

“RCEP” in the Eyes of Western Media: A Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis

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ABSTRACT

Based on the self-built corpus of the news reports on the recently-signed Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), the present study aims at disclosing the western media's perception of this China-led achievement and thus, revealing the ideology hidden in the news discourse. The present study takes frequency, keyword, concordance lines and collocation network as indicators to conduct a multi-dimensional interpretation on the image of the RCEP constructed by the western media. It is found that the western media generally held a positive attitude towards the “RCEP” and associated it with desirable expressions. However, there is also evidence of them holding prejudices against it, linking it to “geopolitical expansion” and “geocentrism”. Besides, it is observed that the western media believed that the “RCEP” would be closely related to global economic development but they might have built different images of the two most frequently mentioned countries (i.e., “China” and “India”) through disparate lexical choices. As international relations are unceasingly getting tense, further studies applying the corpus method are encouraged to track the changes and developments in the depiction of the “RCEP” by the western media.

Keywords: RCEP, critical discourse analysis, corpus, western media.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), unifying the preexisting bilateral agreements between the ten members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and five of its major trade partners, was signed on 15th November 2020, and will take effect soon. Scrutiny on news reports related to the RCEP is of great significance since the RCEP is one of the main achievements of China's rise and it is concerned with both ideological and economic issues. Therefore, the present study aims at disclosing the image of the RCEP constructed by western media under the framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and attempts to seek the hidden ideology and discourse hegemony.

1.1 The RCEP

The 15 member countries of the RCEP account for about one third of the world's population as well as the global GDP, making it the biggest trade pact in history. The trade pact, including a mix of high-income, middle-income, and low-income countries, is expected to eliminate approximately 90% of the tariffs on imports

between its signatories within 20 years and establish common rules for trade, e-commerce, and intellectual property.

Views towards the RCEP are diverse. Some believed that it would be a tremendous boost to the economy amid the COVID-19 pandemic while others were concerned that it would pose a huge threat. However, when it comes to the question of which views will be well-accepted by the public, the role played by news reports in shaping the audience's perception can on no condition be underestimated since it is almost the easiest access to latest events.

News reports in the mass media are often perceived to be true and reliable by the majority of their readers but in fact, attitude orientations are often hidden behind those seemingly neutral and objective articles. Subjective opinions may be embodied implicitly in the well-processed discourse to manipulate ideologies and power relations. From this perspective, analyzing how western media constructed the image of the RCEP is expected to serve as an example to show us how the western world perceives China's increasingly active involvement in global affairs.

1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA is defined as a means of analyzing text “by studying the details of linguistic structure in the light of the social and historical situation of the text, to display the patterns of belief and values which are encoded in the language” [1]. Based on this definition, the main materials of CDA are public discourses including newspaper, political propaganda, and official documents where unfair social phenomena are presented [2]. The essential goal of CDA is to resist social inequality through text and talk in the social and political context [3].

Since the 1970s, CDA has been dominant in the realm of discourse analysis but it is also faced with skepticism for that it simply points out the defects in social organizations or social behaviors without ever putting forward any solutions to improve the status quo and that the number of texts is usually too small and the interpretation lacks objectivity and systematicity [4]. Stubbs put forward eleven questions on CDA’s data, description, and theory, attempting to figure out the extent to which CDA meets “standards of careful, rigorous and systematic analysis” and answered some of them with empirical methods, which could strengthen CDA in various ways and proposed several criteria which it should meet (e.g., the text analyses must be much more detailed, comparative, and not restricted to isolated data fragments). Meanwhile, a much wider range of linguistic features and the use of quantitative and probabilistic methods of text and corpus analysis were encouraged to be included since varieties of language use are defined by clusters of co-occurring features [5]. The incorporation of CDA and corpus renders it possible to reproduce the full picture of the discourse from both the macro and micro aspects.

1.3 Corpus-based CDA

A growing number of studies have applied corpus to critical discourse analysis to explore the inner meaning of words through the investigation of word frequency, concordance, keywords, collocations and word clusters in the text, and through the observation of lexical patterns and grammatical structures. Media reports on different political topics (e.g., refugees, terror attack, war) are usually the content constituting the discourse.

