in the Communist Party-controlled Global Times."

"A WHO-China joint missionIn terms of human-to-human transmission, the mission summary noted, "most of the recorded cases were imported from or had direct links to Wuhan/Hubei.""

"Scrutiny of China, according to WHO data—amid evidence Beijing suppressed news of the outbreak during its initial weeks."

Explanation

All of these instances provide as proof from various authorities that the virus originated in certain regions. Everyone is pointing out that the virus is Chinese in origin.

The last uses, which is given by WHO, is proof that China hid knowledge of the outbreak during its first several weeks.

Actor description	Semantic	America	China
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Uses

“Geng Shuang, a spokesman for China’s Foreign Ministry, denounced the U.S. on Thursday as “immoral and irresponsible,”

Explanation

Geng Shuang describes US of being immoral and irresponsible.

Norm expression	Syntactic	China	America
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Uses

“Asked for evidence that the virus had originated anywhere other than central China, Mr. Geng called it “an issue of science,””

Explanation

In order to identify the origin of the virus, Geng Shuang permits science to be the deciding element.

Norm expression	Syntactic	America	China
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Uses

“We had to find a name that did not refer to a geographical location, an animal, an individual or group of people,” WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus said at the time, underlining the importance of avoiding “names that can be inaccurate or stigmatizing.”

“While it is important to understand the origins of a virus, “countries are understandably concerned about being blamed,””

Explanation

In this case, the WHO's director-general enumerates the moral criteria that they used to choose the name of the virus. The purpose of quoting WHO's remark is to demonstrate that WHO does not dispute that the virus originated in China but rather that they chose a neutral name for the virus to avoid sensitivity.

These uses show what is critical at this crucial period, such as locating the virus's source and avoiding blaming. China is intended in these uses.

Number game	Rhetoric	America	China
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Uses

“Scrutiny of China has intensified as the disease spread beyond its borders—to more than 100 countries, according to WHO data”

“China’s pushback against the prevailing evidence of a Chinese origin began in earnest on Feb. 27, roughly a month after authorities locked down Wuhan.”

“When the WHO unveiled the name in February, 99% of the confirmed cases were in China.”

“A number of China’s own scientific findings appear to place the epidemic’s origins in China, including a landmark article by 29 scientists at the Wuhan Institute of Virology that said the novel coronavirus shared 96.2% of the genome sequence of one in bats from another province, Yunnan.”

Explanation

The first use relates to the number of nations that are afflicted by the virus, which originated in China. The second use, on the other hand, refers to the precise moment that China rejected the proof that the virus was created in China, which occurred one month after Wuhan was placed under lockdown. To emphasize that China is the original source of the virus, the final two uses provide percentages of viral cases in China.

Burden	Syntactic	America and other nations	China
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Uses

“But health experts say outbreaks often put governments on the defensive, since they often carry big economic and social consequences.”

Explanation

The instance makes reference to the outbreak's consequences, which is the major justification for the defensive measures implemented by some nations (America's situation is alluded at here).

Euphemism	Rhetoric	America	China
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Uses

“With the virus now threatening the U.S., Trump administration officials in recent days have stepped up their attempts to characterize the coronavirus’s origin as Chinese.”

Explanation

Although the scenario shows China as a victim of the American naming act, a defense of the American politicians' actions is introduced as a basis for that negative action. Furthermore, the American politicians' actions are not amplified or characterized as stigmatizing or xenophobic; rather, they are mitigated.

Example	Semantic	China	America
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Uses

“Authorities last month in northern China also detained a man for spreading a rumor suggesting U.S. military involvement in the coronavirus spread.”

Explanation

This is an example of how China and America are trading accusations over the source of the virus.

Appendix (vii)

The IDSs of the Chinese Article (1)

IDS	Level of the Strategy	In-group	Out-group
Actor description	Semantic	China	Trump
Uses s			
<p><i>“US President Donald Trump using the term "Chinese Virus" to refer to the COVID-19 in his tweet is an act of inability and irresponsibility, as he wants to make Americans to blame China and cover his own administration's terrible response to the predictable outbreak and his failure to ease panic in the US stock market, said Chinese experts on Tuesday, adding that hyping up racism and anti-China sentiment won't help the US deal with the pandemic at all.”</i></p> <p><i>“Zhao Lijian asked the US to be transparent about its epidemic situation, as Robert Redfield, admitted that some COVID-19 deaths have been misdiagnosed as influenza in the US.”</i></p> <p><i>“Zhao was repeating "the wrong conspiracy theory" similar to what US politicians use to smear China.”</i></p> <p><i>“it is totally reasonable for Zhao to question the US and to urge it to be transparent.”</i></p> <p><i>“The US should answer this question and be transparent to not only China, but also its own people and the rest of the world.”</i></p> <p><i>“The historic decline of US stock markets since the last financial crisis and appalling reaction to the epidemic situation made Trump lose support from Americans, so this also made him want to distract domestic attention from criticizing his lack of responsibility by blaming.”</i></p>			

“it seems US people aren't buying Trump's tactics to distract their attention,”

“Trump's irresponsible tweet that offended China seriously.”

"If Trump can't stop the current trend and potentially makes it worse [due to lack of management], when the stock market crashes to a lower level than before he got elected four years ago, he will surely lose the election."

“Trump could also further blame China on many other issues, such as unemployment and poor economic performance, so that he can fool US voters to forgive or ignore his administration's undesirable performance.”

“They were already informed, and still they failed to make efforts to prevent and control the outbreak. They can't just cover up their inability by blaming China and fool their own people,”

“the US only announced travel bans against other countries and hyped up racism to spread hatred without making any notable contribution to this global fight against COVID-19.”

“and innocent Americans who need masks and vital drugs badly will likely pay for the inability and ignorance of the Trump administration.”

Explanation

These all serve to characterize Trump and his administration. There are references to his failure in a variety of areas, including his inability to address and contain the COVID-19 pandemic, unemployment, and low economic performance. Additionally, the article paints Trump as a liar and cheat who misleads his constituents to hide his appalling administration failure. It is clear that there is great emphasis on the negative characteristics.

**National self-
glorification**

Semantic

China

Trump

Uses

“China has been open, transparent, and responsible in sharing information about COVID-19 with the WHO and other countries, including the United States, and these prevention and control measures adopted by the Chinese government have bought time for global prevention and control work.”

“The US heavily relies on imports of China-made medicines and medical materials. Based on humanitarian principles, China will keep providing assistance worldwide and won't cut off supplies to any country. But if the US provokes China, it would make it very difficult for China to assist the US.”

“Chinese pharmaceutical companies have supplied more than 90 percent of US antibiotics, vitamin C, ibuprofen and hydrocortisone, as well as 70 percent of acetaminophen and 40 to 45 percent of heparin in recent years.”

“Chinese professional teams have held many video conferences with US professionals to share data and keep them updated, and that China's public health authorities have also been communicating closely with the US CDC throughout the outbreak.”

“China dispatches a team of nine medical experts to Italy, on Thursday, to help fight the COVID-19 pandemic, along with 31 tons of medical supplies, including ICU ward equipment, protective outfits, and antiviral drugs.”

“Unshakable reputation”

“The warfare of public opinion launched by the US to stigmatize China is doomed to fail as too many facts have proven China's reputation and image in the international community is unshakable, and Washington can only “bring itself into disrepute.””

“China's assistance to countries like Italy, Japan and Iran has already won praise and appreciations from members of the international community and the World Health Organization (WHO).”

“More countries like Spain, Serbia and the Philippines are also seeking help from China as they trust China's experiences and credibility,so when asked who is the more responsible global power, who should be thanked and who should be blamed, people around the world know the answer clearly.”

“China will firmly stand with the Serbian people side by side to fight the virus, and China will provide emergency material assistance including ventilators, medical masks and protection suits to Serbia, and will send medical experts there to share experiences regarding epidemic prevention and control, as well as diagnosing and treating patients”

“Time to be tough”

“China will never ‘surrender’ to US moves to politicize virus source”

Explanation			
<p>These themes highlight China's constructive attitudes and initiatives in halting the spread of COVID-19. The assistance China provides to other countries throughout the pandemic is also highlighted. China, as a global power, thereby plays a beneficial role that strengthens its authority and responsibilities. Furthermore, the final two cases portray China as a country that does not accept surrender and might be difficult to retaliate against any offense.</p>			
Burden	Syntactic	China	Trump
Uses s			
<p><i>“by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the stock market.”</i></p> <p><i>“Trump's irresponsible tweet that offended China seriously is likely to trigger a "circuit breaker" for the stock market again.”</i></p> <p><i>"If Trump can't stop the current trend and potentially makes it worse [due to lack of management], when the stock market crashes to a lower level than before he got elected four years ago, he will surely lose the election."</i></p> <p><i>“if he turns provocations into concrete actions, China would surely retaliate and the world economy would be further compromised.”</i></p> <p><i>“if the US provokes China, it would make it very difficult for China to assist the US, ... and innocent Americans who need masks ... will likely pay for the inability and ignorance of the Trump administration.”</i></p> <p><i>“if China banned the export of drugs, "the US would sink into the hell of a novel coronavirus epidemic.”</i></p> <p><i>"this is the wrong prescription that may harm many more ordinary Americans."</i></p> <p><i>“there could be only one result of this - the US people will need to spend more money but can only buy less drugs.”</i></p>			
Explanation			

These themes illustrate the potential repercussions that the world, generally, and America, specifically, might experience if the provocative behavior persists.

Evidentiality

Syntactic

China

Trump

Uses

“Serbia's President praised China instead, saying it was the only country that would help.”

Explanation

In this instance, the president of Serbia commends China for its assistance during the pandemic. It is intended to show that China played a significant, beneficial role during the pandemic, a role that China is claimed to have assumed and a role that America consistently denies.

Generalization

semantic

Serbia

America & Europe

Uses

“He branded European solidarity a “fairytale.””

Explanation

The president of Serbia condemns the European assistance and describes it as a “fairy tale”. It is an evidence that hint to the negative participation of America during the pandemic.

Number game

Rhetoric

China

America

Uses s

“Volatility in US stocks surged to a record after benchmark indexes suffered the biggest rout since 1987, Bloomberg reported on Tuesday.”

“The Cboe Volatility Index closed Monday at 82.69 as the S&P 500 Index tumbled 12 percent.”

“The index's previously highest rating was 80.86 on November 20, 2008.”

“Chinese pharmaceutical companies have supplied more than 90 percent of US antibiotics, vitamin C, ibuprofen and hydrocortisone, as well as 70 percent of acetaminophen and 40 to 45 percent of heparin in recent years,”

“China dispatches a team of nine medical experts to Italy, on Thursday, to help fight the COVID-19 pandemic, along with 31 tons of medical supplies, including ICU”

Explanation

The statistics used in the first three instances refer to the failure of the American administration during Trump’s period. Whereas, those cited in last two instances highlight China's advantageous contributions.

Victimization

Semantic

China

America

Uses s

“as he wants to make Americans to blame China.”

“hyping up racism and anti-China sentiment.”

“The Chinese Foreign Ministry expressed strong indignation and firm opposition to Trump's tweet calling COVID-19 the "Chinese Virus.”

“Geng Shuang said at a press briefing Tuesday afternoon that Trump's act stigmatizes China, which China strongly condemns.”

"We urge the US side to immediately correct its mistakes and stop making groundless accusations against China."

“Where the virus had come from should be a topic for science rather than politics, and by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture,”

“Yang, ..., expressed strong objections over Washington's intent to "slander and smear China's efforts" in containing the COVID-19.”

“According to the facts, it was the US politicians who started the rumor offensive and began spreading baseless conspiracy theories, such as Senator Tom Cotton's claim that "the virus is related to China's bioweapon program" to insult and smear China without any hard evidence, and Pompeo also continually called the epidemic "Wuhan virus" despite the WHO formally naming it COVID-19 to avoid

discrimination.”

“Zhao was repeating "the wrong conspiracy theory" similar to what US politicians use to smear China.”

“it is time for China to be tough in striking back against the discriminatory and racist stance of the US.”

“Consequences of racism”

“Yang "any scheme to smear China will be doomed to fail" and China will counter such moves with determination.”

Explanation

With these instances, China is shown to be a victim of American activity.

Illegality

Pragmatic

China

America

Uses

"The World Health Organization and the international community are clearly opposed to linking viruses to specific countries and regions and to stigmatizing them."

“despite the WHO formally naming it COVID-19 to avoid discrimination.”

Explanation

The decision by the WHO to name the corona virus is mentioned in the article. It is meant to convey that what Americans do is illegal.

Example

Semantic

China

America

Uses

“Because the flu season in America started in September, and in October, the US military delegation came to Wuhan for the Military World Games, so it is totally possible that US military personnel unintentionally brought the virus to China, since at that time, no one in China knew the existence of COVID-19 if it really originated in the US.”

Explanation			
The history of the Military World Games, which are hosted in China and to which a US military group traveled before the outbreak, provides an explanation for the potential that COVID-19 could arise in America.			
Comparison	Semantic	Zhao	America
Uses s			
<i>"the wrong conspiracy theory" similar to what US politicians use to smear China."</i>			
<i>"Zhao's question for the US was neither an accusation nor a rumor, but a reasonable query that is totally different from US politicians' groundless rumors and insults against China."</i>			
Explanation			
In first example, Zhao tweet is considered similar to that of Trump and it might thus infuriate the Americans. In the second example, Jin Canrong disputes this assertion, arguing that the tweet poses a logical question that demands an immediate response.			
Metaphor	Rhetoric	China	America
Uses s			
<i>"it seems US people aren't buying Trump's tactics to distract their attention."</i>			
<i>"Trump's irresponsible tweet that offended China seriously is likely to trigger a "circuit breaker" for the stock market again as the tweet signaled a potential conflict launched by the US against China,"</i>			
<i>"If Trump can't stop the current trend and potentially makes it worse [due to lack of management]."</i>			
<i>"The warfare of public opinion launched by the US to stigmatize China is doomed to fail as too many facts have proven China's reputation and image in the international community is unshakable,"</i>			
<i>"this is the wrong prescription that may harm many more ordinary Americans."</i>			
<i>"He branded European solidarity a "fairytale," and praised China instead, saying it was the only country that would help."</i>			

Explanation			
<p>In first instance, Trump's strategy is contrasted with consumable goods. The journalist aims to convey through the use of this metaphor that Trump is attempting to trick American voters who have grown tired of his lies by accusing China.</p>			
<p>In the second instance, China is referred to metaphorically as the circuit breaker of the stock market; as a result, any additional American offenses will cause the market to halt. This is a definite threat coming from China.</p>			
<p>The current trend indicated in the third instance is where COVID-19 got its start. The idea is that the claim that COVID-19 originated in China is just a trend. Such a metaphor disproves the claim that COVID-19 originated in China.</p>			
<p>“The warfare of public opinion” also refers to accusing China of COVID-19 origin. The sentence condemns the stigmatization of China.</p>			
<p>Another usage of metaphor is made by Geng, a spokesperson for the Chinese Foreign Ministry, who calls Peter Navarro's recommendation to stop importing medical equipment from China “wrong prescription”. Geng compares Navarro's idea to a doctor's prescription, but it is incorrect, proving that America already has a health problem and will only become worse if it follows this advice. There is a reference to Trump’s administration failure.</p>			
<p>As there is no solidarity established during the epidemic, the last instance reduces "European solidarity" to a "fairy tale."</p>			
Repetition	Rhetoric	China	America
Uses			
<i>“he wants to make Americans to blame China”</i>			

*“the pandemic urgently need cooperation rather than being **blamed**”*

*“Trump could also further **blame** China on many other issues,”*

*“So how dare the Trump administration **blame** us?”*

*“More countries like Spain, Serbia and the Philippines are also seeking help from China as they trust China's experiences and credibility..... so when asked who is the more responsible global power, who should be thanked and who should be **blamed**, people around the world know the answer clearly, said Chinese experts.”*

*“Pompeo conveyed strong US objections to China's "efforts to shift **blame** for COVID-19 to the United States.””*

*“they **blame** Zhao for "infuriating" the US.”*

*“this is not the time to **blame** Zhao”*

*“The secretary stressed that "this is not the time to spread disinformation and outlandish **rumors**.”*

*“It was the US politicians who started the **rumor** offensive and began spreading baseless conspiracy theories.”*

*“Zhao's question for the US was neither an accusation nor a **rumor**,”*

*“but a reasonable query that is totally different from US politicians' groundless **rumors** and insults against China.”*

*“that Trump's act **stigmatizes** China.”*

*“The warfare of public opinion launched by the US to **stigmatize** China is doomed to fail.”*

*“The World Health Organization and the international community are clearly opposed to linking viruses to specific countries and regions and to **stigmatizing** them.”*

*“to insult and **smear** China without any hard evidence”*

*“Washington's intent to "slander and **smear** China's efforts" in containing the COVID-19.”*

*"Tom Cotton's claim that "the virus is related to China's bioweapon program" to insult and **smear** China"*

*"the wrong conspiracy theory" similar to what US politicians use to **smear** China."*

*"any scheme to **smear** China will be doomed to fail" and China will counter such moves with determination."*

*"his failure to ease panic in the US **stock market**."*

*"the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the **stock market**."*

*"The historic decline of US **stock markets**."*

*"trigger a "circuit breaker" for the **stock market** again"*

*"Volatility in US **stocks** surged."*

*"the **stock market** can at least see some positive signs,"*

*"when the **stock market** crashes to a lower level than before he got elected four years ago,"*

*"**Distracting attention**"*

*"this also made him want to **distract domestic attention** from criticizing his lack of responsibility by blaming China."*

*"Trump's tactics to **distract their attention**."*

*"Zhao Lijian on his personal Twitter account that asked the US to be **transparent** about its epidemic situation."*

*"He told the Global Times on Tuesday that it is totally reasonable for Zhao to question the US and to urge it to be **transparent**."*

*"The US should answer this question and be **transparent** to not only China."*

*"Yang said China has been open, **transparent**, and responsible in sharing information about COVID-19 with the WHO and other countries."*

*"it is totally reasonable for Zhao to **question** the US and to urge it to be transparent."*

*"The US should answer this **question**...."*

*"Zhao's **question** for the US was neither an accusation nor a rumor*

*"The US should answer this **question**."*

*"that it is totally reasonable for Zhao to **question** the US and to urge it to be transparent."*

*"but a reasonable **query** that is totally different from US politicians' groundless rumors."*

*"he only raised a reasonable **query** rather than spreading disinformation,"*

*"of the world could see a new **conflict** amid a pandemic."*

*"the tweet signaled a potential **conflict** launched by the US against China,"*

*"The warfare of public opinion launched by the US to stigmatize China is doomed to **fail**"*

*"any scheme to smear China will be doomed to **fail**"*

*"Trump's **failed** attempt to calm the hysteria in the US stock market, which has deteriorated due to his poor administration and could grow worse if he continues to provoke China, is a good example of this failure."*

Explanation

Repetition is typically used to stimulate and encourage the addressee to agree with the speaker's position. According to Johnstone (1987 cited in Pacheco, 1992: 165) repetition is "a powerful persuasive strategy and an essential cohesive strategy." In this article, repetition is utilized to fulfil this aim.

The verb "blame" is repeated 8 times, yet 5 of them are used in reference to Trump action. Orizu and He (2016: 4124) define the verb "blame" as "to blame an entity is to hold that entity morally responsible for doing something of a negative outcome." In this sense, Trump negative act of blaming is emphasized to give more excuses to

the Chinese reaction. In addition, “blame” is also used to mark the “blame shifting” game into which both powers involved. One uses of this is used by Pompeo to reject the act, Repetition in these instances is intended to emphasize the American’s negative act of blaming. Quoting Pompeo’s speech is intended to later justify Zhao’s question of transparency. The word "blame" is used twice in the article to indicate that Zhao is held accountable by Chinese experts for his tweet, but the reporter also finds other defenses for Zhao, arguing that now is not the time to assign blame and that Zhao's tweet is merely a “question” or “query” rather than an accusation.

