CHAPTER TWELVE

Discourse Analysis

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There are now many introductory books on linguistics. These books typically describe the sounds of a language, the ways that words are formed, the meanings of words and the sentence structure of a language. All of these are important in the description of languages. Many of these books, however, do not go beyond this and do not help us understand why we make particular language choices and what we mean by these choices. This is what discourse analysis aims to do. It can help us explain the relationship between what we say and what we mean in particular spoken and written contexts. It can also give us the tools to look at larger units of texts such as conversational and textual organizational patterns that are typical of particular uses of language or *genres*. Discourse analysis also looks at social and cultural settings of language use to help us understand how it is that people come to make particular choices in their use of language. This chapter will outline some of the ways in which spoken and written discourse may be examined. It will then present a sample study which looks at one particular aspect of discourse, the discourse structure of texts.

Approaches to analysing discourse

There are a number of ways in which discourse analysis might be carried out. Discourse analysts might, for example, examine paragraph structure, the organization of whole texts and typical patterns in conversational interactions such as the ways speakers open, close and take turns in a conversation. They might also look at vocabulary patterns across texts, words which link sections of texts together and the ways items such as *it* and

they point backward or forward in a text; that is the use of *conjunction* and *reference* items (Halliday & Hasan 1976) in a text. Discourse analysts may also look at the broader social context of language use and how this impacts on what is said and how it is said in a written or spoken text. Discourse analysts also consider how the use of language both presents and constructs certain world views as well as how, through the use of language, we present who we are or how we want to be seen.

A number of aspects of language use considered under the heading of discourse analysis are also discussed in the area known as *pragmatics* (see e.g. Birner 2013; Cutting 2008; Huang 2007; Roever this volume). Pragmatics is especially interested in the relationship between language and the context in which it occurs. This includes the study of how the interpretation of language depends on knowledge of the world; how speakers understand the meaning of utterances; and how the use of language is influenced by relationships between speakers and hearers. Pragmatics, thus, is interested in what people mean by what they say rather than what words or phrases might, in their most literal sense, mean by themselves (Yule 1996). Pragmatics is sometimes contrasted with *semantics* which deals with literal or sentence meaning; that is, meaning without reference to users or purpose of communication.

Discourse analysis, then, in the sense we will be considering it here, focuses on:

- linguistic patterns which occur across stretches of spoken and written texts
- knowledge about language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence that is needed for successful communication
- what people mean by what they say and how they work out that understanding
- the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used
- the way in which language constructs different views of the world and different understandings.

Key areas of influence in discourse analysis

A number of different approaches to the analysis of discourse have had an influence in the area of applied linguistics. There are various ways in which these approaches could be described. One way is in terms of some of the people who have been influential in this area. The section that follows will give an overview of key researchers in the area of discourse analysis and what the particular approach to the analysis of discourse aims to do.

Speech act theory

A key person in the area of pragmatics and discourse analysis is the linguistic philosopher John Austin whose book *How to do Things with Words* (1962) laid the ground for what has come to be called *speech act theory*. Austin's work was further developed and systematized by the American philosopher John Searle (1969) who studied with Austin at Oxford University. Austin and Searle argued that in the same way that we perform physical acts, such as having a meal or closing a door, we can also perform acts by using language. We can use language, for example, to give orders, to make requests, to give warnings or to give advice. People, thus, 'do things with words' in much the same way as they perform physical actions (see Sadock 2004; Sbisà 2009 for reviews of speech theory; Paltridge 2015 for a sample study).

Cross-cultural pragmatics

The area of research which investigates the use of speech acts across cultures is commonly referred to as *cross-cultural pragmatics* (Rose & Kasper 2001). Researchers have observed that degrees of social distance and power between speakers are important factors in terms of how a particular speech act might be expressed. This varies, however, across cultures and may interact with other factors such as how much use of the particular speech act imposes on the other person, the age of participants involved in the interaction, the gender of the speaker or hearer and culture-specific hierarchies and roles particular to the interaction. An important contribution to cross-cultural pragmatics research is the work of Anna Wierzbicka (2003) who argues that differences in the use of language are due to differences in cultural norms and assumptions. In her view, to understand the use of language across cultures 'it is essential to not only know what the conventions of a given society are but also how they are related to cultural values' (Wierzbicka 2003, p. xv).