To name a few, Baker & McEnery used corpus concordance, keyword and other analytical methods to investigate the construction of the discourse of the British media on refugees and found that the attitudes presented in British newspapers and those from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees website were different [6]. Using the same method, Baker et al. also conducted an empirical study on the image of Muslims in the British media, and discovered that since the “September 11 attacks”, the

British media's attitude towards Muslims has become more negative and the anti-Muslim complex has become increasingly serious [7].

Later, a trend to include multidisciplinary, cross-cultural, cross-border, and cross-language perspectives in the discourse arose. For instance, Qian collected news reports related to terrorism before and after “9.11” from *The Sun* and *People’s Daily*, and uncovered the disparate ways of how Chinese and English newspapers formed the discourse construction of terrorism [8]. Yuan & Chen interpreted the focus of the reports in Chinese and American media and their attitudes as well as positions on the China-US trade war, and further revealed the image of the two countries constructed in the reports. Research has found that for their own benefits, *China Daily* has constructed a positive and responsible image of China and a negative, selfish and domineering image of the US while the *New York Times* has reversely constructed a strong, just and innocently victimized image of the US and a negative image of China [9].

The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) is a recently-signed trade agreement and studies related to it have merely been focused on its significance and possible benefits for member countries. It remains to be seen whether the attitudes within the western media will diversify as Australia and New Zealand have joined this largest trading bloc and therefore, the views come from both insiders and outsiders. Drawing on similar previous research, employing a corpus-based study to investigate the western media’s reports on the RCEP may offer meaningful insights.

2. DATA COLLECTION

The corpus used in the present study was made up of the news reports from LexisNexis database. By setting “Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership” and “RCEP” as the key terms and restricting the results within the category of news, a myriad of articles appeared. Since the major goal of the present study is to investigate attitudes on the RCEP presented by western media after the official signature of the trade agreement, the timeline was set from November 15th, 2020 to November 27th, 2020.

Another self-evidently significant criterion for discourse selection is that the news should be released by the western media. It is worth noting that in this study, several countries were selected with care as the representatives of western countries and consequently, their publications were the ideal sources to form the corpus. The main reasons why the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand were selected are as follows. First of all, western countries are commonly believed to include Australia, Canada, all

European member countries of the EFTA and EU, the European microstates, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States, which can be deemed as a huge union. The complex constitution adds great difficulty to the collection and analysis of data and therefore, there must be a trade-off between the diversity of selected countries and the feasibility of carrying out the research. In addition, English is the official language of the four countries, so it is naturally assumed that there would be a desirable number of English news texts to be collected. Last but not least, the representatives are composed of both members of the trade bloc (i.e. Australia and New Zealand) and non-members (i.e. the US and the UK), ensuring that the voices of different parties can be heard. As a result, the self-built corpus can be further divided into three sub-corpora which consist of the reports from Australia and New Zealand, the UK, and the US respectively. After location by publication was limited to the three regions and “Group Duplicates” with the option of high similarity was activated, the preliminary result came out that there were accordingly 133, 218, 306 pieces of news available. By manually checking the data’s relevance and removing repeated materials to avoid redundancy, the final constitution of the corpus is shown below in Table 1.

Table 1 Constitution of the Self-built “RCEP Corpus”

Sub-corpus	Pieces of news	Word count	Word Tokens
Australia & New Zealand	133	79,652	80,927
The UK	85	55,094	55,712
The US	150	93,980	95,380
Total	368	228,726	232,019

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The present study concentrates on the image of the “RCEP” depicted by the western media in their news reports. Through a corpus-based approach, the attitudes and position taken by them were expected to be revealed through the analyses of keywords, concordance lines and collocation network.

3.1 Keyword Analysis

With the help of AntConc 3.4.4w (windows) 2014 [10], the keyword list of self-built “RCEP Corpus” was generated by comparing the source corpus with the reference corpus.

Keywords are the ones whose normalized frequency in one corpus (the source corpus) is significantly higher or lower than that in the reference corpus. In the keyword list, words are sorted according to the keyness

which tells the significance of individual keyword in the corpus, and a higher value of keyness indicates a greater significance. Keyword analysis can serve as evidence that news reporters from different news agencies may differ in their lexical choice since ideological position is embodied in choice of words [11] and connections between keywords and social aspects can reflect certain social meaning [12]. In addition, compared to word frequency list, keyword list can indicate the differences in word usage to a greater extent and provide more important information about the text focuses. The Brown Corpus was used as the reference corpus since it met all the required standards. Its high authority, availability, and large size render it representative enough to serve as a good criterion of what is “normal” in language and help test out theories [13].