Repetition of the word "rumor" is meant to refute Trump's claim that China is the virus's source and elicit sympathy for the victim from the recipient.

In addition to the term "rumor," the verbs "stigmatize" and "smear" are used to reveal America's intentions regarding China.

Additionally, the word "stock market" appears repeatedly to remind Americans of the failure of their president’s administration and to frighten the audience with the potential repercussions on the stock market that will effect the world, not just Americans.

To underscore Trump's fundamental objective behind blaming China, the phrase "distract attention" is used several times. In other cases, the term "transparent" is repeated in the form of a request made by Chinese politicians to Americans who were thought to be not transparent in stating the truth about the virus's origin unlike China which is always transparent.

The repetition of the word “question” and “query” are meant to drive home the point that Zhao's tweet is only a question, very different from Trump's, and that it never raises anger because it is reasonable. Additionally, it is simply meant to request that the US be open and honest when disseminating information about COVID-19. These are unmistakably efforts to defend Zhao's behavior in a positive light.

Additionally, the word conflict is used twice to establish the prospect of a future disagreement. Also, the word "fail" is used repeatedly in the instance that follow to

more precisely convey that the entire concept is repeated to disprove the legitimacy of American action.

Hyperbole

Rhetoric

China

America

Uses

China banned the export of drugs, "the US would sink into the hell of a novel coronavirus epidemic,"

Explanation

This overstated statement is meant to serve as a warning to the US that if China forbids the export of medications to America, the results will be catastrophic.

Appendix (viii)

The IDSs of the Chinese Article (2)

IDS	Level of the Strategy	In-group	Out-group
Derogation	Rhetorical	China	America
Uses			
<p><i>“With factories and stores closing down, lights being dimmed from Broadway to Las Vegas, and hospitals overwhelmed with critically ill patients, the American mood is confused, resentful and laced with fear.”</i></p> <p><i>“Lockdowns of hard-hit areas and shelter-in-place orders for major cities are essential to contain the outbreak but add to the growing psychological stress.”</i></p>			
Explanation			
<p>The two examples are used to allude to America's terrible and awful position after getting infected with the virus. It is designed to discredit Trump's earlier treatment of the virus. It also seeks to demonstrate that America is no better than China in dealing with the epidemic, and that such a situation horrifies Americans.</p>			
Implication	Pragmatic	China	America
Uses			
<p><i>“Sadly for the human record, scapegoating often emerges from reaction to disaster.”</i></p> <p><i>“After the devastating Great Kanto earthquake of 1923, ethnic Korean residents of Tokyo were rumored to be a cause of trouble and were massacred in the thousands.”</i></p> <p><i>“The punishing economic conditions of Germany after World War I are frequently cited as a key factor leading to a rise in anti-Semitism so toxic and pervasive that they led to genocide.”</i></p> <p><i>“However, the tribal fears invoked in border barriers, lockdowns, shutdowns and quarantines have put the very project of globalization on the defensive.”</i></p>			

Explanation			
<p>To illustrate the implications of blaming others, the writer outlines its history and then gives two well-known examples to help his reader connect what is occurring or what can happen later to the Chinese as a result of the American blame of the Chinese.</p> <p>The fourth instance hints to America as the driving force behind the globalization drive. The instance argues that the legislation of lockdowns and quarantine has a negative impact on the American economy, putting America in an unenviable position, prompting them to blame the Chinese.</p>			
Metaphor	Rhetorical	China	America
Uses			
<p><i>“A stealthy, highly contagious virus has caused a precipitous drop in the United States' stock market and sent shudders down the spine of a stalled economy.”</i></p> <p><i>“Thousands of planes have been idled, trains run empty and highways are free of cars, while the world's great tourist sites have turned into ghost towns.”</i></p> <p><i>“Barriers of minds nastier than physical boundaries”</i></p> <p><i>“Although there is a documented benefit to be found in social distancing and reduced flow of traffic, the introduction of border controls, travel shutdowns and the rise of physical barriers have been mirrored by the barriers developed in the minds and the wild imaginations of worried people everywhere.”</i></p> <p><i>“By the same weak leap of logic, when the disease also emerged in Thailand, Japan, the Republic of Korea and other neighboring countries, the world began to turn a jaundiced eye to China.”</i></p>			
Explanation			
<p>The first and second occurrences are both meant to showcase the terrible American scenario during the epidemic in order to educate the world that America, which is supposed to be magnificent in every way, seems to be not as it collapses after the first pandemic hit. In the first scenario, the American economy is likened to a human body whose spine is shuddering. Such a comparison indicates that the virus has a significant impact on the American economy. This metaphor is designed to</p>			

demonstrate the magnitude of the virus's impact on the already halted economy. The second instance discusses the effect of lockdowns and quarantine on communities, and towns are compared to ghost towns to represent emptiness.

The latter two examples link some people's intellectual limitations to physical impediments that hinder mobility. This parallel is meant to shame people who blame China for the virus's origins.

In the last example, the attitude of individuals from countries other than China toward China, which is characterized by a disapproving glance, is compared to a jaundiced eye. This metaphor seeks to demonstrate how people victimize Chinese people.

Victimization	Semantic	Wuhan people	Other Chinese people
Uses			
<i>“Yet the regrettable human tendency to discriminate quickly gelled and took root, and the initial reaction of some people in China was to be wary of compatriots from Wuhan.”</i>			
Explanation			
In this case, the reporter shows how Wuhan residents were harmed by other Chinese citizens following the virus's breakout in Wuhan. This victimization is the outcome of some people's limited thinking. The reporter aims to state that prejudice is a natural human propensity that practically everyone possesses.			
Burden	Syntactic	China	America
Example			
<i>“Politicians have their own agendas and prejudices”</i>			
<i>“A virus carries no passport —scientists and medical doctors know that better than anyone else — but politicians have their own agendas, and popular prejudice cannot be waved away with a magic wand.”</i>			
Explanation			

These two examples demonstrate the burden placed on the Chinese as a result of American politicians' agendas and prejudices towards China, which are difficult to correct.

Norm expression	Syntactic	China	America
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Uses

“There is hardly a nation on earth that has not been hit with the novel coronavirus, so international cooperation is essential.”

“Only scientists can definitively answer questions about the origin of the novel coronavirus, but the city of Wuhan, capital of Hubei province, is indelibly tied to public awareness of the disease because the first wave of the epidemic in China erupted there.”

“Reasonable people can disagree with Beijing and its policies.”

“Not everyone has to like Chinese food or Chinese culture.”

“But it is inexcusable to blame a disease that knows no boundaries and afflicts all humans regardless of race or an ethnic group or a faraway nation.”

“This is intellectually dishonest, and it is a cheap shot to deflect blame and arouse populist support.”

“It is racist, it is wrong and ruling US politicians owe us all an apology.”

“The views don't necessarily reflect those of China Daily.”

Explanation

Instead of blame, the preceding examples indicate what should be followed or done to cope with the virus. The first uses is a plea for nations to work together. While the second uses states that scientists should be allowed to establish the virus's origin. The other three examples demonstrate that people are not required to like Chinese food or culture, but they should not condemn China instead.

The following two examples demonstrate that accusing in order to gain popular support is dishonest and racist, and hence America should apologize to China.

The last instance shows that the article represents the reporter's viewpoint rather than the journal's stance.

Victimization

Semantic

China

America

Uses

“US blame game puts innocent people”

“However, far from China's shores, other names were being concocted to describe the perilous pathogen, and terms such as "Wuhan flu" and "Wuhan coronavirus" (which was used by The New York Times) began to be bandied about.”

“US Senator Tom Cotton from Arkansas throughout the crisis has made statements designed to inflame and arouse anti-China sentiment by blaming China for the virus.”

“Although Cotton's hatred for China predates the outbreak and is rooted in a rigid anti-communist worldview, he has exploited the epidemic by conflating his political enemy with the hated virus.”

“Anti-Asian abuse and violence on the rise”

“Elsewhere, prejudice was becoming more overt.”

“A White House aide joked about the China connection, telling CBS White House reporter Weijia Jiang that it was the "Kung Flu”. ”

“Around the same time, reports on social media and elsewhere described an uptick in anti-Asian abuse and violence.”

“New Yorker writer Jiayang Fan reported in a tweet that she was accosted by a stranger using vile, racist language when she stepped out of her front door to take out the garbage.”

“It left her feeling afraid to even walk down the street to go shopping.”

“Dozens, if not hundreds of such reports are now circulating on social media.”

“And it's only getting worse.”

“When questioned about his injudicious use of "Chinese Virus" at a press conference later in the day, Trump doubled down in his use of the term.”

“When Yamiche Alcindor of PBS asked him if using the term “Chinese virus” puts Asian-Americans at risk, Trump bristled: “No. Not at all. I think they would probably agree with it 100 percent. It comes from China.””

“The die is now cast for racial tensions to follow.”

Explanation

The examples above show how attempts are made to depict American actions that are thought to victimize Chinese people. Among these efforts is the labeling of the virus by some American politicians, which encourages anti-Asian violence and jeopardizes the American-Chinese community. The article also provides an instance of a Chinese-American journalist who was terrified because she was accosted in front of her home by a veiled American citizen. This scenario is used to demonstrate how the Chinese are mistreated.

Populism

Syntactic

China

America

Uses

“Manipulative populism at play in United States”

“Despite the incendiary rhetoric of a few hot heads, references to the virus designed to indict China as a co-conspirator faded in February, and the mainstream media, The New York Times included, was careful to stick to the scientific term COVID-19 or the more general term, coronavirus.”

“But in early March a new wave of stigmatizing language entered the American discourse by close associates of US President Donald Trump.”

“Manipulative populism and playing to the hidden prejudice of a conservative political base came into play.”

“It was no longer loud-mouth radio hosts and redneck politicians talking that way, and as such could not be easily dismissed.”

“Trump’s two-month long pretense that the virus was nothing more than the common flu was finally shaken by an undeniable outbreak in the US.”

“This incendiary term came short of tagging China directly, but by then the narrative of presumptive guilt had been well established and his own supporters were bad-mouthing China with increasing frequency.”

“The US leader's use of the term "foreign virus" on March 11 was eagerly picked up by his political base, and social media use of the term "surged into the tens of millions" according to the Atlantic Council's Digital Forensic Research Lab.”

“But looking weary in the face of mounting criticism of his failure to lead a national response to the pandemic, Trump suddenly joined the chorus of China-blaters as seen in this March 18 tweet from his official account:”

Explanation

The examples demonstrate how American politicians influence people's attitudes by influencing their brains. The instances demonstrate how successful populism is, as it drives many politicians, including Trump, who a Chinese defender at times, to join others who criticize China.

Actor description	Semantic	China	Trump
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Uses

“Unwilling to take blame, Trump found it useful to deflect criticism away from his own negligence by making withering use of the term "foreign virus".”

Explanation

This scenario aims to portray Trump as a deft dodger who blames China to avoid criticism after first dismissing the virus as a common flu.

Repetition	Rhetoric	China	America
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Uses

*“US **blame** game puts innocent people at risk”*

*“US top diplomat, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, started to use the terms "Wuhan virus" and "Chinese coronavirus" in official statements in the first week of March, giving political cover to closet racists anxious to pin **blame** on China.”*

*“But it is inexcusable to **blame** a disease that knows no boundaries and afflicts all humans regardless of race or an ethnic group or a faraway nation.”*

*“This is intellectually dishonest, and it is a cheap shot to deflect **blame** and arouse populist support.”*

*“US Senator Tom Cotton from Arkansas throughout the crisis has made statements designed to inflame and arouse **anti-China** sentiment by blaming China for the virus.”*

*“Although Cotton's hatred for China predates the outbreak and is rooted in a rigid **anti-communist** worldview, he has exploited the epidemic by conflating his political enemy with the hated virus.”*

*“**Anti-Asian** abuse and violence on the rise”*

*“Around the same time, reports on social media and elsewhere described an uptick in **anti-Asian** abuse and violence.”*

*“However, the tribal fears invoked in border **barriers**, lockdowns, shutdowns and quarantines have put the very project of globalization on the defensive.”*

*“**Barriers** of minds nastier than physical boundaries”*

*“Although there is a documented benefit to be found in social distancing and reduced flow of traffic, the introduction of border controls, travel shutdowns and the rise of physical **barriers** have been mirrored by the **barriers** developed in the minds and the wild imaginations of worried people everywhere.”*

Explanation

The word blame is used four times to emphasize the victimhood theme that the text is designed to examine. The article explains how this behavior affects American-Chinese people and discloses the objective of doing so (mostly to acquire public support). It also demonstrates that this act of blaming is an unforgivable act since it is irrational to blame a virus.

The American politicians' hostility toward the Chinese is stressed. The Chinese are referred to as Asian, China, and communist throughout the article, but in all of these allusions, the particle anti is included to accentuate this animosity and antagonism. The term "barrier" appears four times. The first alludes to the actual barriers created during quarantine; the other three, however, pertain to the impalpable walls that have arisen in the minds of individuals who link the virus to China.

Evidentiality	Syntactic	China	America
Uses			
<p><i>“The US president, for reasons best known to him, has been a credible defender of China on certain policy points and has generally resisted the vocal deprecations used by intemperate political advisers such as Stephen Miller, Peter Navarro, and Steve Bannon.”</i></p>			
Explanation			
<p>The above uses demonstrates the influence of populism on Trump. Trump's shift from defender to blamer of China reinforces this impact.</p>			

Appendix (ix)

The IN Techniques of the American Article (1)

Uses	IN technique	Explanation
<p>Its Coronavirus Cases Dwindling, China Turns Focus Outward</p> <p>Beijing is mounting a humanitarian aid blitz in countries struggling with their own outbreaks.</p> <p>In doing so, it's stepping into a role the West once dominated.</p>	<p>Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice</p>	<p>The article is making observations about the state of affairs in China following the decline in coronavirus cases. He recognizes that China's assistance to other nations has a hidden objective, namely to replace the position that the West formerly had.</p>
<p>China's leader, Xi Jinping, pledged to send more medical experts to Italy this week, on the same day Beijing sent 2,000 rapid diagnostic tests to the Philippines.</p> <p>Serbia's president pleaded for assistance not from the country's neighbors in Europe, which restricted the export of needed medical equipment, but from China.</p>		

		how Europe has given in to Chinese agendas.
<p>“European solidarity does not exist,” the Serbian leader, Aleksandar Vucic, said when he announced a state of emergency in televised remarks.</p> <p>“That was a fairy tale on paper.</p> <p>I believe in my brother and friend Xi Jinping, and I believe in Chinese help.”</p>	Direct quotation	These are direct quotation from the Serbian president. They are cited as proof that the Europeans catered to Chinese ambitions.
<p>Only a few weeks ago, China was overwhelmed by the coronavirus epidemic that began in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, accepting donations of masks and other medical supplies from nearly 80 nations and 10 international organizations.</p>	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	Prior to China's commitment to assisting other nations, the reporter makes notice of the situation there. They accept medical donations from several nations, which is also mentioned.
<p>Now, with new daily cases at home dwindling into the single digits, China is mounting a diplomatic offensive to help as the rest of the world struggles to get the virus under control.</p> <p>From Japan to Iraq, Spain to Peru, it has provided or pledged humanitarian assistance in the form of donations or medical expertise — an aid blitz that is giving China the chance to reposition itself not as the authoritarian incubator of a pandemic but as a responsible global leader at a moment of worldwide crisis.</p> <p>In doing so, it has stepped into a role that the West once dominated in times of natural disaster or public health emergency, and that President Trump has increasingly ceded in his “America First” retreat from international engagement.</p>	Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice	These occurrences provide as commentary on China's assistance drive. They disclose the purposes behind this assistance, which is to take over a position that the West formerly had in times of natural calamity.
<p>“This could be the first major global crisis in decades without meaningful U.S. leadership and with significant Chinese leadership,” said Rush Doshi, director of the China Strategy Initiative at the Brookings Institution in Washington.</p>	Direct quotation	This quotation is used to support the claim that, prior to this crisis, America had the major role in controlling the crises.
<p>He noted that only a few years ago the United States led the fight against Ebola.</p>	Indirect quotation	Another evidence for the responsible role America had before this crisis.
<p>The outbreak that started in Wuhan, which has infected nearly 200,000 people and killed nearly 8,000 worldwide, has been a staggering setback for Mr. Xi’s leadership, fanning discontent at home and questions abroad about the efficacy of the Communist state.</p>	Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice	In order to comment on the failure of the Chinese leader and his communist party, the outbreak in China and its severe effects are brought up.
<p>Now, the global failures in confronting the pandemic from Europe to the United States have given the Chinese leadership a platform to prove</p>	Using language and forms	The examples mostly speak to China's political ambition and its botched strategy of using their big finances to

its model works — and potentially gain some lasting geopolitical currency.	that seem to echo certain ways of communication, discussions among other people, and types of documents	achieve this goal. Consequently, it also echoes a political and economic language.
As it has done in the past, the Chinese state is using its extensive tools and deep pockets to build partnerships around the world, relying on trade, investments and, in this case, an advantageous position as the world’s largest maker of medicines and protective masks.		
The largess is going a long way to help temper popular anger over its initial mishandling of the outbreak that is now wreaking havoc on every continent bar Antarctica.		
China has long aspired to assert a more prominent role in the United Nations and other international organizations while projecting its political, economic and military influence in more and more parts of the world — at times in direct competition with the United States.		
“I don’t know and now I don’t care,” Michele Geraci, a former undersecretary in the Italian economic development ministry, said in an interview when asked whether the assistance reflected China’s geopolitical ambitions as much as humanitarian concerns.	Direct quotation	The former undersecretary of the Italian ministry of economic development is directly quoted in this sentence. It is explained how the European nations' negligence contributed to China's ambition.
“If somebody is worried China is doing too much, the gap is open to other countries,” he said.		
“This is what other countries should do.”		
He said the urgent issue was to provide aid to save lives, something that Italy’s allies in the European Union were unable or unwilling to do.	Indirect quotation	The reporter is referencing Geraci's declaration that the European nations are unable to offer assistance.
“China is now trying to repair its severely damaged international image due to its mishandling of the outbreak in Wuhan in early January,” Minxin Pei, a professor of government at Claremont McKenna College in California, wrote in an email.	Direct quotation	These quotations highlight China's principal objectives and the rationale for its humanitarian help.
“Donating medical supplies shows China is a responsible and generous world power,” he added.		
“It is also touting its success in containing the coronavirus outbreak to suggest its one-party regime is superior to the stumbling democracies in the West, in particular the U.S.”		
On Wednesday, China said it would provide two million surgical masks, 200,000 advanced masks and 50,000 testing kits to Europe.	Indirect quotation	The amount of assistance that China intends to offer is indicated.
“We’re grateful for China’s support,” Ursula von der Leyen, the president of the European Commission, said in tweet.	Direct quotation	To demonstrate how the European countries have withdrawn, a remark from the head of the European Commission is given.
“We need each other’s support in times of need.”		

One of China's leading entrepreneurs, Jack Ma, offered to donate 500,000 tests and one million masks to the United States, where hospitals are facing shortages despite having weeks of notice to prepare.	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	Another references to the amount of the aids the Chinese are providing to certain nations.
In February, the United States flew in 17 tons of supplies to Wuhan aboard four flights that evacuated Americans from the city.		
"This is no longer a challenge that a country can solve on its own, but it requires all of us to work together," Mr. Ma's foundation said in a statement that listed donations to dozens of countries, including all 54 nations in Africa.	Direct quotation	The use of this quotation demonstrates how China exports its culture to the rest of the globe.
The statement went on to cite Mr. Ma's use on Weibo, a social media platform, of a familiar phrase in the American political lexicon: "United we stand, divided we fall."	Using recognizable phrasing, terminology associated with specific people or groups of people or particular documents	The usage of an American expression by a Chinese person is used to support the claim that China wants to occupy a position that was previously held by America.
Chinese officials have insisted that a pandemic should be an arena for political cooperation, not competition.	Indirect quotation	Another instance of Chinese intent on exporting a favorable image is given.
China's success in slowing the disease's spread, however, has emboldened officials and state media to push back harder — at times clumsily.	Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice	This demonstrates how Chinese people use opportunities to forward their agenda.
One foreign ministry spokesman, Zhao Lijian, floated a conspiracy theory that the United States Army was behind the virus, while another squabbled with Mario Vargas Llosa, the Peruvian author and Nobel Prize laureate, over a newspaper column he wrote about the pandemic.	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	Here are some examples of actions taken by Chinese politicians against the United States.
The state news media has also highlighted the chaos in Europe and the United States with something close to schadenfreude.	Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice	The reporter makes observations about how the Chinese media portrays the effects of the outbreak in America.
People's Daily cheered the news this week that the pace of infections and deaths overseas now exceeds that inside China.		
Early Wednesday, the foreign ministry announced that it was expelling most American	Indirect quotation	The Chinese ministry has announced that it is expelling the American

<p>correspondents from The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal and The Washington Post, saying it was retaliating for moves by the Trump administration against Chinese journalists in the United States.</p>		<p>correspondents in retaliation for the American move against Chinese journalists.</p>
<p>“The coronavirus pandemic has become a battleground,” said Bruno Maçães, a former secretary of state for European Affairs in Portugal who is now a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute.</p>	<p>Direct quotation</p>	<p>These quotations emphasize China's primary objectives, which it uses the crisis to further.</p>
<p>“I see China focused on using the crisis as an opportunity to play up the superiority of its model.”</p>		
<p>“I think this also shows what climate change could look like in the future,” he added, “less an opportunity for global cooperation and more the background for geopolitical competition, with every major actor trying to do better than its rivals.”</p>		
<p>China’s critics dismiss the assistance as hollow gestures, even cynical ones.</p>	<p>Mentioning of a person, document, or statements</p>	<p>The Chinese assistance is used by critics to defend their reluctance.</p>
<p>Many in Italy, for example, angrily pointed out that China was selling masks, respirators and other medical equipment, not donating them, and claimed that some of the materials were meant for Chinese citizens in the country.</p>	<p>Indirect quotation</p>	<p>These statements expose China's careless, unfair, and unequal act of assistance distribution while they pretend to give aid to other countries.</p>
<p>Others have warned that China was using its dominant role in the production of respirators and masks to reward friendly nations.</p>		
<p>China made half the world’s masks before the coronavirus emerged there and it has greatly expanded production nearly 12-fold since then, although it has kept more of the supply for itself.</p>		
<p>Li Xingqian, the director of international trade at the commerce ministry in Beijing, said in a recent briefing that the government had not issued any rule to stop exports, but simply needed to meet strong domestic demand for masks and other protective equipment.</p>		
<p>For countries on the receiving end of China’s largess, questions about the country’s motives have largely taken a back seat.</p>	<p>Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice</p>	<p>The reporter makes comments on the countries who take Chinese aid without enquiring as to what their goals are.</p>
<p>That has been especially clear in Iraq, a country that has been a focus of American foreign policy for decades.</p>		

<p>Ten days ago, a team of seven Chinese medical experts stepped off an Iraqi Airlines plane in Baghdad bearing medical equipment and supplies.</p>	<p>Indirect quotation</p>	<p>Iraq is one of the nations that accept the Chinese aids.</p>
<p>Those included two machines that will allow Iraqi lab technicians to more than quadruple the number of coronavirus tests they do every day, according to doctors dealing with the outbreak.</p>		
<p>“The Iraqi people value this initiative of the Chinese people,” Jassim Al-Falahi, the deputy minister of health, said as he met the arriving team.</p>	<p>Direct quotation</p>	<p>The quotation is provided to demonstrate how grateful Iraqis are for Chinese support.</p>
<p>In the days since, the Chinese experts have begun to brief doctors and health officials about steps to combat the coronavirus, conducting some discussions by teleconference with Iraqi hospital leaders, according to Dr. Hassan Al-Tamimi, the director general of Baghdad’s Medical City Teaching Hospital Complex.</p>	<p>Indirect quotation</p>	<p>These inferred statements give a glimpse of one of China's underlying motives for aiding other nations.</p>
<p>A statement by the Iraqi foreign ministry made clear that the coronavirus was only one of the projects the two countries would be working on together: The others include the oil industry and updating some of Iraq’s aging electricity infrastructure.</p>		
<p>It is not clear whether the Iraqis fully absorbed the lessons the Chinese have offered.</p>	<p>Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice</p>	<p>The purpose of this query is to highlight the motivations for this Chinese aid.</p>
<p>At a signing ceremony on Tuesday for the installation of a new lab at Medical City, the Chinese ambassador to Iraq, Zhang Tao, appeared visibly anxious.</p>	<p>Mentioning of a person, document, or statements</p>	<p>This event is mentioned by the writer as proof that China wants to benefit in numerous ways from aiding other countries.</p>
<p>“Really, there are many people in this room, important people, government advisers and ministers — none of them is wearing a mask or gloves,” Mr. Zhang told Mohammed Waheen, a pulmonologist at Medical City Teaching Hospital, who also attended.</p>	<p>Direct quotation</p>	<p>Here are several indications that China may be concealing something.</p>
<p>“Your prime minister is more than 70 years old,” Dr. Waheeb said, recalling his conversation with the ambassador.</p>		
<p>“You are not taking this seriously.”</p>		

Appendix (x)

The IN Techniques of the American Article (2)

Uses	IN techniques	Explanation
U.S. and China Trade Barbs Over What to Call Coronavirus	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice.	The article discusses what transpired during the allegations exchanged between China and America. The name of the virus is the primary source of these allegations amongst each other. About the origin of the virus, the reporter makes observations about what is happening between China and America. In each of these cases, the topic is the genesis of the virus and the response of the political class.
U.S. officials have used 'Wuhan virus' or 'Chinese coronavirus' as labels; Chinese officials question claims virus necessarily began in China		
The U.S. and China are tussling over what to call the fast-spreading coronavirus and where it originated, as the pandemic grows ever more politically charged.		
With the virus now threatening the U.S., Trump administration officials in recent days have stepped up their attempts to characterize the coronavirus's origin as Chinese.		
Senior U.S. officials, including Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, have referred to the pathogen as the "Wuhan virus" or the "Chinese coronavirus," rather than using the name Covid-19, the World Health Organization's designation for the disease caused by the virus.		
China says it has acted responsibly and that no evidence has definitively determined where the coronavirus originated, despite its initial detection in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, where the bulk of the early cases appeared.		
No one doubts the outbreak was first detected late last year in Wuhan and spread among workers and customers at a local seafood market.		
Chinese officials, and some scientists, have pushed back especially hard against Mr. Pompeo for appearing to use the crisis to further his hard political line against China.		
Senior U.S. officials, including Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, have referred to the pathogen as the "Wuhan virus" or the "Chinese coronavirus," rather than using the name Covid-19, the World Health Organization's designation for the disease caused by the virus.	Mentioning of a person, document,	In these instances, a number of American politicians along with their statements. Among them are Pompeo and McCarthy, who called the virus the Chinese virus.

<p>In response, China has accused the Trump administration of racism and xenophobia, casting itself as a victim amid intensifying international criticism that Beijing moved too slowly and suppressed information about the new coronavirus that might have headed it off earlier.</p>	<p>or statements</p>	<p>The Chinese administration reaction to the act of naming the virus is also mentioned.</p>
<p>China says it has acted responsibly and that no evidence has definitively determined where the coronavirus originated, despite its initial detection in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, where the bulk of the early cases appeared.</p>		
<p>On Wednesday night, in an address from the Oval Office, President Trump avoided the WHO's preferred terminology, describing the pathogen as "a foreign virus" and as "the coronavirus outbreak that started in China."</p>		
<p>But Chinese officials have rejected suggestions it necessarily began there.</p>		
<p>Zeng Guang, chief scientist of epidemiology at the China Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, told domestic media this month the WHO should study coronaviruses detected elsewhere around the world to see if they match.</p>		
<p>Chinese officials, and some scientists, have pushed back especially hard against Mr. Pompeo for appearing to use the crisis to further his hard political line against China.</p>		
<p>"This is the Wuhan coronavirus," he said in an interview last week.</p>	<p>direct quotation</p>	<p>These quotations mostly focus on the debate around the coronavirus's origin.</p>
<p>"No less authority than the Chinese Communist Party said it came from Wuhan.</p>		
<p>So don't take Mike Pompeo's word for it."</p>		
<p>Geng Shuang, a spokesman for China's Foreign Ministry, denounced the U.S. on Thursday as "immoral and irresponsible," calling on officials in Washington to "concentrate their energy on responding to the virus and promoting cooperation, and not on shifting the blame to China."</p>		
<p>Asked for evidence that the virus had originated anywhere other than central China, Mr. Geng called it "an issue of science," adding:</p>		
<p>"We oppose the stigmatization and making an issue out of this."</p>		
<p>Geng Shuang, a spokesman for China's Foreign Ministry, denounced the U.S. on Thursday as "immoral and irresponsible," calling on officials in Washington to "concentrate their energy on responding to the virus and promoting</p>	<p>Mentioning of a person, document, or statements</p>	<p>This technique is mostly used to bring attention to statements made by certain people, especially those that discuss the origins of the corona virus.</p>

cooperation, and not on shifting the blame to China.”		
Scrutiny of China has intensified as the disease spread beyond its borders—to more than 100 countries, according to WHO data—amid evidence Beijing suppressed news of the outbreak during its initial weeks.		
Five virologists in the U.S. and Europe told The Wall Street Journal they have seen no convincing evidence that the coronavirus originated anywhere but in China.		
Zeng Guang, chief scientist of epidemiology at the China Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, told domestic media this month the WHO should study coronaviruses detected elsewhere around the world to see if they match.	Indirect quotation	These quotes primarily focus on the inception of COVID-19 as perceived from the perspective of several Chinese leaders and scholars.
Five virologists in the U.S. and Europe told The Wall Street Journal they have seen no convincing evidence that the coronavirus originated anywhere but in China.		
But health experts say outbreaks often put governments on the defensive, since they often carry big economic and social consequences.		
Asked for evidence that the virus had originated anywhere other than central China, Mr. Geng called it “an issue of science,” adding:		
Scrutiny of China has intensified as the disease spread beyond its borders—to more than 100 countries, according to WHO data—amid evidence Beijing suppressed news of the outbreak during its initial weeks.	comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice.	These often concentrate on responses to certain pronouncements, remarks, or even acts undertaken by various American or Chinese officials in connection with the debate about the virus's origin.
Significant scientific questions do remain, including exactly how a contagious and little-understood virus jumped from animals, the believed host of the virus, to humans.		
Pinning down the origin can help scientists better understand how to contain the current pandemic and address future outbreaks.		
While it is important to understand the origins of a virus, “countries are understandably concerned about being blamed,” said Keiji Fukuda, a former WHO official who now teaches at the University of Hong Kong.		
While it is important to understand the origins of a virus, “countries are understandably concerned about being blamed,” said Keiji Fukuda, a former WHO official who now teaches at the University of Hong Kong.		

<p>“The naming of these epidemics you think is straightforward, but it turns out to be very sensitive,” he said.</p>		
<p>“We had to find a name that did not refer to a geographical location, an animal, an individual or group of people,” WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus said at the time, underlining the importance of avoiding “names that can be inaccurate or stigmatizing.”</p>		
<p>While it is important to understand the origins of a virus, “countries are understandably concerned about being blamed,” said Keiji Fukuda, a former WHO official who now teaches at the University of Hong Kong.</p>	<p>Mentioning of a person, document, or statements</p>	<p>This technique focuses on quoting remarks made by various Chinese leaders and academics who address the virus's origin.</p>
<p>“We had to find a name that did not refer to a geographical location, an animal, an individual or group of people,” WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus said at the time, underlining the importance of avoiding “names that can be inaccurate or stigmatizing.”</p>		
<p>Five virologists in the U.S. and Europe told The Wall Street Journal they have seen no convincing evidence that the coronavirus originated anywhere but in China.</p>		
<p>When the WHO unveiled the name in February, 99% of the confirmed cases were in China.</p>		
<p>Dr. Zhong Nanshan, a respected Chinese epidemiologist, has said the virus didn’t necessarily originate in China.</p>		
<p>Chinese diplomats, meanwhile, have been emphasizing the still-mysterious nature of the coronavirus.</p>		
<p>“So far, studies by scientists from countries like the United States, Europe and Japan show that the source of novel coronavirus is still inconclusive,” Lin Songtian, China’s ambassador to South Africa, said in a speech last week.</p>		
<p>Blandly, Covid-19 stands for a coronavirus disease detected in 2019.</p>	<p>comment or evaluation</p>	
<p>China’s pushback against the prevailing evidence of a Chinese origin began in earnest on Feb. 27, roughly a month after authorities locked down Wuhan.</p>	<p>on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked</p>	
<p>Several Chinese government officials and scientists have since echoed his skeptical tone, though without providing any evidence to back up the claim.</p>	<p>voice.</p>	

<p>“So far, studies by scientists from countries like the United States, Europe and Japan show that the source of novel coronavirus is still inconclusive,” Lin Songtian, China’s ambassador to South Africa, said in a speech last week.</p>	<p>direct quotation</p>	<p>All these instances are discussing the origin of the virus by different politicians and experts.</p>		
<p>“It first appeared in China, but not necessarily originated in China.”</p>				
<p>“It might be US army who brought the epidemic to Wuhan.”</p>				
<p>“This line of research is very important, but has limitations,” he said.</p>				
<p>In terms of human-to-human transmission, the mission summary noted, “most of the recorded cases were imported from or had direct links to Wuhan/Hubei.”</p>				
<p>During the ministry’s regular briefing Friday, the spokesman Mr. Geng sidestepped questions about his colleague’s accusations of a U.S. military role by reiterating criticism of some U.S. comments and stressing the importance of science to address uncertainties about the outbreak’s origin.</p>	<p>Mentioning of a person, document, or statements</p>	<p>This technique focuses on quoting remarks made by various Chinese leaders and academics who address the virus's origin.</p>		
<p>A number of China’s own scientific findings appear to place the epidemic’s origins in China, including a landmark paper by 29 scientists at the Wuhan Institute of Virology that said the novel coronavirus shared 96.2% of the genome sequence of one in bats from another province, Yunnan.</p>				
<p>Early in the outbreak, even China’s own media outlets used the “Wuhan virus” moniker, including one January headline in the official Xinhua News Agency and several in the Communist Party-controlled Global Times.</p>				
<p>Authorities last month in northern China also detained a man for spreading a rumor suggesting U.S. military involvement in the coronavirus spread.</p>				
<p>A precise geographic location for the coronavirus’s origin may never be known, according to Alexander E. Gorbalenya, a microbiologist at Leiden University Medical Center in the Netherlands.</p>				
<p>A WHO-China joint mission to Wuhan last month endorsed the genome findings that bats likely served as a “reservoir” for the new coronavirus.</p>				
<p>A precise geographic location for the coronavirus’s origin may never be known,</p>			<p>indirect quotation</p>	<p>Another example of indirect quotation that refers to the origin of the virus.</p>

according to Alexander E. Gorbalenya, a microbiologist at Leiden University Medical Center in the Netherlands.		
What remained unclear was the identification of one or more “intermediate” hosts before it jumped to humans.	comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice.	In order to make the viewers suspect a conspiracy, the reporter is alluding to the existence of a strange host that can change an animal-to-human virus.

Appendix (xi)

The IN Techniques of the Chinese Article (1)

Uses	IN techniques	Explanation
Trump tweet infuriates China	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	This story makes mention of Trump's tweet in which he calls the virus the "China virus."
China will never 'surrender' to US moves to politicize virus source	comment or evaluation on a statement,	The reporter makes observations about how China feels about how the virus has been politicized in the United States.

	text, or otherwise invoked voice.	
<p>US President Donald Trump using the term "Chinese Virus" to refer to the COVID-19 in his tweet is an act of inability and irresponsibility, as he wants to make Americans to blame China and cover his own administration's terrible response to the predictable outbreak and his failure to ease panic in the US stock market, said Chinese experts on Tuesday, adding that hyping up racism and anti-China sentiment won't help the US deal with the pandemic at all.</p>	Indirect quotation	All these examples express some Chinese politicians' attitudes of Trump's act of stigmatizing china. They totally object his naming the virus as the Chinese virus.
<p>The Chinese Foreign Ministry expressed strong indignation and firm opposition to Trump's tweet calling COVID-19 the "Chinese Virus."</p>		
<p>Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng Shuang said at a press briefing Tuesday afternoon that Trump's act stigmatizes China, which China strongly condemns.</p>		
<p>"The World Health Organization and the international community are clearly opposed to linking viruses to specific countries and regions and to stigmatizing them," Geng said.</p>	direct quotation	These comments are meant to demonstrate the brutality of Trump's decision to name the virus, which was condemned by the WHO and the rest of the world.
<p>"We urge the US side to immediately correct its mistakes and stop making groundless accusations against China."</p>		
<p>Where the virus had come from should be a topic for science rather than politics, and by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the stock market, as the two biggest economies of the world could see a new conflict amid a pandemic that has already brought serious harms to the world economy, analysts warned.</p>	Indirect quotation	The first quotation is intended to alert the audience to the dangers of America's continued provocation of China. The second illustration is meant to highlight the US side's general lack of openness. The last example is meant to show the American inability to cope with the virus.
<p>Some observers noted that Trump's tweet could be a reaction to a tweet sent by Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Zhao Lijian on his personal Twitter account that asked the US to be transparent about its epidemic situation, as Robert Redfield, director of the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), openly admitted last week at a hearing at the House of Representatives on the outbreak, that some COVID-19 deaths have been misdiagnosed as influenza in the US.</p>		
<p>On Monday, in a phone call requested by US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to Chinese State Councilor Yang Jiechi, Pompeo conveyed strong US objections to China's "efforts to shift blame for COVID-19 to the United States."</p>		
<p>The secretary stressed that "this is not the time to spread disinformation and outlandish rumors,"</p>	direct quotation	This quotation refers to Trump's act and describes it as an outlandish rumor.

according to the website of the US Department of State.		
Yang, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee and the director of the Office of Foreign Affairs of the CPC Central Committee, expressed strong objections over Washington's intent to "slander and smear China's efforts" in containing the COVID-19.	indirect quotation	These indirect quotations are examples of how certain Chinese authorities disagree with the actions taken by US lawmakers towards China.
Yang said China has been open, transparent, and responsible in sharing information about COVID-19 with the WHO and other countries, including the United States, and these prevention and control measures adopted by the Chinese government have bought time for global prevention and control work, Xinhua reported.		
According to the facts, it was the US politicians who started the rumor offensive and began spreading baseless conspiracy theories, such as Senator Tom Cotton's claim that "the virus is related to China's bioweapon program" to insult and smear China without any hard evidence, and Pompeo also continually called the epidemic "Wuhan virus" despite the WHO formally naming it COVID-19 to avoid discrimination.	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	Here, a few American politicians are named in order to demonstrate who is specifically adopting a hostile position toward China.
Some Chinese analysts worry that Zhao's tweets may cause the US to retaliate, and they blame Zhao for "infuriating" the US. They also thought Zhao was repeating "the wrong conspiracy theory" similar to what US politicians use to smear China.	Indirect quotation	The first illustration provides further evidence to support Zhao's query. The second example focuses on Canrong's approach of accuse Zhao of retaliating against the American lawmakers. Since the US military group visited Wuhan in October and the flu season there began in September, he thinks Zhao's query is legitimate.
Jin Canrong, associate dean of Renmin University of China's School of International Studies in Beijing, disagrees with this opinion.		
He told the Global Times on Tuesday that it is totally reasonable for Zhao to question the US and to urge it to be transparent.		
Because the flu season in America started in September, and in October, the US military delegation came to Wuhan for the Military World Games, so it is totally possible that US military personnel unintentionally brought the virus to China, since at that time, no one in China knew the existence of COVID-19 if it really originated in the US, Jin said.		
Zhao's question for the US was neither an accusation nor a rumor, but a reasonable query that is totally different from US politicians' groundless rumors and insults against China, Jin noted.		
"The US should answer this question and be transparent to not only China, but also its own people and the rest of the world."	direct quotation	The US is compelled by Jin Canrong to respond to Zhao's query.