After eliminating function words like conjunctions, prepositions and articles which are of little significance for analysis, Table 2 presents the top 50 keywords by contrasting the RCEP corpus with the Brown corpus. The majority of the keywords can be roughly divided into the following categories. The first is the name and the essence of the focused subject itself. RCEP is the abbreviation for “Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership”, so the four words naturally become a part of the keyword list, enjoying relatively high frequency and keyness. With its core being a trade deal between the 15 Asia-Pacific nations, the word “*trade*” is the top one in the keyness ranking and related terms like “*deal, rules, tariffs, market (markets), trading*” also rank high in the list.

Table 2 Keyword list of the self-built RCEP corpus

Rank	Frequency	Keyness	Keyword
1	2627	4960	trade
2	2343	4559	China
3	1497	3227	RCEP
4	1104	2320	Australia
5	1082	2026	agreement
6	1125	1633	economic
7	907	1509	countries
8	787	1488	japan
9	754	1443	regional
10	621	1293	partnership
11	684	1285	Asia
12	676	1274	pacific
13	554	1194	ASEAN
14	716	1141	deal
15	574	1110	India
16	514	1073	global
17	581	1033	region

18	3290	1025	America
19	461	926	comprehensive
20	429	924	Trump
21	456	908	Australian
22	377	812	pandemic
23	383	793	Zealand
24	393	761	Asian
25	334	720	Beijing
26	604	714	free
27	328	707	COVID
28	344	658	Korea
29	304	655	Biden
30	401	649	minister
31	407	637	rules
32	431	635	Chinese
33	345	631	signed
34	1093	610	said
35	358	589	largest
36	281	567	pact
37	251	541	tariffs
38	365	540	economy
39	903	525	world
40	241	519	APEC
41	280	519	markets
42	243	511	economies
43	236	508	TPP
44	288	494	trading
45	661	484	Xi
46	247	474	agreement
47	260	472	summit
48	236	471	signing
49	230	466	Morrison
50	374	463	market

Secondly, words like “*China, Australia, Japan, ASEAN, Korea, Zealand, Asia, Pacific, India, COVID, pandemic, APEC and TPP*” describe the specific background of the RCEP, which can be generally divided into two aspects: the participant nations and the realistic background. As to participant nations, most of the nations on the wordlist are members of the RCEP program. Here, two representative keywords, “*China*” and “*India*”, are selected for detailed analysis. Compared with other member countries, China enjoys the most attention and emerges as the second most significant keyword in the list. The western media acknowledges that China played the leading role in the

signature of RCEP and has made great contribution to the economic development of Asia-Pacific regions and even the whole world. Another country coming into notice is India because as a regional giant in Asia, it refused to join the trade pact. The Indian government previously pulled out of the negotiations on the grounds that China had rebuffed its demands for a more ambitious pact that would have done far more to tie together the region’s economies, including trade in services as well as in goods. The reason why the western media frequently mention the missing of India is possibly that they tried to emphasize the incompleteness of the RCEP. Form the aspect of the realistic background, for example, the conclusion of a series of the RCEP negotiations, under the outbreak of COVID-19, will bring a ray of hope in supporting the multilateral trading system, creating a new trading structure in the region, revitalizing the supply chains disrupted by COVID-19 and boosting regional and global economic recovery and development.

Furthermore, America, as one of the most important participants in global economy, barely stays out of the way. Trump and Biden, the US president candidates during that period, also become keywords of the news reports. Not only does the RCEP have the potential of making trading between member countries significantly easier, it may also pose threat to other countries and put their enterprises on a somewhat disadvantaged situation. For the US, being excluded limits its ability to shape trading in the Asia-Pacific region and beyond. It is no wonder that its media are concerned about what position the country and its leaders take and their response to the signature of RCEP.

Finally, “*global*”, “*countries*” and “*international*” appear in the top 50 keyness ranking, which demonstrates that the western media believed that the influence of the RCEP is worldwide. It is deemed conducive to global economic growth and will facilitate world peace and development.

3.2 Concordance Analysis

Attention on keywords’ context also contributes to understand the texts thoroughly. Concordance tool in the corpus software is one of the most effective techniques to have a close observation on the context where the keywords occur, and through the context, subtle attitudes and stances can be expressed. Hence, this study selects “Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership” and its abbreviation “RCEP” as search terms to tentatively explore the attitudes and stances hidden in the context.

A more detailed analysis of the concordance lines will be shown in the following parts. Table 3 is an extract taken for the concordance lines of the “Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership”.

The concordance lines of the phrase Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership show that the western media generally have a positive attitude towards the RCEP. For example, the RCEP is *a mammoth free trade deal* with great *prospect* because it can *deepen* the integration of Pacific economics by providing better export opportunities and so on. Further observation of the the keywords' frequency in the corpus also shows that positive words closely related to the RCEP have a higher frequency, such as *free* (604), *united* (333), *openness* (262), *recovery* (202), *cooperation* (191), *growth* (190) and *security* (177), etc. Generally, despite some negative terms such as *condemn*, the western media have a relatively positive evaluation of the RCEP. In their eyes, achieving the RCEP is a major benefit to

the world and it will provide a new paradigm of peace for the international community to achieve mutual benefits, win-win results, and peaceful development. However, it should be noted that the term “Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership” is too redundant to be used in the succinct news reports, so the full name usually occurs once or twice at the beginning of the report, while the abbreviated term “RCEP” is more widely used throughout the articles. Such preference also reflects in the number of concordance lines for the two terms, as the concordance hits for the full name are 353, while those for the abbreviation are 1497. Thus, this study pays more attention to review the concordance lines of abbreviated term “RCEP”.

Table 3 Concordance Lines of the “Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership”

1	better export opportunities with...	RCEP_Full	Agreement between Australia
2	show determination to cooperate	RCEP_Full	covers 2.2 billion people
3	A major boost is	RCEP_Full	concluded on the eve of the visit
4	there is no bigger advantage than	RCEP_Full	What makes RCEP unique is that
5	The prospects for	RCEP_Full	bolstered yesterday's enthusiasm
6	up by 10.50 yuan per ton,	RCEP_Full	deepen Pacific economic integration
7	a mammoth free trade deal,	RCEP_Full	Chinese President Xi Jinping has...
8	joined together to condemn	RCEP_Full	signed on Sunday

Note. “RCEP_Full” here refers to its full name “Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership”

Table 4 Concordance Lines of the “RCEP” from the Positive Side

1	biggest prize for New Zealand from	RCEP	appears to be an agreement
2	chief executive John Milford said	RCEP	was “ a huge positive ” at a time when
3	Australian jobs reliant on trade,	RCEP	will be crucial as Australia and
4	is still committed to openness .	RCEP	will provide a uniform set of principles
5	There’s no denying the	RCEP	is substantial
6	when implemented,	RCEP	will improve the export competitiveness
7	When it becomes effective,	RCEP	will improve market access
8	Jeffrey Wilson, who sees	RCEP	as “a much-needed platform”
9	The birth of	RCEP	could also encourage firms to start up
10	It is hoped that	RCEP	will boost Asian economies by
11	The implementation of	RCEP	will further strengthen the regional
12	Southeast Asia will benefit from	RCEP	and India will lose market share
13	there is tremendous potential for the	RCEP	to be a catalyst for businesses across Asia
14	The standardized rules of origin under	RCEP	will bolster trade efficiency among
15	many countries pointed out that the	RCEP	effectively promote regional economic

Table 4 and Table 5 are respectively some examples of the views from both the positive and negative sides. The majority of positive expressions in Table 4 are similar to their counterparts in Table 3, whereas there are still some fresh terms that provide new clues to explain the stances of the western media. For instance, “*biggest prize*”, *Cpositive*”, “*substantial*” and “*crucial*”

are new positive evaluations. More specific expressions in discussing the benefits of the RCEP are found, such as “*strengthen*”, “*boost*”, “*bolster*” and “*promote*”, from which we can see that the evaluation is not only subjective but also has concrete description. What’s more, “*market access*”, “*export competitiveness*”, and “*trade efficiency*” are also new terms that appear in

Table 4. These echo with the goal of the RCEP which is to help the regional industrial and supply chains to accelerate the integration of the regional market, and facilitate free trade and investment.