<p>After the Trump's tweet was released on Tuesday, more Chinese experts noted that this is not the time to blame Zhao and "surrender" to the US, as he only raised a reasonable query rather than spreading disinformation, and it is time for China to be tough in striking back against the discriminatory and racist stance of the US.</p>	<p>indirect quotation</p>	<p>These illustrations clarify why American politicians blame China for the virus' spread, which is mostly attributable to their incapacity to combat the infection and to every administrative failure. The examples also allude to the stock market repercussions of continued American provocation of China. There are additional allusions to the percentage of Americans who fall short of certain life criteria.</p>
<p>The historic decline of US stock markets since the last financial crisis and appalling reaction to the epidemic situation made Trump lose support from Americans, so this also made him want to distract domestic attention from criticizing his lack of responsibility by blaming China, said Jin.</p>		
<p>However, this tactic may neither help Trump to regain support nor protect US people from COVID-19, and according to the current feedback from the US public on the internet, it seems US people aren't buying Trump's tactics to distract their attention, said Diao Daming, a US studies expert from Renmin University of China.</p>		
<p>Trump's irresponsible tweet that offended China seriously is likely to trigger a "circuit breaker" for the stock market again as the tweet signaled a potential conflict launched by the US against China, amid the pandemic, said Lü Xiang, a research fellow on US studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing.</p>		
<p>Volatility in US stocks surged to a record after benchmark indexes suffered the biggest rout since 1987, Bloomberg reported on Tuesday.</p>		
<p>The Cboe Volatility Index closed Monday at 82.69 as the S&P 500 Index tumbled 12 percent.</p>		
<p>The index's previously highest rating was 80.86 on November 20, 2008.</p>		
<p>At this moment, countries which become impacted by the pandemic urgently need cooperation rather than being blamed so that the stock market can at least see some positive signs, otherwise it may only add more uncertainty and panic, Lü said.</p>		
<p>"If Trump can't stop the current trend and potentially makes it worse [due to lack of management], when the stock market crashes to a lower level than before he got elected four years ago, he will surely lose the election."</p>	<p>Direct quotation</p>	<p>a warning about what will happen to the stock market if Americans keep upping the ante with China.</p>
<p>For the next step, based on Trump's current stance, his administration may potentially encourage those US firms which are particularly affected by COVID-19 to sue China for "compensation" or force China to pay for US losses in the pandemic, Jin said.</p>	<p>Indirect quotation</p>	<p>The purpose of the first three instances is to paint Trump as a liar and fraud who would say anything to escape the consequences of his failure. Subsequent instances make reference to Chinese sentiments if such things do occur. The most recent instances guarantee that</p>
<p>Trump could also further blame China on many other issues, such as unemployment and poor economic performance, so that he can fool US</p>		

<p>voters to forgive or ignore his administration's undesirable performance.</p>		<p>China will continue its mission of aiding other countries.</p>
<p>He would then use such excuses to manipulate the exchange rate of the US dollar and sanction China's high-tech firms to force manufacturing industries to return to the US, or even tear up the signed trade deal to divert domestic attention, Chinese experts commented.</p>		
<p>No matter what he does, if he turns provocations into concrete actions, China would surely retaliate and the world economy would be further compromised, Jin noted.</p>		
<p>Yang told Pompeo via phone call on Monday that "any scheme to smear China will be doomed to fail" and China will counter such moves with determination.</p>		
<p>The US heavily relies on imports of China-made medicines and medical materials.</p>		
<p>Based on humanitarian principles, China will keep providing assistance worldwide and won't cut off supplies to any country.</p>		
<p>But if the US provokes China, it would make it very difficult for China to assist the US, experts said, and innocent Americans who need masks and vital drugs badly will likely pay for the inability and ignorance of the Trump administration, said a Beijing-based expert on epidemic prevention and control who asked for anonymity.</p>		
<p>Chinese pharmaceutical companies have supplied more than 90 percent of US antibiotics, vitamin C, ibuprofen and hydrocortisone, as well as 70 percent of acetaminophen and 40 to 45 percent of heparin in recent years, the New York Times reported on March 11.</p>		
<p>An article published on March 4 by the Xinhua News Agency said that if China banned the export of drugs, "the US would sink into the hell of a novel coronavirus epidemic," so the US should be grateful rather than accuse China for political purposes.</p>		
<p>The Beijing-based expert noted that Chinese professional teams have held many video conferences with US professionals to share data and keep them updated, and that China's public health authorities have also been communicating closely with the US CDC throughout the outbreak.</p>		
<p>"So how dare the Trump administration blame us? They were already informed, and still they failed to make efforts to prevent and control the outbreak. They can't just cover up their inability by blaming China and fool their own people," he noted.</p>	<p>Direct quotation</p>	<p>An official from China expresses his outrage at the American charge against China. He maintains that the Chinese were very open with the US and disclosed all relevant information concerning the virus.</p>

White House trade advisor Peter Navarro told CNBC on Monday that he's preparing an executive order that "would help relocate medical supply chains from overseas to the US," as he believes the US should reduce dependency on drug imports from other countries like China.	indirect quotation	The example refers to Navarro's choice to import products from countries other than China, which is viewed as a poor choice.
Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng said at the press conference that "this is the wrong prescription that may harm many more ordinary Americans."	Direct quotation	An exact quote that captures the official Chinese viewpoint on Navarro's choice.
Chinese experts said there could be only one result of this - the US people will need to spend more money but can only buy less drugs.	indirect quotation	This stands for the results of Navarro's choice.
China dispatches a team of nine medical experts to Italy, on Thursday, to help fight the COVID-19 pandemic, along with 31 tons of medical supplies, including ICU ward equipment, protective outfits, and antiviral drugs.	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	This statement is mentioned by the Chinese president and here it is quoted to remind the audience of the Chinese generosity.
The warfare of public opinion launched by the US to stigmatize China is doomed to fail as too many facts have proven China's reputation and image in the international community is unshakable, and Washington can only "bring itself into disrepute," said Lü from the CASS.	indirect quotation	According to Lü from the CASS, the US act was done to harm China's reputation abroad.
China's assistance to countries like Italy, Japan and Iran has already won praise and appreciations from members of the international community and the World Health Organization (WHO).	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	Mentioning the international community and the WHO is meant to show the audience that these international institutes trust and praise the Chinese stance.
More countries like Spain, Serbia and the Philippines are also seeking help from China as they trust China's experiences and credibility, but the US only announced travel bans against other countries and hyped up racism to spread hatred without making any notable contribution to this global fight against COVID-19, so when asked who is the more responsible global power, who should be thanked and who should be blamed, people around the world know the answer clearly, said Chinese experts.	Indirect quotation	All of these instances highlight the compassion and responsible stance that the Chinese people had throughout the epidemic. They also discuss the necessity for and gratitude for Chinese support among the European nations.
Serbia's President Aleksandar Vucic announced a nationwide state of emergency on Sunday to fight the spread of the novel coronavirus. He branded European solidarity a "fairytale," and praised China instead, saying it was the only country that would help, CGTN reported.		
Geng said at the Tuesday press conference that China will firmly stand with the Serbian people side by side to fight the virus, and China will provide emergency material assistance including ventilators, medical masks and protection suits to		

Serbia, and will send medical experts there to share experiences regarding epidemic prevention and control, as well as diagnosing and treating patients.		
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Appendix (xii)

The IN Techniques of the Chinese Article (2)

Uses	IN technique	Explanation
US blame game puts innocent people at risk	Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice	The reporter offers commentary or an assessment of the aftermath of the epidemic in America, including its economical and psychological impact on individuals.
A stealthy, highly contagious virus has caused a precipitous drop in the United States' stock market and sent shudders down the spine of a stalled economy.		
With factories and stores closing down, lights being dimmed from Broadway to Las Vegas, and hospitals overwhelmed with critically ill patients, the American mood is confused, resentful and laced with fear.		
Lockdowns of hard-hit areas and shelter-in-place orders for major cities are essential to contain the outbreak but add to the growing psychological stress.		
Sadly for the human record, scapegoating often emerges from reaction to disaster.	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	It is used to draw attention to past incidents that happened elsewhere rather than in China and involved the scapegoating of some innocent people. These incidents are provided so that people can draw connections between them and what is happening to the Chinese, leading the reporter to believe that the Chinese are the culprit.
After the devastating Great Kanto earthquake of 1923, ethnic Korean residents of Tokyo were rumored to be a cause of trouble and were massacred in the thousands.		
The punishing economic conditions of Germany after World War I are frequently cited as a key factor leading to a rise in anti-Semitism so toxic and pervasive that they led to genocide.		
There is hardly a nation on earth that has not been hit with the novel coronavirus, so international cooperation is essential.	Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice	The reporter offers commentary on a variety of issues, including the virus that affects practically every country in the globe and necessitates collaboration. He also talks about how lockdowns and shutdowns influence individuals
However, the tribal fears invoked in border barriers, lockdowns, shutdowns and quarantines have put the very project of globalization on the defensive.		

Thousands of planes have been idled, trains run empty and highways are free of cars, while the world's great tourist sites have turned into ghost towns.		mentally and cause them to prejudice towards Chinese people. In an effort to defend people's accusations against China, he also makes comments about why people accuse China.
Barriers of minds nastier than physical boundaries		
Although there is a documented benefit to be found in social distancing and reduced flow of traffic, the introduction of border controls, travel shutdowns and the rise of physical barriers have been mirrored by the barriers developed in the minds and the wild imaginations of worried people everywhere.		
Only scientists can definitively answer questions about the origin of the novel coronavirus, but the city of Wuhan, capital of Hubei province, is indelibly tied to public awareness of the disease because the first wave of the epidemic in China erupted there.		
Leaving aside the thorny question of where the microscopic novel coronavirus came from, most scientists consider it to have been a freaky but otherwise natural zoonotic transfer of virus from animal to man.	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	The reporter brings up a number of documents that provide information on the virus, such as its characteristics according to scientists, where it originally appeared, and how it affects people's health and quality of life.
Wuhan was the first city to be hit by the microscopic invader on a massive scale.		
With more than 3,000 dead and tens of thousands ill, and millions more confined to their homes for the duration, the suffering and anguish of the people have been palpable.		
Yet the regrettable human tendency to discriminate quickly gelled and took root, and the initial reaction of some people in China was to be wary of compatriots from Wuhan.	Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice	The reporter insists on blaming the politicians for criticizing China because of their agendas and prejudicial beliefs while simultaneously defending the allegations made against China by the public.
By the same weak leap of logic, when the disease also emerged in Thailand, Japan, the Republic of Korea and other neighboring countries, the world began to turn a jaundiced eye to China.		
Politicians have their own agendas and prejudices		
A virus carries no passport — scientists and medical doctors know that better than anyone else— but politicians have their own agendas, and popular prejudice		

cannot be waved away with a magic wand.		
That's why international organizations such as the World Health Organization called on experienced medical professionals to assign a name to the disease that did not reflect on race or location.	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	The WHO's choice to give the virus a name is mentioned in the article.
COVID-19 is not a catchy term, but it contains information about the year of the outbreak and categorizes the pathogen as a new coronavirus.	Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice	The reporter makes a statement on the WHO's official term for the virus and the name that was previously used in society, claiming that both names are acceptable but that the names used by American authorities are dubious and socially unacceptable.
By the time the official moniker was coined, the more general term "coronavirus" was in such widespread use that it has remained the default term for describing the novel coronavirus.		
Even if it lacks the precision of the official name, it is unobjectionable in social terms.		
However, far from China's shores, other names were being concocted to describe the perilous pathogen, and terms such as "Wuhan flu" and "Wuhan coronavirus" (which was used by The New York Times) began to be bandied about.	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	To demonstrate their animosity and plans against China, many American leaders are named, along with the names they give the virus.
US Senator Tom Cotton from Arkansas throughout the crisis has made statements designed to inflame and arouse anti-China sentiment by blaming China for the virus. Although Cotton's hatred for China predates the outbreak and is rooted in a rigid anti-communist worldview, he has exploited the epidemic by conflating his political enemy with the hated virus.		
Manipulative populism at play in United States	Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice	The reporter makes comments on the populism American leaders use to draw in supporters.
Despite the incendiary rhetoric of a few hot heads, references to the virus designed to indict China as a co-conspirator faded in February, and the mainstream media, The New York Times included, was careful to stick to the scientific term COVID-19 or the more general term, coronavirus.	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	A tip for The New York Times to use the scientific nomenclature for the virus rather than the derogatory labels.

<p>But in early March a new wave of stigmatizing language entered the American discourse by close associates of US President Donald Trump.</p>	<p>Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice</p>	<p>The reporter makes a comment on the derogatory terminology that Americans would use after March 2020.</p>
<p>Manipulative populism and playing to the hidden prejudice of a conservative political base came into play.</p>		
<p>It was no longer loud-mouth radio hosts and redneck politicians talking that way, and as such could not be easily dismissed.</p>		
<p>US top diplomat, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, started to use the terms "Wuhan virus" and "Chinese coronavirus" in official statements in the first week of March, giving political cover to closet racists anxious to pin blame on China.</p>	<p>Mentioning of a person, document, or statements</p>	<p>Some American politicians are mentioned by the reporter along with their derogatory actions. Trump and Pompeo are both mentioned in this story. Pompeo is condemned for calling the virus by a derogatory moniker. Trump is known for emulating Pompeo's actions, which he used to cover up his poor leadership of the nation. The reporter also makes reference to how Trump first handled the virus, which is what caused the current state of anarchy in the nation.</p>
<p>Trump's two-month long pretense that the virus was nothing more than the common flu was finally shaken by an undeniable outbreak in the US.</p>		
<p>Unwilling to take blame, Trump found it useful to deflect criticism away from his own negligence by making withering use of the term "foreign virus".</p>		
<p>This incendiary term came short of tagging China directly, but by then the narrative of presumptive guilt had been well established and his own supporters were bad-mouthing China with increasing frequency.</p>	<p>Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice</p>	<p>The reporter comments on the American discriminatory act which is increased.</p>
<p>The US leader's use of the term "foreign virus" on March 11 was eagerly picked up by his political base, and social media use of the term "surged into the tens of millions" according to the Atlantic Council's Digital Forensic Research Lab.</p>	<p>Indirect quotation</p>	<p>The reporter cites the Digital Forensic Research Lab of the Atlantic Council, which discusses the prevalence of the derogatory term among users.</p>
<p>Anti-Asian abuse and violence on the rise</p>	<p>Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice</p>	<p>The reporter is assessing the rising of actions of bigotry by American politicians.</p>
<p>Elsewhere, prejudice was becoming more overt. A White House aide joked about the China connection, telling CBS White House reporter Weijia Jiang that it was the "Kung Flu".</p>		
<p>Around the same time, reports on social media and elsewhere described an uptick in anti-Asian abuse and violence.</p>	<p>Mentioning of a person, document, or statements</p>	<p>The reporter brings up allegations that are being shared on social media about the rise of bigoted behavior by American politicians.</p>
<p>New Yorker writer Jiayang Fan reported in a tweet that she was accosted by a</p>	<p>Indirect quotation</p>	<p>The Asian-American journalist Jiayang Fan was the victim of a racist</p>

stranger using vile, racist language when she stepped out of her front door to take out the garbage.		crime, which the reporter is using as evidence that Asian-Americans are harmed by American actions.
It left her feeling afraid to even walk down the street to go shopping.		
Dozens, if not hundreds of such reports are now circulating on social media.	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	Another allusion to the increasingly common racist conduct in America.
And it's only getting worse.	Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice	The reporter is analyzing American racism, which exacerbates the discrimination against Asian Americans.
The US president, for reasons best known to him, has been a credible defender of China on certain policy points and has generally resisted the vocal deprecations used by intemperate political advisers such as Stephen Miller, Peter Navarro, and Steve Bannon.	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	The reporter notes Trump's formerly supportive posture toward China, but he also emphasizes how his position has now shifted to be hostile against China in order to cover up his poor leadership of the nation.
But looking weary in the face of mounting criticism of his failure to lead a national response to the pandemic, Trump suddenly joined the chorus of China-blaters as seen in this March 18 tweet from his official account:		
"I always treated the Chinese Virus very seriously, and have done a very good job from the beginning, including my very early decision to close the 'borders' from China— against the wishes of almost all. Many lives were saved. The Fake News new narrative is disgraceful& false!"	Direct quotation	Trump's exact words are used to demonstrate his steadfastness in admitting that he lies to claim that he has handled the illness seriously while in reality he does not. As a result, he fails to address it, which causes turmoil in the nation.
When questioned about his injudicious use of "Chinese Virus" at a press conference later in the day, Trump doubled down in his use of the term.	Mentioning of a person, document, or statements	Trump's use of the derogatory word that stigmatizes China is highlighted once more.
When Yamiche Alcindor of PBS asked him if using the term "Chinese virus" puts Asian-Americans at risk, Trump bristled:		
"No. Not at all. I think they would probably agree with it 100 percent. It comes from China."	Direct quotation	Trump's verbatim is used as proof to demonstrate his persistence in holding China responsible for the virus.
The die is now cast for racial tensions to follow. Reasonable people can disagree with Beijing and its policies.	Comment or evaluation on a statement,	The reporter makes a statement on the freedom that people throughout the world have to treat

Not everyone has to like Chinese food or Chinese culture.	text, or otherwise invoked voice	China whatever they choose to do so without engaging in discriminatory behavior.
But it is inexcusable to blame a disease that knows no boundaries and afflicts all humans regardless of race or an ethnic group or a faraway nation.		
This is intellectually dishonest, and it is a cheap shot to deflect blame and arouse populist support.		
It is racist, it is wrong and ruling US politicians owe us all an apology.		

Appendix (xiii)

The PA Techniques of the American Article (1)

Uses	PA technique	Explanation
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<p>Its Coronavirus Cases Dwindling, China Turns Focus Outward</p>	<p>transfer</p>	<p>In this article, a negative transfer is used rather than a positive one. It is employed to portray China as an exploitative nation that seizes any chance to compete with or usurp the leadership position previously held by the US and Europe.</p>
<p>Beijing is mounting a humanitarian aid blitz in countries struggling with their own outbreaks.</p>		
<p>In doing so, it's stepping into a role the West once dominated.</p>		
<p>BEIJING — China's leader, Xi Jinping, pledged to send more medical experts to Italy this week, on the same day Beijing sent 2,000 rapid diagnostic tests to the Philippines.</p>		
<p>Serbia's president pleaded for assistance not from the country's neighbors in Europe, which restricted the export of needed medical equipment, but from China.</p>	<p>Cards stacking</p>	<p>The president of Serbia requests aid from China without inquiring into the motivation for that support.</p>
<p>"European solidarity does not exist," the Serbian leader, Aleksandar Vucic, said when he announced a state of emergency in televised remarks.</p>	<p>Testimonial</p>	<p>The article uses this technique to criticize the European community's reaction to the crisis, which encourages the Chinese to seize the opportunity to establish themselves. For instance, the Serbian president's request for assistance from China is shown with his appreciation for the Chinese president, and his assertion that European solidarity does not exist is referenced to support this image.</p>
<p>"That was a fairy tale on paper.</p>		
<p>I believe in my brother and friend Xi Jinping, and I believe in Chinese help."</p>		
<p>Only a few weeks ago, China was overwhelmed by the coronavirus epidemic that began in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, accepting donations of masks and other medical supplies from nearly 80 nations and 10 international organizations.</p>	<p>Cards stacking</p>	<p>This example illustrates the circumstances in China at the time the virus first appeared there and how it welcomed aid from other nations.</p>
<p>Now, with new daily cases at home dwindling into the single digits, China is mounting a diplomatic offensive to help as the rest of the world struggles to get the virus under control.</p>	<p>transfer</p>	<p>Its desire to supplant America as the dominant force in the world is seen as a malicious challenge to seize opportunities to hegemonize that position by beautifying its image before international committees and presenting the success of its regime by engaging in humanitarian aid to nations from various parts of the world. It is vital to note that although taking charge in a crisis is advantageous for the reporters, the fact that China is in charge raises concerns because of its authoritarian government.</p>
<p>From Japan to Iraq, Spain to Peru, it has provided or pledged humanitarian assistance in the form of donations or medical expertise — an aid blitz that is giving China the chance to reposition itself not as the authoritarian incubator of a pandemic but as a responsible global leader at a moment of worldwide crisis.</p>		
<p>In doing so, it has stepped into a role that the West once dominated in times of natural disaster or public health emergency, and that President Trump has increasingly ceded in his "America First" retreat from international engagement.</p>		

<p>“This could be the first major global crisis in decades without meaningful U.S. leadership and with significant Chinese leadership,” said Rush Doshi, director of the China Strategy Initiative at the Brookings Institution in Washington.</p>	<p>Testimonial</p>	<p>The article uses this technique to criticize the European community's reaction to the crisis, which encourages the Chinese to seize the opportunity to establish themselves.</p>
<p>He noted that only a few years ago the United States led the fight against Ebola.</p>		<p>These incidents highlight some of China's failures and illegal actions following the epidemic. To further emphasize the European committees' backwards thinking—which, the study claims, enabled China to push its position—other instances are also used.</p>
<p>The outbreak that started in Wuhan, which has infected nearly 200,000 people and killed nearly 8,000 worldwide, has been a staggering setback for Mr. Xi’s leadership, fanning discontent at home and questions abroad about the efficacy of the Communist state.</p>	<p>Card stacking</p>	
<p>As it has done in the past, the Chinese state is using its extensive tools and deep pockets to build partnerships around the world, relying on trade, investments and, in this case, an advantageous position as the world’s largest maker of medicines and protective masks.</p>		
<p>The largess is going a long way to help temper popular anger over its initial mishandling of the outbreak that is now wreaking havoc on every continent bar Antarctica.</p>		
<p>Now, the global failures in confronting the pandemic from Europe to the United States have given the Chinese leadership a platform to prove its model works — and potentially gain some lasting geopolitical currency.</p>		
<p>“I don’t know and now I don’t care,” Michele Geraci, a former undersecretary in the Italian economic development ministry, said in an interview when asked whether the assistance reflected China’s geopolitical ambitions as much as humanitarian concerns.</p>		
<p>He said the urgent issue was to provide aid to save lives, something that Italy’s allies in the European Union were unable or unwilling to do.</p>		
<p>“If somebody is worried China is doing too much, the gap is open to other countries,” he said.</p>		
<p>“This is what other countries should do.”</p>		
<p>China has long aspired to assert a more prominent role in the United Nations and other international organizations while projecting its political, economic and military influence in more and more parts of the world — at times in direct competition with the United States.</p>		
<p>“China is now trying to repair its severely damaged international image due to its mishandling of the outbreak in Wuhan in early January,” Minxin Pei, a professor of government at Claremont McKenna College in California, wrote in an email.</p>		

<p>“Donating medical supplies shows China is a responsible and generous world power,” he added.</p>		
<p>“It is also touting its success in containing the coronavirus outbreak to suggest its one-party regime is superior to the bumbling democracies in the West, in particular the U.S.”</p>		
<p>On Wednesday, China said it would provide two million surgical masks, 200,000 advanced masks and 50,000 testing kits to Europe.</p>	Transfer	This incident serves as proof that China is aiming to assume America's position.
<p>“We’re grateful for China’s support,” Ursula von der Leyen, the president of the European Commission, said in tweet.</p>	Testimonial	This evidence demonstrates how the West has shied away from challenging Chinese ambition.
<p>“We need each other’s support in times of need.”</p>	Bandwagon	A strong plea for collaboration.
<p>One of China’s leading entrepreneurs, Jack Ma, offered to donate 500,000 tests and one million masks to the United States, where hospitals are facing shortages despite having weeks of notice to prepare.</p>	Card stacking	A situation that demonstrates the US government's incapacity to handle the crisis.
<p>“This is no longer a challenge that a country can solve on its own, but it requires all of us to work together,” Mr. Ma’s foundation said in a statement that listed donations to dozens of countries, including all 54 nations in Africa.</p>	Plain folk	This is a suggestion to other nations to work together to resolve this situation.
<p>The statement went on to cite Mr. Ma’s use on Weibo, a social media platform, of a familiar phrase in the American political lexicon: “United we stand, divided we fall.”</p>	Transfer	In order to request collaboration this time, the Chinese contributor used American political jargon.
<p>Chinese officials have insisted that a pandemic should be an arena for political cooperation, not competition.</p>	Plain folk	Another recommendation is made for other countries to cooperate in resolving the issue.
<p>China’s success in slowing the disease’s spread, however, has emboldened officials and state media to push back harder — at times clumsily.</p>	Card stacking	Each of these is a bad deed committed by the Chinese government, and it is denounced as such. These deeds include: the clumsy reaction of the Chinese officials after their success in controlling the virus, their accusing America for spreading the virus, their feeling of gloat when broadcasting the chaos in Europe and America and their dismissing American correspondents.
<p>One foreign ministry spokesman, Zhao Lijian, floated a conspiracy theory that the United States Army was behind the virus, while another squabbled with Mario Vargas Llosa, the Peruvian author and Nobel Prize laureate, over a newspaper column he wrote about the pandemic.</p>		
<p>The state news media has also highlighted the chaos in Europe and the United States with something close to schadenfreude.</p>		
<p>People’s Daily cheered the news this week that the pace of infections and deaths overseas now exceeds that inside China.</p>		
<p>Early Wednesday, the foreign ministry announced that it was expelling most American correspondents from The New York Times, The</p>		

Wall Street Journal and The Washington Post, saying it was retaliating for moves by the Trump administration against Chinese journalists in the United States.		
“The coronavirus pandemic has become a battleground,” said Bruno Maçães, a former secretary of state for European Affairs in Portugal who is now a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute.	Testimonial	These are testimonials that criticize China for a variety of its actions.
“I see China focused on using the crisis as an opportunity to play up the superiority of its model.”		
“I think this also shows what climate change could look like in the future,” he added, “less an opportunity for global cooperation and more the background for geopolitical competition, with every major actor trying to do better than its rivals.”		
China’s critics dismiss the assistance as hollow gestures, even cynical ones.	Card stacking	Each of these actions is a negative deed carried out by the Chinese government and is condemned as such.
Many in Italy, for example, angrily pointed out that China was selling masks, respirators and other medical equipment, not donating them, and claimed that some of the materials were meant for Chinese citizens in the country.		
Others have warned that China was using its dominant role in the production of respirators and masks to reward friendly nations.		
China made half the world’s masks before the coronavirus emerged there and it has greatly expanded production nearly 12-fold since then, although it has kept more of the supply for itself.		
Li Xingqian, the director of international trade at the commerce ministry in Beijing, said in a recent briefing that the government had not issued any rule to stop exports, but simply needed to meet strong domestic demand for masks and other protective equipment.		
For countries on the receiving end of China’s largess, questions about the country’s motives have largely taken a back seat.		
That has been especially clear in Iraq, a country that has been a focus of American foreign policy for decades.		
Ten days ago, a team of seven Chinese medical experts stepped off an Iraqi Airlines plane in Baghdad bearing medical equipment and supplies.		
Those included two machines that will allow Iraqi lab technicians to more than quadruple the number of coronavirus tests they do every day, according to doctors dealing with the outbreak.		
“The Iraqi people value this initiative of the Chinese people,” Jassim Al-Falahi, the deputy		

<p>minister of health, said as he met the arriving team.</p>		<p>the motivations for China's assistance to Iraq.</p>
<p>In the days since, the Chinese experts have begun to brief doctors and health officials about steps to combat the coronavirus, conducting some discussions by teleconference with Iraqi hospital leaders, according to Dr. Hassan Al-Tamimi, the director general of Baghdad's Medical City Teaching Hospital Complex.</p>	<p>Card stacking</p>	<p>All these are instances that reveal China main interest behind the aid blitz it provides to other nations. There are different projects that China intended to attain in Iraq.</p>
<p>A statement by the Iraqi foreign ministry made clear that the coronavirus was only one of the projects the two countries would be working on together:</p>		
<p>The others include the oil industry and updating some of Iraq's aging electricity infrastructure.</p>		
<p>It is not clear whether the Iraqis fully absorbed the lessons the Chinese have offered.</p>		
<p>At a signing ceremony on Tuesday for the installation of a new lab at Medical City, the Chinese ambassador to Iraq, Zhang Tao, appeared visibly anxious.</p>		
<p>"Really, there are many people in this room, important people, government advisers and ministers — none of them is wearing a mask or gloves," Mr. Zhang told Mohammed Waheen, a pulmonologist at Medical City Teaching Hospital, who also attended.</p>		
<p>"Your prime minister is more than 70 years old," Dr. Waheeb said, recalling his conversation with the ambassador.</p>		
<p>"You are not taking this seriously."</p>		

Appendix (xiv)

The PA Techniques of the American Article (2)

Uses	PA techniques	Explanation
<p>On Wednesday night, in an address from the Oval Office, President Trump avoided the WHO's preferred terminology, describing the pathogen as "a foreign virus" and as "the coronavirus outbreak that started in China."</p>	<p>Name calling</p>	<p>The first two examples show how Trump and Pompeo named the virus in their respective actions. The reporter's attitude against identifying the virus is shown by the third instance, though.</p>
<p>"This is the Wuhan coronavirus," he said in an interview last week.</p>		
<p>Significant scientific questions do remain, including exactly how a contagious and little-understood virus jumped from animals, the believed host of the virus, to humans.</p>		
<p>Asked for evidence that the virus had originated anywhere other than central China, Mr. Geng called it "an issue of science," adding:</p>	<p>Glittering generalities</p>	<p>The first two illustrations demonstrate how the Chinese promote themselves. While they are fully aware that the virus originated in China, they use their position on the</p>
<p>"We oppose the stigmatization and making an issue out of this."</p>		

<p>“We had to find a name that did not refer to a geographical location, an animal, an individual or group of people,” WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus said at the time, underlining the importance of avoiding “names that can be inaccurate or stigmatizing.”</p>		<p>naming acts and their arbitration to science as propaganda to cast themselves as victims. Thus, these are examples of negative glittering generalities.</p>
<p>“No less authority than the Chinese Communist Party said it came from Wuhan.</p>	<p>Testimonial</p>	<p>The purpose of the majority of these testimony is to confirm that the virus originated in China. To prove this, the reporter cites certain Chinese specialists. The other examples are statements made by speakers who admit they are unsure about the virus's origin. These are brought to show some kind of neutrality.</p>
<p>Five virologists in the U.S. and Europe told The Wall Street Journal they have seen no convincing evidence that the coronavirus originated anywhere but in China.</p>		
<p>But health experts say outbreaks often put governments on the defensive, since they often carry big economic and social consequences.</p>		
<p>“The naming of these epidemics you think is straightforward, but it turns out to be very sensitive,” he said.</p>		
<p>“It first appeared in China, but not necessarily originated in China.”</p>		
<p>“So far, studies by scientists from countries like the United States, Europe and Japan show that the source of novel coronavirus is still inconclusive,” Lin Songtian, China’s ambassador to South Africa, said in a speech last week.</p>		
<p>A number of China’s own scientific findings appear to place the epidemic’s origins in China, including a landmark paper by 29 scientists at the Wuhan Institute of Virology that said the novel coronavirus shared 96.2% of the genome sequence of one in bats from another province, Yunnan.</p>		
<p>Early in the outbreak, even China’s own media outlets used the “Wuhan virus” moniker, including one January headline in the official Xinhua News Agency and several in the Communist Party-controlled Global Times.</p>		
<p>A precise geographic location for the coronavirus’s origin may never be known, according to Alexander E. Gorbalenya, a microbiologist at Leiden University Medical Center in the Netherlands.</p>		
<p>“This line of research is very important, but has limitations,” he said.</p>		

<p>In terms of human-to-human transmission, the mission summary noted, “most of the recorded cases were imported from or had direct links to Wuhan/Hubei.”</p>		
<p>U.S. officials have used ‘Wuhan virus’ or ‘Chinese coronavirus’ as labels; Chinese officials question claims virus necessarily began in China</p>	<p>Card stacking</p>	<p>The first four instances are meant to card stack the US officials for naming the virus, but by explaining the reasons behind it, their impact has been lessened. The remaining instances are meant to put Chinese authorities on the defensive, especially because they still maintain that the virus did not originate in China in spite of the overwhelming quantity of evidence to the contrary.</p>
<p>With the virus now threatening the U.S., Trump administration officials in recent days have stepped up their attempts to characterize the coronavirus’s origin as Chinese.</p>		
<p>Senior U.S. officials, including Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, have referred to the pathogen as the “Wuhan virus” or the “Chinese coronavirus,” rather than using the name Covid-19, the World Health Organization’s designation for the disease caused by the virus.</p>		
<p>On Wednesday night, in an address from the Oval Office, President Trump avoided the WHO’s preferred terminology, describing the pathogen as “a foreign virus” and as “the coronavirus outbreak that started in China.”</p>		
<p>In response, China has accused the Trump administration of racism and xenophobia, casting itself as a victim amid intensifying international criticism that Beijing moved too slowly and suppressed information about the new coronavirus that might have headed it off earlier.</p>		
<p>China says it has acted responsibly and that no evidence has definitively determined where the coronavirus originated, despite its initial detection in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, where the bulk of the early cases appeared.</p>		
<p>But Chinese officials have rejected suggestions it necessarily began there.</p>		
<p>Chinese officials, and some scientists, have pushed back especially hard against Mr. Pompeo for appearing to use the crisis to further his hard political line against China.</p>		
<p>Geng Shuang, a spokesman for China’s Foreign Ministry, denounced the U.S. on Thursday as “immoral and irresponsible,” calling on officials in Washington to “concentrate their energy on responding to the virus and promoting</p>		

<p>cooperation, and not on shifting the blame to China.”</p>		
<p>Scrutiny of China has intensified as the disease spread beyond its borders—to more than 100 countries, according to WHO data—amid evidence Beijing suppressed news of the outbreak during its initial weeks.</p>		
<p>While it is important to understand the origins of a virus, “countries are understandably concerned about being blamed,” said Keiji Fukuda, a former WHO official who now teaches at the University of Hong Kong.</p>		
<p>When the WHO unveiled the name in February, 99% of the confirmed cases were in China.</p>		
<p>China’s pushback against the prevailing evidence of a Chinese origin began in earnest on Feb. 27, roughly a month after authorities locked down Wuhan.</p>		
<p>Several Chinese government officials and scientists have since echoed his skeptical tone, though without providing any evidence to back up the claim.</p>		
<p>Chinese diplomats, meanwhile, have been emphasizing the still-mysterious nature of the coronavirus.</p>		
<p>After China’s Foreign Ministry spent weeks debunking conspiracy theories surrounding the origins of the virus, a spokesman for the ministry took to Twitter Thursday and Friday to accuse the U.S. of lacking transparency and suggesting, for example,</p>		
<p>“It might be US army who brought the epidemic to Wuhan.”</p>		
<p>During the ministry’s regular briefing Friday, the spokesman Mr. Geng sidestepped questions about his colleague’s accusations of a U.S. military role by reiterating criticism of some U.S. comments and stressing the importance of science to address uncertainties about the outbreak’s origin.</p>		
<p>Early in the outbreak, even China’s own media outlets used the “Wuhan virus” moniker, including one January headline in the official Xinhua News Agency and several in the Communist Party-controlled Global Times.</p>		

Appendix (xv)

The PA Techniques of the Chinese Article (1)

Uses	PA techniques	Explanation
<p>Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng Shuang said at a press briefing Tuesday afternoon that Trump's act stigmatizes China, which China strongly condemns.</p> <p>"We urge the US side to immediately correct its mistakes and stop making groundless accusations against China."</p> <p>The secretary stressed that "this is not the time to spread disinformation and outlandish rumors," according to the website of the US Department of State.</p> <p>According to the facts, it was the US politicians who started the rumor offensive and began spreading baseless conspiracy theories, such as Senator Tom Cotton's claim that "the virus is related to China's bioweapon program" to insult and smear China without any hard evidence, and Pompeo also continually called the epidemic "Wuhan virus" despite the WHO formally naming it COVID-19 to avoid discrimination.</p> <p>Zhao's question for the US was neither an accusation nor a rumor, but a reasonable query that is totally different from US politicians' groundless rumors and insults against China, Jin noted.</p> <p>After the Trump's tweet was released on Tuesday, more Chinese experts noted that this is not the time to blame Zhao and "surrender" to the US, as he only raised a reasonable query rather than spreading disinformation, and it is time for China to be tough in striking back against the discriminatory and racist stance of the US.</p> <p>However, this tactic may neither help Trump to regain support nor protect US people from COVID-19, and according to the current feedback from the</p>	<p>Name calling</p>	<p>Trump's tweet which is mainly concentrated on in this article, is differently referred to. Such names like "Trump's act," "groundless accusations," "disinformation," "the rumor offensive," "US politicians' groundless rumors," "Trump's tactics," "Trump's irresponsible tweet," "current trend," "Trump's current stance," "provocations" and "scheme". There is also mention of Navarro's determination to switch from importing goods from China to other countries. The term "wrong prescription" is used to describe this choice. Finally, European solidarity is referred to as "fairytale".</p>

<p>US public on the internet, it seems US people aren't buying Trump's tactics to distract their attention, said Diao Daming, a US studies expert from Renmin University of China.</p>		
<p>Trump's irresponsible tweet that offended China seriously is likely to trigger a "circuit breaker" for the stock market again as the tweet signaled a potential conflict launched by the US against China, amid the pandemic, said Lü Xiang, a research fellow on US studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing.</p>		
<p>"If Trump can't stop the current trend and potentially makes it worse [due to lack of management], when the stock market crashes to a lower level than before he got elected four years ago, he will surely lose the election."</p>		
<p>For the next step, based on Trump's current stance, his administration may potentially encourage those US firms which are particularly affected by COVID-19 to sue China for "compensation" or force China to pay for US losses in the pandemic, Jin said.</p>		
<p>No matter what he does, if he turns provocations into concrete actions, China would surely retaliate and the world economy would be further compromised, Jin noted.</p>		
<p>Yang told Pompeo via phone call on Monday that "any scheme to smear China will be doomed to fail" and China will counter such moves with determination.</p>		
<p>Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng said at the press conference that "this is the wrong prescription that may harm many more ordinary Americans."</p>		
<p>He branded European solidarity a "fairytale," and praised China instead, saying it was the only country that would help, CGTN reported.</p>		
<p>Trump tweet infuriates China</p>	<p>Glittering generalities</p>	<p>This article uses glittering generalizations to extol the Chinese as a "responsible global power" who played a crucial role throughout the epidemic. Time has been bought for international prevention and control efforts by the Chinese government's "prevention and control measures," which are "open," "transparent," and "responsible in sharing information regarding COVID-19 with WHO and other countries." The fact that "China's help to other countries" is based on "humanitarian values" has also garnered praise and gratitude from many nations that value "China's experiences and credibility." Also, China is portrayed as a country with a stellar reputation</p>
<p>China will never 'surrender' to US moves to politicize virus source</p>		
<p>Where the virus had come from should be a topic for science rather than politics, and by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the stock market, as the two biggest economies of the world could see a new conflict amid a pandemic that has already brought serious harms to the world economy, analysts warned.</p>		
<p>Yang said China has been open, transparent, and responsible in sharing information about COVID-19 with the WHO and other countries, including the United States, and these prevention and control measures adopted by the Chinese government have</p>		