However, the fixed mindset that the rise of a nation must be accompanied by hegemony has worried some Western countries and media. Some of them have been hyping the “China threat” theory and mistakenly regarded the RCEP as a manifestation of China’s attempt to achieve hegemony. Some even advocated a new “Cold War” to curb China’s development. Examples of negative reports are shown in Table 5. More seriously, some media denied the multilateralism of the RCEP, claiming that China dominates the project which stimulates geopolitical risks in Asia-Pacific regions, and robs the nonmember countries of their opportunities to develop. Further research found that “Financial Times” from the UK, “The New York Times” from the US and some other newspapers have more prominent negative reports on the RCEP, as shown in the following examples.

- (1) The biggest concern is the **non-binding** nature of much of the agreement, especially in key areas such as information sharing, standards adoption and conformity assessment... Services trade, which represents a growing share of regional trade, is **largely untouched**, while agriculture remains heavily protected, reflecting the broad powers of negotiators to maintain tariffs on “sensitive” sectors. (*Economist Intelligence Unit*, November 17, 2020)
- (2) The pact, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, or R.C.E.P., is **limited in scope**. Still, it carries considerable **symbolic heft**.

The pact covers more of humanity -- 2.2 billion people -- than any previous regional free trade agreement and could help further **cement China's image as the dominant economic power in its neighborhood**. (*The New York Times*, November 15, 2020)

Example (1) says that the RECP has little impact on legal work and does not venture far into the often-divisive issue of ensuring greater intellectual property protections. It skirts broad issues such as protecting independent labor unions and limiting government subsidies to state-owned enterprises but overall, it is not as comprehensive as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), another free trade agreement in the region. However, we believe that the RCEP is just a start to the all-round cooperation between the Asia-Pacific regions and the cooperation will go deeper and cover more areas over time, so such a conclusion of its futility and inefficiency is premature.

Example (2) interprets China’s leading role in the signature of the RCEP as an ambitious move of egocentrism, emphasizing that the project is not for mutual benefits but for consolidation of China’s dominant power in its neighborhood. In fact, just as the Chinese Premier Li Keqiang said in a statement released by the state news media, the pact is “*a victory of multilateralism and free trade*”. The recently-signed RCEP further opens the market, and lower barriers are set to stimulate trade and investment. Such prospect of integrating the regional markets may have been unfairly interpreted as a means of China to control its neighboring nations.

Table 5 Concordance Lines of the “RCEP” from the Negative Side

1	GATT chairman Alan Oxley says	RCEP	is of “ minor political significance ”
2	Wilson believes	RCEP	could actually backfire for China
3	should not overstate the likelihood of	RCEP	being a silver bullet for current issues
4	In the United States, the	RCEP	has been framed as a sign of Beijing
5	the concrete economic benefits of	RCEP	to be modest
6	China is projected to dominate the	RCEP	agenda
7	Indian steelmakers are adamant that	RCEP	will not be a big factor
8	nationalist Global Times said that	RCEP	leaves Washington with very few options
9	New Zealand, and China. The	RCEP	is touted as the world largest trade deal
10	geopolitical risks surrounding	RCEP	We believe that the key geopolitical

3.3 Collocation Analysis

In order to comprehensively interpret the image of the “RCEP” in the eyes of the Western media, a collocation network is presented to observe the interrelations between the “RCEP” and some other keywords. The collocation network shows the multiple connections between keywords and can be used to study how the meaning related to node words is constructed [14].

According to Williams, the construction of a collocation network involves the following steps: at the very beginning, select a high-frequency word as the central node word and then determine its significant collocates by means of frequency. Then repeat the previous step with the collocation words as new node words. With such process, the network gradually expands until all significant collocates have been included [15].

According to the instructions, “RCEP” is set as the central node word. Using it as the search term in

AntConc and checking the results of “Collocates”, eight content words that occur the most frequently, namely *trade, agreement, China, countries, world, India, members* and *signed*, are deemed as its first-class collocates. Seeing them as the new node words, second-class collocates are collected and the network is completed as Figure 1 and further interpretation is offered here.

In terms of the first-class collocates, “*trade*” and “*agreement*” show the essence of the RCEP. Meanwhile, how far it has progressed is indicated by the verb, “*signed*”. The recent signature of the agreement is a huge move in its development after numerous negotiations. Last but not least, the first-class collocates also imply that many “*countries*” are involved, most probably as members of the trade pact and its scope of influence may be the whole “*world*”.