<p>bought time for global prevention and control work, Xinhua reported.</p>		<p>abroad that can withstand any efforts by the United States to discredit it. China is also seen as an industrial country which is has done great technology and industry progress. These include “biggest economy of the world” and “China's high-tech firms.” The “Chinese pharmaceutical companies” that provide America with various medicines and the “China-made medicines and medical materials” on which America significantly depends, are also highlighted.</p>
<p>Distracting attention</p>		
<p>The historic decline of US stock markets since the last financial crisis and appalling reaction to the epidemic situation made Trump lose support from Americans, so this also made him want to distract domestic attention from criticizing his lack of responsibility by blaming China, said Jin.</p>		
<p>"If Trump can't stop the current trend and potentially makes it worse [due to lack of management], when the stock market crashes to a lower level than before he got elected four years ago, he will surely lose the election."</p>		<p>Glittering generalities is also used to prompted to condemn the Trump administration by their sparkling generalizations. One of these glittering generalizations about Trump's administration refers to the tweet as "an act of incompetence and irresponsibility" and is intended to portray Trump as someone who does not take his role as the leader of a significant democratic force seriously. Not only is his tweet used to attack his administration, but also other glittering generalizations like "his lack of responsibility," "lack of management," "unemployment and poor economic performance," "their inability," "his administration's undesirable performance," "his failure to ease panic in the US stock market," "his own administration's terrible response to the predictable outbreak," "distracting attention," and "The historic decline" are used to criticize the administration's poor accomplishments. All of these generalizations seek to portray Trump as a reckless and unreliable leader, imploring their audience to reject his administration once more.</p>
<p>Trump could also further blame China on many other issues, such as unemployment and poor economic performance, so that he can fool US voters to forgive or ignore his administration's undesirable performance.</p>		
<p>He would then use such excuses to manipulate the exchange rate of the US dollar and sanction China's high-tech firms to force manufacturing industries to return to the US, or even tear up the signed trade deal to divert domestic attention, Chinese experts commented.</p>		
<p>The US heavily relies on imports of China-made medicines and medical materials.</p>		
<p>Based on humanitarian principles, China will keep providing assistance worldwide and won't cut off supplies to any country.</p>		
<p>Chinese pharmaceutical companies have supplied more than 90 percent of US antibiotics, vitamin C, ibuprofen and hydrocortisone, as well as 70 percent of acetaminophen and 40 to 45 percent of heparin in recent years, the New York Times reported on March 11.</p>		
<p>They can't just cover up their inability by blaming China and fool their own people," he noted.</p>		
<p>White House trade advisor Peter Navarro told CNBC on Monday that he's preparing an executive order that "would help relocate medical supply chains from overseas to the US," as he believes the US should reduce dependency on drug imports from other countries like China.</p>		
<p>Unshakable reputation</p>		
<p>The warfare of public opinion launched by the US to stigmatize China is doomed to fail as too many facts have proven China's reputation and image in the international community is unshakable, and Washington can only "bring itself into disrepute," said Lü from the CASS.</p>		

China's assistance to countries like Italy, Japan and Iran has already won praise and appreciations from members of the international community and the World Health Organization (WHO).		
More countries like Spain, Serbia and the Philippines are also seeking help from China as they trust China's experiences and credibility, but the US only announced travel bans against other countries and hyped up racism to spread hatred without making any notable contribution to this global fight against COVID-19, so when asked who is the more responsible global power, who should be thanked and who should be blamed, people around the world know the answer clearly, said Chinese experts.		
An article published on March 4 by the Xinhua News Agency said that if China banned the export of drugs, "the US would sink into the hell of a novel coronavirus epidemic," so the US should be grateful rather than accuse China for political purposes.	Transfer	Chinese medicine is equated metaphorically to the messiah who will free Americans from the suffering brought on by the coronavirus pandemic. At times of crisis, America consistently adopted this mindset.
China's assistance to countries like Italy, Japan and Iran has already won praise and appreciations from members of the international community and the World Health Organization (WHO).	Testimony	The article provides testimonies that present China as a responsible and generous country.
He branded European solidarity a "fairytale," and praised China instead, saying it was the only country that would help, CGTN reported.		
Where the virus had come from should be a topic for science rather than politics, and by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the stock market, as the two biggest economies of the world could see a new conflict amid a pandemic that has already brought serious harms to the world economy, analysts warned.	Plain flock	This method is used by Chinese people to evoke sentiments of engagement. It seeks to communicate how sincerely worried China is about the pain that the epidemic is causing people to experience all across the world. Collaboration is therefore necessary at this time.
At this moment, countries which become impacted by the pandemic urgently need cooperation rather than being blamed so that the stock market can at least see some positive signs, otherwise it may only add more uncertainty and panic, Lü said.		
No matter what he does, if he turns provocations into concrete actions, China would surely retaliate and the world economy would be further compromised, Jin noted.		
But if the US provokes China, it would make it very difficult for China to assist the US, experts said, and innocent Americans who need masks and vital drugs badly will likely pay for the inability and ignorance of the Trump administration, said a Beijing-based		

expert on epidemic prevention and control who asked for anonymity.		
The Beijing-based expert noted that Chinese professional teams have held many video conferences with US professionals to share data and keep them updated, and that China's public health authorities have also been communicating closely with the US CDC throughout the outbreak.		
China dispatches a team of nine medical experts to Italy, on Thursday, to help fight the COVID-19 pandemic, along with 31 tons of medical supplies, including ICU ward equipment, protective outfits, and antiviral drugs.		
Geng said at the Tuesday press conference that China will firmly stand with the Serbian people side by side to fight the virus, and China will provide emergency material assistance including ventilators, medical masks and protection suits to Serbia, and will send medical experts there to share experiences regarding epidemic prevention and control, as well as diagnosing and treating patients.		
Time to be tough	Band wagon	This technique is used to persuade the Chinese to become defensive towards American politicians as a result of their ongoing offensive.
Trump tweet infuriates China	Card stacking	This technique is mostly employed to criticize the actions of the Trump administration. Trump is held accountable for his careless claim that China is infected with the virus and for his attempt to defame and stigmatize China. All of them are viewed as components of his incompetence to manage the virus and the country's administration. The technique is also used to let people contrast the responsible Chinese power's attitude with the haughty and reckless American power's attitude.
China will never 'surrender' to US moves to politicize virus source		
US President Donald Trump using the term "Chinese Virus" to refer to the COVID-19 in his tweet is an act of inability and irresponsibility, as he wants to make Americans to blame China and cover his own administration's terrible response to the predictable outbreak and his failure to ease panic in the US stock market, said Chinese experts on Tuesday, adding that hyping up racism and anti-China sentiment won't help the US deal with the pandemic at all.		
The Chinese Foreign Ministry expressed strong indignation and firm opposition to Trump's tweet calling COVID-19 the "Chinese Virus."		
Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng Shuang said at a press briefing Tuesday afternoon that Trump's act stigmatizes China, which China strongly condemns.		
"The World Health Organization and the international community are clearly opposed to linking viruses to specific countries and regions and to stigmatizing them," Geng said.		
"We urge the US side to immediately correct its mistakes and stop making groundless accusations against China."		
Where the virus had come from should be a topic for science rather than politics, and by arrogantly		

<p>provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the stock market, as the two biggest economies of the world could see a new conflict amid a pandemic that has already brought serious harms to the world economy, analysts warned.</p>		
<p>Some observers noted that Trump's tweet could be a reaction to a tweet sent by Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Zhao Lijian on his personal Twitter account that asked the US to be transparent about its epidemic situation, as Robert Redfield, director of the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), openly admitted last week at a hearing at the House of Representatives on the outbreak, that some COVID-19 deaths have been misdiagnosed as influenza in the US.</p>		
<p>On Monday, in a phone call requested by US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to Chinese State Councilor Yang Jiechi, Pompeo conveyed strong US objections to China's "efforts to shift blame for COVID-19 to the United States."</p>		
<p>Yang, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee and the director of the Office of Foreign Affairs of the CPC Central Committee, expressed strong objections over Washington's intent to "slander and smear China's efforts" in containing the COVID-19.</p>		
<p>According to the facts, it was the US politicians who started the rumor offensive and began spreading baseless conspiracy theories, such as Senator Tom Cotton's claim that "the virus is related to China's bioweapon program" to insult and smear China without any hard evidence, and Pompeo also continually called the epidemic "Wuhan virus" despite the WHO formally naming it COVID-19 to avoid discrimination.</p>		
<p>Some Chinese analysts worry that Zhao's tweets may cause the US to retaliate, and they blame Zhao for "infuriating" the US. They also thought Zhao was repeating "the wrong conspiracy theory" similar to what US politicians use to smear China.</p>		
<p>Jin Canrong, associate dean of Renmin University of China's School of International Studies in Beijing, disagrees with this opinion.</p>		
<p>He told the Global Times on Tuesday that it is totally reasonable for Zhao to question the US and to urge it to be transparent.</p>		
<p>Zhao's question for the US was neither an accusation nor a rumor, but a reasonable query that is totally different from US politicians' groundless rumors and insults against China, Jin noted.</p>		

<p>"The US should answer this question and be transparent to not only China, but also its own people and the rest of the world."</p>		
<p>After the Trump's tweet was released on Tuesday, more Chinese experts noted that this is not the time to blame Zhao and "surrender" to the US, as he only raised a reasonable query rather than spreading disinformation, and it is time for China to be tough in striking back against the discriminatory and racist stance of the US.</p>		
<p>Distracting attention</p>		
<p>The historic decline of US stock markets since the last financial crisis and appalling reaction to the epidemic situation made Trump lose support from Americans, so this also made him want to distract domestic attention from criticizing his lack of responsibility by blaming China, said Jin.</p>		
<p>However, this tactic may neither help Trump to regain support nor protect US people from COVID-19, and according to the current feedback from the US public on the internet, it seems US people aren't buying Trump's tactics to distract their attention, said Diao Daming, a US studies expert from Renmin University of China.</p>		
<p>Trump's irresponsible tweet that offended China seriously is likely to trigger a "circuit breaker" for the stock market again as the tweet signaled a potential conflict launched by the US against China, amid the pandemic, said Lü Xiang, a research fellow on US studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing.</p>		
<p>Volatility in US stocks surged to a record after benchmark indexes suffered the biggest rout since 1987, Bloomberg reported on Tuesday.</p>		
<p>The Cboe Volatility Index closed Monday at 82.69 as the S&P 500 Index tumbled 12 percent.</p>		
<p>The index's previously highest rating was 80.86 on November 20, 2008.</p>		
<p>"If Trump can't stop the current trend and potentially makes it worse [due to lack of management], when the stock market crashes to a lower level than before he got elected four years ago, he will surely lose the election."</p>		
<p>For the next step, based on Trump's current stance, his administration may potentially encourage those US firms which are particularly affected by COVID-19 to sue China for "compensation" or force China to pay for US losses in the pandemic, Jin said.</p>		
<p>Trump could also further blame China on many other issues, such as unemployment and poor economic performance, so that he can fool US</p>		

<p>voters to forgive or ignore his administration's undesirable performance.</p>		
<p>He would then use such excuses to manipulate the exchange rate of the US dollar and sanction China's high-tech firms to force manufacturing industries to return to the US, or even tear up the signed trade deal to divert domestic attention, Chinese experts commented.</p>		
<p>Consequences of racism</p>		
<p>The US heavily relies on imports of China-made medicines and medical materials.</p>		
<p>An article published on March 4 by the Xinhua News Agency said that if China banned the export of drugs, "the US would sink into the hell of a novel coronavirus epidemic," so the US should be grateful rather than accuse China for political purposes.</p>		
<p>"So how dare the Trump administration blame us?"</p>		
<p>They were already informed, and still they failed to make efforts to prevent and control the outbreak.</p>		
<p>They can't just cover up their inability by blaming China and fool their own people," he noted.</p>		
<p>White House trade advisor Peter Navarro told CNBC on Monday that he's preparing an executive order that "would help relocate medical supply chains from overseas to the US," as he believes the US should reduce dependency on drug imports from other countries like China.</p>		
<p>Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng said at the press conference that "this is the wrong prescription that may harm many more ordinary Americans."</p>		
<p>Chinese experts said there could be only one result of this - the US people will need to spend more money but can only buy less drugs.</p>		
<p>The warfare of public opinion launched by the US to stigmatize China is doomed to fail as too many facts have proven China's reputation and image in the international community is unshakable, and Washington can only "bring itself into disrepute," said Lü from the CASS.</p>		
<p>More countries like Spain, Serbia and the Philippines are also seeking help from China as they trust China's experiences and credibility, but the US only announced travel bans against other countries and hyped up racism to spread hatred without making any notable contribution to this global fight against COVID-19, so when asked who is the more responsible global power, who should be thanked and who should be blamed, people around the world know the answer clearly, said Chinese experts.</p>		
<p>He branded European solidarity a "fairytale," and praised China instead, saying it was the only country that would help, CGTN reported.</p>		

Appendix (xvi)

The PA Techniques of the Chinese Article (2)

Uses	PA technique	Explanation
Sadly for the human record, scapegoating often emerges from reaction to disaster.	Transfer	The article uses the negative transfer to link the American conduct of criticizing China to certain earlier scapegoating incidents. In order to make the American act appear like a political scapegoat with a hidden objective, it is necessary to link the American act to these atrocities. In a similar manner, the author discusses how the viral outbreak has changed how Chinese people outside of Wuhan see Wuhan residents. After the virus broke out in other nations, people outside of China started
After the devastating Great Kanto earthquake of 1923, ethnic Korean residents of Tokyo were rumored to be a cause of trouble and were massacred in the thousands.		
The punishing economic conditions of Germany after World War I are frequently cited as a key factor leading to a rise in anti-Semitism so toxic and pervasive that they led to genocide.		
Yet the regrettable human tendency to discriminate quickly gelled and took root, and the initial reaction of some people in China was to be wary of compatriots from Wuhan.		

<p>By the same weak leap of logic, when the disease also emerged in Thailand, Japan, the Republic of Korea and other neighboring countries, the world began to turn a jaundiced eye to China.</p>		<p>to practice the same form of discrimination.</p>
<p>It was no longer loud-mouth radio hosts and redneck politicians talking that way, and as such could not be easily dismissed.</p>	<p>Name calling</p>	<p>This technique is employed to identify American politicians who reject Chinese policy and attribute the infection to China. The labels "hot heads," "loudmouth radio hosts," and "redneck politicians" are used to characterize American politicians who manipulate public opinion through vehement speech and the media. Trump's usage of the phrase "foreign virus" is referred to be a "incendiary rhetoric" that caused him to "badmouth China more frequently."</p>
<p>This incendiary term came short of tagging China directly, but by then the narrative of presumptive guilt had been well established and his own supporters were bad-mouthing China with increasing frequency.</p>		
<p>Despite the incendiary rhetoric of a few hot heads, references to the virus designed to indict China as a co-conspirator faded in February, and the mainstream media, The New York Times included, was careful to stick to the scientific term COVID-19 or the more general term, coronavirus.</p>		
<p>There is hardly a nation on earth that has not been hit with the novel coronavirus, so international cooperation is essential.</p>	<p>Band wagon</p>	<p>An illustration of a bandwagon calls for international cooperation to fight the virus, which has affected almost every nation.</p>
<p>Politicians have their own agendas and prejudices</p>	<p>Glittering generalities</p>	<p>Glittering generalities are used in an effort to denigrate American politicians and their behavior. They are believed to have "prejudice and an agenda." Tom Cotton is one of such politicians, and it appears that his remarks made during the pandemic crisis were intended to "inflame and arouse anti-China sentiment." A "new wave of stigmatizing language" and a "manipulative populism and playing to the hidden prejudice" are being used by Trump's conservative electoral base. These are also perceived as "racist anxious to pin blame on China." Moreover, the atrocity and the danger of Trump's naming of the virus as a "foreign virus" causes "Anti-Asian abuse and violence on the rise."</p>
<p>A virus carries no passport —scientists and medical doctors know that better than anyone else— but politicians have their own agendas, and popular prejudice cannot be waved away with a magic wand.</p>		
<p>US Senator Tom Cotton from Arkansas throughout the crisis has made statements designed to inflame and arouse anti-China sentiment by blaming China for the virus.</p>		
<p>Although Cotton's hatred for China predates the outbreak and is rooted in a rigid anti-communist worldview, he has exploited the epidemic by conflating his political enemy with the hated virus.</p>		
<p>Manipulative populism at play in United States</p>		
<p>But in early March a new wave of stigmatizing language entered the American discourse by close associates of US President Donald Trump.</p>		
<p>Manipulative populism and playing to the hidden prejudice of a conservative political base came into play.</p>		
<p>US top diplomat, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, started to use the terms "Wuhan virus" and "Chinese coronavirus" in official statements in the</p>		

<p>first week of March, giving political cover to closet racists anxious to pin blame on China.</p>		<p>The article also make reference to Trump’s “failure to lead a national response” which was weary to face the “mounting criticism.”</p>	
<p>Anti-Asian abuse and violence on the rise</p>			
<p>Elsewhere, prejudice was becoming more overt.</p>			
<p>Around the same time, reports on social media and elsewhere described an uptick in anti-Asian abuse and violence.</p>			
<p>This is intellectually dishonest, and it is a cheap shot to deflect blame and arouse populist support.</p>			
<p>It is racist, it is wrong and ruling US politicians owe us all an apology.</p>			
<p>But looking weary in the face of mounting criticism of his failure to lead a national response to the pandemic, Trump suddenly joined the chorus of China-blamers as seen in this March 18 tweet from his official account:</p>			
<p>US blame game puts innocent people at risk</p>	<p>Card stacking</p>	<p>This technique is used to highlight the American failure to battle the virus, as well as the poor condition of hospitals, roads, and factories, which affects the American mood and leads them to blame China in an effort to cover up their failure and endanger Chinese lives. The technique is also used to criticize the act of naming the virus, which forces the WHO to invent a name that is not based on race or geography. It also alludes to Trump's long-held claim that the virus is a common flu. Additionally, the article uses a genuine incident of violence committed against an Asian-American by an American man to illustrate the negative effects of populist politics.</p>	
<p>A stealthy, highly contagious virus has caused a precipitous drop in the United States' stock market and sent shudders down the spine of a stalled economy.</p>			
<p>With factories and stores closing down, lights being dimmed from Broadway to Las Vegas, and hospitals overwhelmed with critically ill patients, the American mood is confused, resentful and laced with fear.</p>			
<p>Lockdowns of hard-hit areas and shelter-in-place orders for major cities are essential to contain the outbreak but add to the growing psychological stress.</p>			
<p>However, the tribal fears invoked in border barriers, lockdowns, shutdowns and quarantines have put the very project of globalization on the defensive.</p>			
<p>Thousands of planes have been idled, trains run empty and highways are free of cars, while the world's great tourist sites have turned into ghost towns.</p>			
<p>Barriers of minds nastier than physical boundaries</p>			
<p>Although there is a documented benefit to be found in social distancing and reduced flow of traffic, the introduction of border controls, travel shutdowns and the rise of physical barriers have been mirrored by the barriers developed in the minds and the wild imaginations of worried people everywhere.</p>			
<p>Only scientists can definitively answer questions about the origin of the novel coronavirus, but the city of Wuhan, capital of Hubei province, is indelibly tied to public awareness of the disease</p>			

<p>because the first wave of the epidemic in China erupted there.</p>		
<p>That's why international organizations such as the World Health Organization called on experienced medical professionals to assign a name to the disease that did not reflect on race or location.</p>		
<p>However, far from China's shores, other names were being concocted to describe the perilous pathogen, and terms such as "Wuhan flu" and "Wuhan coronavirus" (which was used by The New York Times) began to be bandied about.</p>		
<p>Trump's two-month long pretense that the virus was nothing more than the common flu was finally shaken by an undeniable outbreak in the US.</p>		
<p>Unwilling to take blame, Trump found it useful to deflect criticism away from his own negligence by making withering use of the term "foreign virus".</p>		
<p>The US leader's use of the term "foreign virus" on March 11 was eagerly picked up by his political base, and social media use of the term "surged into the tens of millions" according to the Atlantic Council's Digital Forensic Research Lab.</p>		
<p>A White House aide joked about the China connection, telling CBS White House reporter Weijia Jiang that it was the "Kung Flu".</p>		
<p>Dozens, if not hundreds of such reports are now circulating on social media.</p>		
<p>And it's only getting worse.</p>		
<p>When questioned about his injudicious use of "Chinese Virus" at a press conference later in the day, Trump doubled down in his use of the term.</p>		
<p>When Yamiche Alcindor of PBS asked him if using the term "Chinese virus" puts Asian-Americans at risk, Trump bristled:</p>		
<p>The die is now cast for racial tensions to follow.</p>		
<p>But it is inexcusable to blame a disease that knows no boundaries and afflicts all humans regardless of race or an ethnic group or a faraway nation.</p>		
<p>New Yorker writer Jiayang Fan reported in a tweet that she was accosted by a stranger using vile, racist language when she stepped out of her front door to take out the garbage.</p>	<p>Testimonial</p>	<p>The article uses a genuine incident of violence committed against an Asian-American by an American man to illustrate the negative effects of populist politics.</p> <p>Another application is Trump's earlier stance on China. Trump is viewed as a steadfast ally of China who disagrees with his fellow Republicans. To show that a particular agenda is to blame</p>
<p>It left her feeling afraid to even walk down the street to go shopping.</p>		
<p>The US president, for reasons best known to him, has been a credible defender of China on certain policy points and has generally resisted the vocal deprecations used by intemperate political advisers such as Stephen Miller, Peter Navarro, and Steve Bannon.</p>		

<p>"I always treated the Chinese Virus very seriously, and have done a very good job from the beginning, including my very early decision to close the 'borders' from China— against the wishes of almost all.</p>		<p>for the rapid change in American sentiments toward China, this testimony is made against American leaders, especially Trump.</p>
<p>Many lives were saved.</p>		<p>Trump's reaction to a question about whether Asian-Americans are in danger as a result of his usage of the term "Chinese virus." He replies that there is no risk, and he is confident that the Chinese would concur because the illness is already there. This evidence shows both his shift in attitude toward China and his unwavering commitment to the same blame-game tactic for the violence committed against Asian-Americans.</p>
<p>The Fake News new narrative is disgraceful& false!"</p>		
<p>"No.</p>		
<p>Not at all.</p>		
<p>I think they would probably agree with it 100 percent.</p>		
<p>It comes from China."</p>		

Appendix (xvii)

The Frames of the American Article (1)

Uses	frame	Explanation
<p>Now, with new daily cases at home dwindling into the single digits, China is mounting a diplomatic offensive to help as the rest of the world struggles to get the virus under control.</p>	<p><i>Conflict</i></p>	<p>The conflict, which mostly concerns China and the United States, is shown through a number of examples. The examples show that China and America, two enemies, are involved in "competition." Moreover, it is believed that the outbreak is being utilized as a "battleground" as a backdrop for geopolitical rivalry. The other instance, though, shows how China uses the media to promote its hatred for Westerners. The last instance suggests that the dispute may persist in the future, especially if there are other problems, like the problem of climate change.</p>
<p>China has long aspired to assert a more prominent role in the United Nations and other international organizations while projecting its political, economic and military influence in more and more parts of the world — at times in direct competition with the United States.</p>		
<p>Early Wednesday, the foreign ministry announced that it was expelling most American correspondents from The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal and The Washington Post, saying it was retaliating for moves by the Trump administration against Chinese journalists in the United States.</p>		
<p>The coronavirus pandemic has become a battleground," said Bruno Maçães, a former secretary of state for European Affairs in Portugal who is now a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute.</p>		
<p>"I think this also shows what climate change could look like in the future," he added, "less an opportunity for global cooperation and more the background for geopolitical competition, with every major actor trying to do better than its rivals."</p>		
<p>The outbreak that started in Wuhan, which has infected nearly 200,000 people and killed nearly 8,000 worldwide, has been a staggering setback for Mr. Xi's leadership, fanning discontent at home and questions abroad about the efficacy of the Communist state.</p>	<p><i>Human interest</i></p>	<p>The text makes it quite clear that China is to blame for the epidemic that resulted in a disaster of world death. Furthermore, it criticizes China for its initial failure to effectively control the cause of the sickness. The fact that the report indicates China's preparation and precaution of a large number of masks before to the epidemic increases the possibility</p>

		that China produced the virus or transmitted it on purpose.
Its Coronavirus Cases Dwindling, China Turns Focus Outward	Economic consequence	The article does not specifically address the economic side, but it does allude to it as a result of China's geo-economic ambitions, as in the example of Iraq, which accepted China's support in exchange for an agreement for other projects in Iraq.
From Japan to Iraq, Spain to Peru, it has provided or pledged humanitarian assistance in the form of donations or medical expertise — an aid blitz that is giving China the chance to reposition itself not as the authoritarian incubator of a pandemic but as a responsible global leader at a moment of worldwide crisis.	Morality	China is portrayed as immoral due to a number of its actions, including emphasizing the chaos in Europe and the US with behavior that is comparable to schadenfreude and cheering the fact that the rate of infections and deaths outside of China is now higher than that inside, selling medical supplies rather than giving them away, and producing a large number of masks before the outbreak even started.
In doing so, it has stepped into a role that the West once dominated in times of natural disaster or public health emergency, and that President Trump has increasingly ceded in his “America First” retreat from international engagement.		
Now, the global failures in confronting the pandemic from Europe to the United States have given the Chinese leadership a platform to prove its model works — and potentially gain some lasting geopolitical currency.		
As it has done in the past, the Chinese state is using its extensive tools and deep pockets to build partnerships around the world, relying on trade, investments and, in this case, an advantageous position as the world’s largest maker of medicines and protective masks.		
The largess is going a long way to help temper popular anger over its initial mishandling of the outbreak that is now wreaking havoc on every continent bar Antarctica.		
“I don’t know and now I don’t care,” Michele Geraci, a former under secretary in the Italian economic development ministry, said in an interview when asked whether the assistance reflected China’s geopolitical ambitions as much as humanitarian concerns.		
China has long aspired to assert a more prominent role in the United Nations and other international organizations while projecting its political, economic and military influence in more and more parts of the world — at times in direct competition with the United States.		
“It is also touting its success in containing the coronavirus outbreak to suggest its one-party		

<p>regime is superior to the bumbling democracies in the West, in particular the U.S.”</p>		
<p>“We need each other’s support in times of need.”</p>		
<p>“This is no longer a challenge that a country can solve on its own, but it requires all of us to work together,” Mr. Ma’s foundation said in a statement that listed donations to dozens of countries, including all 54 nations in Africa.</p>		
<p>The state news media has also highlighted the chaos in Europe and the United States with something close to schadenfreude.</p>		
<p>People’s Daily cheered the news this week that the pace of infections and deaths overseas now exceeds that inside China.</p>		
<p>China’s critics dismiss the assistance as hollow gestures, even cynical ones.</p>		
<p>Many in Italy, for example, angrily pointed out that China was selling masks, respirators and other medical equipment, not donating them, and claimed that some of the materials were meant for Chinese citizens in the country.</p>		
<p>Others have warned that China was using its dominant role in the production of respirators and masks to reward friendly nations.</p>		
<p>China made half the world’s masks before the coronavirus emerged there and it has greatly expanded production nearly 12-fold since then, although it has kept more of the supply for itself.</p>		
<p>Li Xingqian, the director of international trade at the commerce ministry in Beijing, said in a recent briefing that the government had not issued any rule to stop exports, but simply needed to meet strong domestic demand for masks and other protective equipment.</p>		
<p>For countries on the receiving end of China’s largess, questions about the country’s motives have largely taken a back seat.</p>		
<p>That has been especially clear in Iraq, a country that has been a focus of American foreign policy for decades.</p>		
<p>A statement by the Iraqi foreign ministry made clear that the coronavirus was only one of the projects the two countries would be working on together: The others include the oil industry and updating some of Iraq’s aging electricity infrastructure.</p>		
<p>It is not clear whether the Iraqis fully absorbed the lessons the Chinese have offered.</p>		
<p>At a signing ceremony on Tuesday for the installation of a new lab at Medical City, the</p>		

<p>Chinese ambassador to Iraq, Zhang Tao, appeared visibly anxious.</p>		
<p>“Really, there are many people in this room, important people, government advisers and ministers — none of them is wearing a mask or gloves,” Mr. Zhang told Mohammed Waheen, a pulmonologist at Medical City Teaching Hospital, who also attended.</p>		
<p>“You are not taking this seriously.”</p>		
<p>“China is now trying to repair its severely damaged international image due to its mishandling of the outbreak in Wuhan in early January,” Minxin Pei, a professor of government at Claremont McKenna College in California, wrote in an email.</p>	<p>Responsibility</p>	<p>It is obvious that China is to bear the blame for the conflict since it chose to pretend to be a rival in order to compete unfairly with America.</p>
<p>Chinese officials have insisted that a pandemic should be an arena for political cooperation, not competition.</p>		
<p>China’s success in slowing the disease’s spread, however, has emboldened officials and state media to push back harder — at times clumsily.</p>		
<p>One foreign ministry spokesman, Zhao Lijian, floated a conspiracy theory that the United States Army was behind the virus, while another squabbled with Mario Vargas Llosa, the Peruvian author and Nobel Prize laureate, over a newspaper column he wrote about the pandemic.</p>		
<p>The state news media has also highlighted the chaos in Europe and the United States with something close to schadenfreude.</p>		
<p>People’s Daily cheered the news this week that the pace of infections and deaths overseas now exceeds that inside China.</p>		
<p>“I see China focused on using the crisis as an opportunity to play up the superiority of its model.”</p>		
<p>“I think this also shows what climate change could look like in the future,” he added, “less an opportunity for global cooperation and more the background for geopolitical competition, with every major actor trying to do better than its rivals.”</p>		

Appendix (xviii)

The Frames of the American Article (2)

Uses	Frame	Explanation
U.S. and China Trade Barbs Over What to Call Coronavirus	Conflict	The dispute between China and America is depicted by the usage of particular phrases or vocabulary elements like "trade barbs," "tussling," and "accused."
U.S. officials have used 'Wuhan virus' or 'Chinese coronavirus' as labels; Chinese officials question claims virus necessarily began in China		
The U.S. and China are tussling over what to call the fast-spreading coronavirus and where it originated, as the pandemic grows ever more politically charged.		
In response, China has accused the Trump administration of racism and xenophobia, casting itself as a victim amid intensifying international criticism that Beijing moved too slowly and suppressed information about the new coronavirus that might have headed it off earlier.		
Geng Shuang, a spokesman for China's Foreign Ministry, denounced the U.S. on Thursday as "immoral and irresponsible," calling on officials in Washington to "concentrate their energy on responding to the virus and promoting cooperation, and not on shifting the blame to China."		
"We oppose the stigmatization and making an issue out of this."		
China's pushback against the prevailing evidence of a Chinese origin began in earnest on Feb. 27, roughly a month after authorities locked down Wuhan.		
After China's Foreign Ministry spent weeks debunking conspiracy theories surrounding the origins of the virus, a spokesman for the ministry took to Twitter Thursday and Friday to accuse the U.S. of lacking transparency and suggesting,		
Scrutiny of China has intensified as the disease spread beyond its borders—to more than 100 countries, according to WHO data—amid evidence Beijing suppressed news of the outbreak during its initial weeks. Five virologists in the U.S. and Europe told The Wall	Human interest	China is blamed for the epidemic and for how the virus was handled during the initial outbreak.

<p>Street Journal they have seen no convincing evidence that the coronavirus originated anywhere but in China.</p>		
<p>On Wednesday night, in an address from the Oval Office, President Trump avoided the WHO's preferred terminology, describing the pathogen as "a foreign virus" and as "the coronavirus outbreak that started in China."</p>	<p>Morality</p>	<p>These are a few cases that demonstrate the US side's moral need to abide by the WHO's ruling. There are further indications that the Chinese are resisting Trump and Pompeo in an unethical way. Subsequent occurrences allude to the WHO's moral selection of the virus's name.</p>
<p>Chinese officials, and some scientists, have pushed back especially hard against Mr. Pompeo for appearing to use the crisis to further his hard political line against China.</p>		
<p>Blandly, Covid-19 stands for a coronavirus disease detected in 2019. When the WHO unveiled the name in February, 99% of the confirmed cases were in China.</p>		
<p>Asked for evidence that the virus had originated anywhere other than central China, Mr. Geng called it "an issue of science," adding:</p>		
<p>"The naming of these epidemics you think is straightforward, but it turns out to be very sensitive," he said.</p>		
<p>"We had to find a name that did not refer to a geographical location, an animal, an individual or group of people," WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus said at the time, underlining the importance of avoiding "names that can be inaccurate or stigmatizing."</p>		
<p>During the ministry's regular briefing Friday, the spokesman Mr. Geng sidestepped questions about his colleague's accusations of a U.S. military role by reiterating criticism of some U.S. comments and stressing the importance of science to address uncertainties about the outbreak's origin.</p>		
<p>But health experts say outbreaks often put governments on the defensive, since they often carry big economic and social consequences.</p>	<p>Economic consequence</p>	<p>China's negligence in the fight against the virus has serious negative effects on numerous countries' economies and social systems.</p>
<p>U.S. and China Trade Barbs Over What to Call Coronavirus</p>	<p>Responsibility</p>	<p>It is clear that a lot of emphasis is put on the idea that both sides are to blame for the conflict as they swap criticism and accusations. Therefore, American politicians' naming of the virus that links it to China is portrayed as the primary cause of the conflict, whereas China's failure to properly manage the virus's</p>
<p>U.S. officials have used 'Wuhan virus' or 'Chinese coronavirus' as labels; Chinese officials question claims virus necessarily began in China</p>		
<p>The U.S. and China are tussling over what to call the fast-spreading coronavirus and where it</p>		

<p>originated, as the pandemic grows ever more politically charged.</p>		<p>first outbreak, its deliberate concealment of the virus's origin, and its accusation of America of transferring the virus to America are seen as the cause for Americans to accuse China. Due to the aforementioned factors, China is given more credit for being at fault than America, which is only accused for not utilizing the Official name of the virus to prevent racism or other forms of discrimination.</p>
<p>With the virus now threatening the U.S., Trump administration officials in recent days have stepped up their attempts to characterize the coronavirus's origin as Chinese. Senior U.S. officials, including Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, have referred to the pathogen as the "Wuhan virus" or the "Chinese coronavirus," rather than using the name Covid-19, the World Health Organization's designation for the disease caused by the virus.</p>		
<p>In response, China has accused the Trump administration of racism and xenophobia, casting itself as a victim amid intensifying international criticism that Beijing moved too slowly and suppressed information about the new coronavirus that might have headed it off earlier.</p>		
<p>China says it has acted responsibly and that no evidence has definitively determined where the coronavirus originated, despite its initial detection in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, where the bulk of the early cases appeared.</p>		
<p>On Wednesday night, in an address from the Oval Office, President Trump avoided the WHO's preferred terminology, describing the pathogen as "a foreign virus" and as "the coronavirus outbreak that started in China."</p>		
<p>Chinese officials, and some scientists, have pushed back especially hard against Mr. Pompeo for appearing to use the crisis to further his hard political line against China.</p>		
<p>"This is the Wuhan coronavirus," he said in an interview last week.</p>		
<p>"No less authority than the Chinese Communist Party said it came from Wuhan. So don't take Mike Pompeo's word for it."</p>		
<p>Geng Shuang, a spokesman for China's Foreign Ministry, denounced the U.S. on Thursday as "immoral and irresponsible," calling on officials in Washington to "concentrate their energy on responding to the virus and promoting cooperation, and not on shifting the blame to China."</p>		
<p>"We oppose the stigmatization and making an issue out of this."</p>		

But health experts say outbreaks often put governments on the defensive, since they often carry big economic and social consequences.		
While it is important to understand the origins of a virus, “countries are understandably concerned about being blamed,” said Keiji Fukuda, a former WHO official who now teaches at the University of Hong Kong.		
China’s pushback against the prevailing evidence of a Chinese origin began in earnest on Feb. 27, roughly a month after authorities locked down Wuhan.		
After China’s Foreign Ministry spent weeks debunking conspiracy theories surrounding the origins of the virus, a spokesman for the ministry took to Twitter Thursday and Friday to accuse the U.S. of lacking transparency and suggesting,		
“It might be US army who brought the epidemic to Wuhan.”		
During the ministry’s regular briefing Friday, the spokesman Mr. Geng sidestepped questions about his colleague’s accusations of a U.S. military role by reiterating criticism of some U.S. comments and stressing the importance of science to address uncertainties about the outbreak’s origin.		

Appendix (xix)

The Frames of the Chinese Article (1)

Uses	Frame	Explanation
Trump tweet infuriates China	Conflict	The article uses several words that might support the argument that there is a confrontation between America and China, like "smear," "stigmatize," "infuriate," and "surrender." All of these are used to suggest that there is a confrontation between the two nations and that America is engaging in aggressive behavior that causes China to retaliate. There is a focus on the racism and anti-Chinese prejudice caused by the US act of naming the virus. Also, the American act is perceived as an attempt
China will never ‘surrender’ to US moves to politicize virus source		
US President Donald Trump using the term "Chinese Virus" to refer to the COVID-19 in his tweet is an act of inability and irresponsibility, as he wants to make Americans to blame China and cover his own administration's terrible response to the predictable outbreak and his failure to ease panic in the US stock market, said Chinese experts on Tuesday, adding that hyping up racism and anti-China sentiment won't help the US deal with the pandemic at all.		