Moving on to the second-class collocates, they offer supplementary information of their node words. For example, as a trade agreement, the RCEP is the “*biggest/largest free trade deal*” in the world and it is related to many Asian-Pacific countries, such as *South Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Australia* and *New Zealand*. It is also reasonable to infer that the date when it was signed is *Sunday* and afterwards, *economic partnership* was formed.

So far, the findings are quite objective since they all describe facts about the RCEP, such as its essence, huge size, member countries as well as the event of its signature. However, it is worth discussing that compared to other countries, why China and India enjoy much more attention.

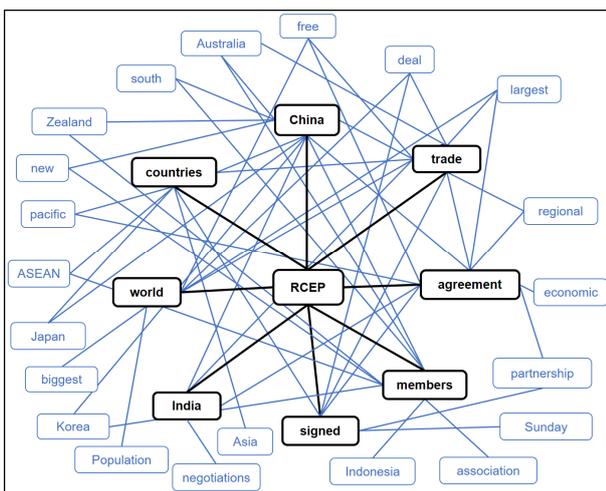


Figure 1 Collocation Network of “RCEP”

The RCEP is composed of 15 member countries in the Asia-Pacific region, and as a matter of fact, it was originally initiated by ASEAN but now it is often referred to as a “China-backed” or “China-led” group, which inevitably results in more focus being placed on China. China itself intends to seize the opportunity of

forming the huge bloc to prove that it can work with other countries “in an effective and mutually beneficial way”, and it is not the “expansionist empire” that some western countries consider it to be but when it comes to the reports in western news media, a mixed feeling emerges. Many countries, be them members of the RCEP or not, regard the cooperation with China as a potential benefit as well as a risk. The trade war between China and the US, and the tension in trading partnership between China and other countries inevitably cause concern and a worse situation is that some ill-intentioned organizations attempt to deteriorate the countries’ relations by means of public media.

As to India, its withdrawal sparked heated discussions. India was worried that elimination of tariffs would open India’s markets to imports, which in turn could harm its local producers and claimed that the RCEP did not satisfactorily address India’s outstanding issues and concerns. To depict its decision to quit as either a regret or an impair stands for two totally different attitudes towards the influence of the RCEP.

All in all, considering the RCEP was just signed and hasn’t demonstrated too much substantial influence, the news reports from the western media have not been divorced far from objectivity for that they may be still holding a wait-and-see attitude and therefore, it is of great necessity to track the progress of the RCEP as well as the attitudes from the West in the future for further research.

4. CONCLUSION

With the help of corpus method, the present study conducted a critical discourse analysis of the four major western countries’ news discourse, focusing on the frequency, keyword, concordance lines and collocation network. Corpus analysis shows that most western media held a positive attitude towards the “RCEP” and associated it with desirable expressions such as “*the biggest prize*” and “*a huge positive*”. In this new era of unparalleled pandemic disruptions and unorthodox trade and tariff disputes, the RCEP represents an episode of revelatory wonders that would surely shape regional economics and politics for several decades to come. However, there is also evidence of the western media holding prejudices against it, linking it to “geopolitical expansion” and “geocentrism”, deliberately emphasizing “China’s dominance” (i.e. China led the program) and the incompleteness (i.e. the RCEP excludes India and is thus not as comprehensive as other treaties like TPP). Thereby, the image of the “RCEP” was somewhat distorted. What’s more, in the corpus, the “RCEP” frequently co-occurred with “*world*” and “*global*”, indicating that the western media believed that the “RCEP” is closely related to the economic development of the whole world. “China” and “India” are the most frequently mentioned countries for totally

disparate reasons and the lexical choices may well influence the image of the two countries.

Further studies applying the corpus method to track the changes and developments in the depiction of the “RCEP” by the western media will be of great necessity on the grounds that the trade deal has just been signed and has not shown much of its influence yet.

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