<p>The Chinese Foreign Ministry expressed strong indignation and firm opposition to Trump's tweet calling COVID-19 the "Chinese Virus."</p>		<p>to hide the inability of the American administration to govern the nation.</p>
<p>Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng Shuang said at a press briefing Tuesday afternoon that Trump's act stigmatizes China, which China strongly condemns.</p>		<p>The article presents the WHO's view on naming the virus to support the Chinese argument about US activities.</p>
<p>"The World Health Organization and the international community are clearly opposed to linking viruses to specific countries and regions and to stigmatizing them," Geng said.</p>		
<p>"We urge the US side to immediately correct its mistakes and stop making groundless accusations against China."</p>		
<p>Where the virus had come from should be a topic for science rather than politics, and by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the stock market, as the two biggest economies of the world could see a new conflict amid a pandemic that has already brought serious harms to the world economy, analysts warned.</p>		
<p>Some observers noted that Trump's tweet could be a reaction to a tweet sent by Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Zhao Lijian on his personal Twitter account that asked the US to be transparent about its epidemic situation, as Robert Redfield, director of the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), openly admitted last week at a hearing at the House of Representatives on the outbreak, that some COVID-19 deaths have been misdiagnosed as influenza in the US.</p>		
<p>On Monday, in a phone call requested by US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to Chinese State Councilor Yang Jiechi, Pompeo conveyed strong US objections to China's "efforts to shift blame for COVID-19 to the United States."</p>		
<p>The secretary stressed that "this is not the time to spread disinformation and outlandish rumors," according to the website of the US Department of State.</p>		
<p>Yang, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee and the director of the Office of Foreign Affairs of the CPC Central Committee, expressed strong objections over Washington's intent to "slander and smear China's efforts" in containing the COVID-19.</p>		
<p>Time to be tough</p>		
<p>According to the facts, it was the US politicians who started the rumor offensive and began spreading baseless conspiracy theories, such as Senator Tom</p>		

<p>Cotton's claim that "the virus is related to China's bioweapon program" to insult and smear China without any hard evidence, and Pompeo also continually called the epidemic "Wuhan virus" despite the WHO formally naming it COVID-19 to avoid discrimination.</p>		
<p>Some Chinese analysts worry that Zhao's tweets may cause the US to retaliate, and they blame Zhao for "infuriating" the US.</p>		
<p>They also thought Zhao was repeating "the wrong conspiracy theory" similar to what US politicians use to smear China.</p>		
<p>Zhao's question for the US was neither an accusation nor a rumor, but a reasonable query that is totally different from US politicians' groundless rumors and insults against China, Jin noted.</p>		
<p>After the Trump's tweet was released on Tuesday, more Chinese experts noted that this is not the time to blame Zhao and "surrender" to the US, as he only raised a reasonable query rather than spreading disinformation, and it is time for China to be tough in striking back against the discriminatory and racist stance of the US.</p>		
<p>The historic decline of US stock markets since the last financial crisis and appalling reaction to the epidemic situation made Trump lose support from Americans, so this also made him want to distract domestic attention from criticizing his lack of responsibility by blaming China, said Jin.</p>		
<p>Trump's irresponsible tweet that offended China seriously is likely to trigger a "circuit breaker" for the stock market again as the tweet signaled a potential conflict launched by the US against China, amid the pandemic, said Lü Xiang, a research fellow on US studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing.</p>		
<p>For the next step, based on Trump's current stance, his administration may potentially encourage those US firms which are particularly affected by COVID-19 to sue China for "compensation" or force China to pay for US losses in the pandemic, Jin said.</p>		
<p>Trump could also further blame China on many other issues, such as unemployment and poor economic performance, so that he can fool US voters to forgive or ignore his administration's undesirable performance.</p>		
<p>He would then use such excuses to manipulate the exchange rate of the US dollar and sanction China's high-tech firms to force manufacturing industries to return to the US, or even tear up the signed trade</p>		

<p>deal to divert domestic attention, Chinese experts commented.</p>		
<p>No matter what he does, if he turns provocations into concrete actions, China would surely retaliate and the world economy would be further compromised, Jin noted.</p>		
<p>Yang told Pompeo via phone call on Monday that "any scheme to smear China will be doomed to fail" and China will counter such moves with determination.</p>		
<p>But if the US provokes China, it would make it very difficult for China to assist the US, experts said, and innocent Americans who need masks and vital drugs badly will likely pay for the inability and ignorance of the Trump administration, said a Beijing-based expert on epidemic prevention and control who asked for anonymity.</p>		
<p>"So how dare the Trump administration blame us?"</p>		
<p>They can't just cover up their inability by blaming China and fool their own people," he noted.</p>		
<p>The warfare of public opinion launched by the US to stigmatize China is doomed to fail as too many facts have proven China's reputation and image in the international community is unshakable, and Washington can only "bring itself into disrepute," said Lü from the CASS.</p>		
<p>More countries like Spain, Serbia and the Philippines are also seeking help from China as they trust China's experiences and credibility, but the US only announced travel bans against other countries and hyped up racism to spread hatred without making any notable contribution to this global fight against COVID-19, so when asked who is the more responsible global power, who should be thanked and who should be blamed, people around the world know the answer clearly, said Chinese experts.</p>		
<p>US President Donald Trump using the term "Chinese Virus" to refer to the COVID-19 in his tweet is an act of inability and irresponsibility, as he wants to make Americans to blame China and cover his own administration's terrible response to the predictable outbreak and his failure to ease panic in the US stock market, said Chinese experts on Tuesday, adding that hyping up racism and anti-China sentiment won't help the US deal with the pandemic at all.</p>	<p>Human interest</p>	<p>In an effort to sway the reader's choice of which side to support, the article explicitly presents China as the victim and emphasizes the grave offense that Chinese people have experienced as a result of the "discriminatory and racist position of the US". The story also shows that the Chinese are concerned about America's future if they continue to support America despite its continued aggression.</p>
<p>After the Trump's tweet was released on Tuesday, more Chinese experts noted that this is not the time to blame Zhao and "surrender" to the US, as he only raised a reasonable query rather than spreading disinformation, and it is time for China to be tough</p>		

<p>in striking back against the discriminatory and racist stance of the US.</p>		
<p>Consequences of racism</p>		
<p>Based on humanitarian principles, China will keep providing assistance worldwide and won't cut off supplies to any country.</p>		
<p>But if the US provokes China, it would make it very difficult for China to assist the US, experts said, and innocent Americans who need masks and vital drugs badly will likely pay for the inability and ignorance of the Trump administration, said a Beijing-based expert on epidemic prevention and control who asked for anonymity.</p>		
<p>The Beijing-based expert noted that Chinese professional teams have held many video conferences with US professionals to share data and keep them updated, and that China's public health authorities have also been communicating closely with the US CDC throughout the outbreak.</p>		
<p>Chinese pharmaceutical companies have supplied more than 90 percent of US antibiotics, vitamin C, ibuprofen and hydrocortisone, as well as 70 percent of acetaminophen and 40 to 45 percent of heparin in recent years, the New York Times reported on March 11.</p>		
<p>An article published on March 4 by the Xinhua News Agency said that if China banned the export of drugs, "the US would sink into the hell of a novel coronavirus epidemic," so the US should be grateful rather than accuse China for political purposes.</p>		
<p>Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng said at the press conference that "this is the wrong prescription that may harm many more ordinary Americans."</p>		
<p>Chinese experts said there could be only one result of this - the US people will need to spend more money but can only buy less drugs.</p>		
<p>"We urge the US side to immediately correct its mistakes and stop making groundless accusations against China."</p>	<p>Morality</p>	<p>The essay highlights a few standards that American politicians must adhere to while discussing China. Such rules include the requirement to apologize to China after they erred by spreading untrue rumors against it. Additional standards include the requirement that scientists be allowed to discover the virus's origin and the demand for international collaboration to combat the infection.</p>
<p>Where the virus had come from should be a topic for science rather than politics, and by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the stock market, as the two biggest economies of the world could see a new conflict amid a pandemic that has already brought serious harms to the world economy, analysts warned.</p>		
<p>He told the Global Times on Tuesday that it is totally reasonable for Zhao to question the US and to urge it to be transparent.</p>		

<p>"The US should answer this question and be transparent to not only China, but also its own people and the rest of the world."</p>		
<p>At this moment, countries which become impacted by the pandemic urgently need cooperation rather than being blamed so that the stock market can at least see some positive signs, otherwise it may only add more uncertainty and panic, Lü said.</p>		
<p>Geng said at the Tuesday press conference that China will firmly stand with the Serbian people side by side to fight the virus, and China will provide emergency material assistance including ventilators, medical masks and protection suits to Serbia, and will send medical experts there to share experiences regarding epidemic prevention and control, as well as diagnosing and treating patients.</p>		
<p>Where the virus had come from should be a topic for science rather than politics, and by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the stock market, as the two biggest economies of the world could see a new conflict amid a pandemic that has already brought serious harms to the world economy, analysts warned.</p>	<p>Economic consequence</p>	<p>In the article, all probable economic effects of the current provocation are predicted. There are references to the stock market's future and how it will affect not only America but the entire world. The stock market is being brought up to draw attention since everyone is concerned about this subject in particular.</p>
<p>Trump's irresponsible tweet that offended China seriously is likely to trigger a "circuit breaker" for the stock market again as the tweet signaled a potential conflict launched by the US against China, amid the pandemic, said Lü Xiang, a research fellow on US studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing.</p>		
<p>"If Trump can't stop the current trend and potentially makes it worse [due to lack of management], when the stock market crashes to a lower level than before he got elected four years ago, he will surely lose the election."</p>		
<p>No matter what he does, if he turns provocations into concrete actions, China would surely retaliate and the world economy would be further compromised, Jin noted.</p>		
<p>US President Donald Trump using the term "Chinese Virus" to refer to the COVID-19 in his tweet is an act of inability and irresponsibility, as he wants to make Americans to blame China and cover his own administration's terrible response to the predictable outbreak and his failure to ease panic in the US stock market, said Chinese experts on Tuesday, adding that hyping up racism and anti-China sentiment won't help the US deal with the pandemic at all.</p>	<p>Responsibility</p>	<p>According to the paper, Trump and his fellow politicians are entirely to blame. The Chinese side responds negatively to their identification of the virus as a hint to its origin and their linking of the virus with a Chinese bioweapon, which opens the door for a future war.</p>

<p>"We urge the US side to immediately correct its mistakes and stop making groundless accusations against China."</p>		
<p>Where the virus had come from should be a topic for science rather than politics, and by arrogantly provoking China at this juncture, the situation that the US and many other countries are being confronted with will get worse, especially the stock market, as the two biggest economies of the world could see a new conflict amid a pandemic that has already brought serious harms to the world economy, analysts warned.</p>		
<p>According to the facts, it was the US politicians who started the rumor offensive and began spreading baseless conspiracy theories, such as Senator Tom Cotton's claim that "the virus is related to China's bioweapon program" to insult and smear China without any hard evidence, and Pompeo also continually called the epidemic "Wuhan virus" despite the WHO formally naming it COVID-19 to avoid discrimination.</p>		
<p>The warfare of public opinion launched by the US to stigmatize China is doomed to fail as too many facts have proven China's reputation and image in the international community is unshakable, and Washington can only "bring itself into disrepute," said Lü from the CASS.</p>		

Appendix (xx)

The Frames of the Chinese Article (2)

Uses	Frames	Explanation
Although there is a documented benefit to be found in social distancing and reduced flow of traffic, the introduction of border controls, travel shutdowns and the rise of physical barriers have been mirrored by the barriers developed in the minds and the wild imaginations of worried people everywhere.	Conflict	<p>These examples show that there is a dispute. It alludes to the principal causes of the conflict. The reporter observes that one of the factors contributing to the violence is psychological tension that is increased as a result of the anarchy and economic situation in America. People started blaming China for the virus as a result of this stress. Another factor that causes people to blame China and causes a dispute is the virus's presence in Wuhan. This factor causes people to blame China.</p> <p>The use of a racial term is used by the American officials to describe the virus is believed to incite anti-China sentiment and manipulate people's emotions and contribute to the confrontation with China.</p> <p>Another issue mentioned as the root of the dispute is the fact that Trump accuses China not because he has proof but rather because he wants to cover up his inability to run the nation, casting China in the role of the aggressor.</p>
By the same weak leap of logic, when the disease also emerged in Thailand, Japan, the Republic of Korea and other neighboring countries, the world began to turn a jaundiced eye to China.		
However, far from China's shores, other names were being concocted to describe the perilous pathogen, and terms such as "Wuhan flu" and "Wuhan coronavirus" (which was used by The New York Times) began to be bandied about.		
US Senator Tom Cotton from Arkansas throughout the crisis has made statements designed to inflame and arouse anti-China sentiment by blaming China for the virus.		
Although Cotton's hatred for China predates the outbreak and is rooted in a rigid anti-communist worldview, he has exploited the epidemic by conflating his political enemy with the hated virus.		
Manipulative populism at play in United States		
Despite the incendiary rhetoric of a few hot heads, references to the virus designed to indict China as a co-conspirator faded in February, and the mainstream media, The New York Times included, was careful to stick to the scientific term COVID-19 or the more general term, coronavirus.		
But in early March a new wave of stigmatizing language entered the American discourse by close associates of US President Donald Trump.		
Manipulative populism and playing to the hidden prejudice of a conservative political base came into play.		
It was no longer loud-mouth radio hosts and redneck politicians talking that way, and as such could not be easily dismissed.		

<p>US top diplomat, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, started to use the terms "Wuhan virus" and "Chinese coronavirus" in official statements in the first week of March, giving political cover to closet racists anxious to pin blame on China.</p> <p>Unwilling to take blame, Trump found it useful to deflect criticism away from his own negligence by making withering use of the term "foreign virus".</p>		
<p>This incendiary term came short of tagging China directly, but by then the narrative of presumptive guilt had been well established and his own supporters were bad-mouthing China with increasing frequency.</p>		
<p>The US leader's use of the term "foreign virus" on March 11 was eagerly picked up by his political base, and social media use of the term "surged into the tens of millions" according to the Atlantic Council's Digital Forensic Research Lab.</p>		
<p>Anti-Asian abuse and violence on the rise</p>		
<p>Elsewhere, prejudice was becoming more overt. A White House aide joked about the China connection, telling CBS White House reporter Weijia Jiang that it was the "Kung Flu".</p>		
<p>But looking weary in the face of mounting criticism of his failure to lead a national response to the pandemic, Trump suddenly joined the chorus of China-blaters as seen in this March 18 tweet from his official account:</p>		
<p>Politicians have their own agendas and prejudices</p>	<p>Responsibility</p>	<p>This article uses a variety of scenarios to demonstrate who is to blame for the disagreement. The first circumstance is ascribed to the political objectives and prejudices of the American officials, which compelled the WHO to select a name that did not stigmatize individuals.</p>
<p>A virus carries no passport — scientists and medical doctors know that better than anyone else — but politicians have their own agendas, and popular prejudice cannot be waved away with a magic wand.</p>		
<p>That's why international organizations such as the World Health Organization called on experienced medical professionals to assign a name to the disease that did not reflect on race or location.</p>		
<p>When questioned about his injudicious use of "Chinese Virus" at a press conference later in the day, Trump doubled down in his use of the term.</p>		
<p>When Yamiche Alcindor of PBS asked him if using the term "Chinese virus" puts Asian-Americans at risk, Trump bristled:</p>		
<p>"No. Not at all. I think they would probably agree with it 100 percent. It comes from China."</p>		
<p>The die is now cast for racial tensions to follow.</p>		
<p>But it is inexcusable to blame a disease that knows no boundaries and afflicts all humans regardless of race or an ethnic group or a faraway nation.</p>		
<p>This is intellectually dishonest, and it is a cheap shot to deflect blame and arouse populist support.</p>		

<p>It is racist, it is wrong and ruling US politicians owe us all an apology.</p>		
<p>Sadly for the human record, scapegoating often emerges from reaction to disaster.</p>	<p>Human interest</p>	<p>All of these instances speak to the negative effects of stigmatization on people's lives. They are intended to demonstrate that China's top priorities are human rights and life. Thus, past references to examples of the effects of racism may be made at this time. Additionally, a case study that illustrates an act of violence against an Asian-American serves as a real-world illustration of what is occurring to Chinese people as a result of American stigmatization.</p>
<p>After the devastating Great Kanto earthquake of 1923, ethnic Korean residents of Tokyo were rumored to be a cause of trouble and were massacred in the thousands.</p>		
<p>The punishing economic conditions of Germany after World War I are frequently cited as a key factor leading to a rise in anti-Semitism so toxic and pervasive that they led to genocide.</p>		
<p>Around the same time, reports on social media and elsewhere described an uptick in anti-Asian abuse and violence.</p>		
<p>New Yorker writer Jiayang Fan reported in a tweet that she was accosted by a stranger using vile, racist language when she stepped out of her front door to take out the garbage.</p>		
<p>It left her feeling afraid to even walk down the street to go shopping.</p>		
<p>Dozens, if not hundreds of such reports are now circulating on social media.</p>		
<p>And it's only getting worse.</p>		
<p>A stealthy, highly contagious virus has caused a precipitous drop in the United States' stock market and sent shudders down the spine of a stalled economy.</p>	<p>Economic consequences</p>	<p>The essay illustrates the economic costs associated with the failure to control the disease and the focus on blaming China rather than working together to address such a catastrophe in America and throughout the world.</p>
<p>With factories and stores closing down, lights being dimmed from Broadway to Las Vegas, and hospitals overwhelmed with critically ill patients, the American mood is confused, resentful and laced with fear.</p>		
<p>However, the tribal fears invoked in border barriers, lockdowns, shutdowns and quarantines have put the very project of globalization on the defensive.</p>		
<p>Thousands of planes have been idled, trains run empty and highways are free of cars, while the world's great tourist sites have turned into ghost towns.</p>		
<p>There is hardly a nation on earth that has not been hit with the novel coronavirus, so international cooperation is essential.</p>	<p>Moral</p>	<p>This structure is how the article under discussion establishes its agenda. It portrays the Chinese side as moral, responsible, and intelligent when they advise employing science to address the virus's root.</p>
<p>Only scientists can definitively answer questions about the origin of the novel coronavirus, but the city of Wuhan, capital of Hubei province, is indelibly tied to public awareness of the disease because the first wave of the epidemic in China erupted there.</p>		

		Additionally, because the virus has essentially afflicted every nation, it encourages nations to cooperate in order to tackle it, which is another moral framing.
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وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي

جامعة بابل

كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية

قسم اللغة الانكليزية

تصوير كوفيد-19 مصدرا للصراع في الصحف الأمريكية والصينية: تحليل
نقدي للخطاب

إلى مجلس كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية/ جامعة بابل جزءا من متطلبات نيل درجة
دكتوراه فلسفه في اللغة الانجليزية/علم اللغة

أطروحة تقدمت بها

زينب سعد محمد هادي

بإشراف

الأستاذ المساعد الدكتور صادق مهدي الشمري

حزيران ٢٠٢٣

ذي القعدة ١٤٤٤

المستخلص

تهدف الدراسة الحالية إلى تحديد الأيديولوجيات والأجندات التي تحاول كل من الصحف الأمريكية والصينية وضعها في أذهان جمهورها.

تجيب الدراسة على الأسئلة التالية: لغويا وايديولوجيا ومن ناحية التناس؟ ما هي هذه الأيديولوجيات؟ كيف يمكن الكشف عن الاجندات؟ كيف يتم تأطير الصراع في البيانات؟ وما هي الأجندات الرئيسية؟

تُفترض الدراسة أن الأيديولوجية الرئيسية في الصحف الأمريكية تركز على الادعاء بأن الصين هي مكان المنشأ لـ COVID-19 ، بينما تنفي الصحف الصينية هذا الادعاء.

توصلت الدراسة إلى الاستنتاجات التالية:

1. يستخدم المراسلون موضوعات وافتراسات مسبقة وأسماء موصوفة للمساعدة في تقديم الأيديولوجيات المقصودة.

2. يتم استخدام تمجيد الذات الوطني كاستراتيجية خلال إدارة ترامب للإشادة بالموقف الأمريكي المسبق بدلاً من الموقف الحالي.

3. تظهر تمجيد الذات الوطني بشكل متكرر كاحد الاستراتيجيات التي تشيد بالموقف الحالي للصين.

4. على الرغم من استخدام الاقتباسات المباشرة وغير المباشرة بشكل متكرر ، إلا أن تحيز المراسلين لا يزال قائماً لأنهم يستخدمون فقط الاقتباسات التي تساعد في دعم موضوعاتهم.

2. تظهر أطاري الأخلاق والمسؤولية بشكل متكرر في المقالات الأمريكية. يركز الأول على السلوك الصيني غير الأخلاقي الذي يمكن استخدامه كمبرر للصراع بينما يجعل الأخير الصين مسؤولة عن عدد من الأفعال السلبية التي تؤثر على العالم وتتطلب الصراع. يتكرر ظهور أطاري الصراع والمصالح الإنسانية بشكل بارز في المقالات الصينية. يتم استخدام الإطار الأول ليوضع في أذهان الجمهور أن الأمريكيين يسعون إلى الصراع في حين أن يهدف الأخير الى تقديم الصين على أنها دولة تهتم بحياة الناس.

4. الأجندة الأساسية في الصحف الأمريكية هي الطموح الجيوسياسي للصين بينما تركز الصحف الصينية على الهدف الأمريكي لتشويه صورة الصين دولياً.