Conversational implicature

Another key figure in the area of pragmatics and discourse is the philosopher Paul Grice (1975) whose work on the way people cooperate with each other in conversational interactions has been extremely important. Grice introduced the term *conversational implicature* to describe the process by which we derive meanings from the situation in which language is used – that is, the way we work out what is meant by what someone says. Authors such as Chapman (2011) and LoCastro (2012) discuss practical implications of this view showing how crucial this notion is to understanding how conversational interactions work and the linguistic choices that people make as they interact with each other.

Politeness and face

Two further notions in the area of discourse analysis are *politeness* and *face*. An influential work in this area is Brown and Levinson's (1987) *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. In their view, politeness is based on the notions of *positive face* and *negative face*. Positive face refers to a person's need to be accepted or liked by others and to be treated as a member of a group knowing that their wants are shared by others. Negative face refers to a person's need to be independent and not imposed on by others. Other important work in this area includes Mills (2003) on gender and politeness and Watts (2003) who presents a view of politeness as politic or strategic, verbal behaviour. Recent research has also taken up the notion of *communities of practice* (Wenger 1998) in discussions of politeness – that is, the discourse expectations of the particular community or group and the local conditions in which the communication is taking place. Cross-cultural issues in politeness are discussed by Leech (2007) and Spencer-Oatey (2008).

Conversation analysis

There is also the important contribution of people working in the area of *conversation analysis* such as Sacks et al. (1974) who have explored conversational norms and recurring patterns in spoken interactions. Conversation analysts are interested, in particular, in how social worlds are jointly constructed and recognized by speakers as they take part in conversational discourse. Early work in conversation analysis looked mostly at everyday spoken interactions such as chat and casual conversation. This has since been extended, however, to include spoken discourse such as doctor-patient consultations, legal hearings, news interviews, psychiatric interviews, interactions in courtrooms and classrooms and gender and conversational interactions. For conversation analysts, ordinary conversation is the most basic form of talk and the main way in which people come together, exchange information and maintain social relations. It is, further, from this form of talk that all other talk-in-interaction is derived. A key feature of work in the area of conversation analysis is the tracing of how participants in a conversation 'interpret each others' actions and develop a shared understanding of the progress of the interaction' (Seedhouse 2005, p. 166); that is, how participants understand and respond to each other in their talk and how, from this understanding, sequences of talk develop (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008). Researchers in the area of *discursive psychology* (Edwards 2005; Wetherell 2007) have extended this work by looking at issues such as discourse and identity (Benwell & Stokoe 2006), discourse and gender (Edley & Wetherell 2008; Speer 2005) and racial discourse (Stokoe & Edwards 2007; Wetherell & Potter 1992).

Genre analysis

Two linguists who have been especially influential in the area of discourse analysis are Michael Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan. Halliday's notion of language as a system of choices and his views on the social functions of language (Halliday 1973; Halliday & Hasan 1989) are especially important in the area of discourse analysis. Their work has been extremely influential in the development of the *Sydney genre school* (Martin & Rose 2008; Rose 2012), a group of linguists and language educators who have examined a range of different texts and applied these analyses in various educational settings. Halliday and Hasan's (1976) work on *patterns of cohesion* – that is, the relationship between grammatical and lexical items in texts such as *reference items*, *conjunction* and *ellipsis* – has also made an important contribution to the area of discourse analysis. While the Sydney school genre studies have typically looked at written texts, the observations they have made are equally applicable to spoken texts. Thornbury and Slade (2006), for example, take a genre perspective on the grammar of conversation, as do Eggins and Slade (1997) in their work on the analysis of casual conversation.

Martin (1984, p. 25), from the Sydney genre school, describes genre as 'a staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture'. This view draws on Halliday's work and that of the anthropologist Malinowski and, in particular, the view that 'contexts both of situation and of culture [are] important if we are to fully interpret the meaning of a text' (Martin 1984, p. 25). Examples of genres examined in this perspective include service encounters, research reports, academic essays, casual conversations and *micro-genres* (Martin 1997; Martin & Rose 2008) such as descriptions, reports, recounts, procedures and expositions, described in terms of their discourse or *schematic structures* and genre-specific language features.

English for specific purposes genre studies are based largely on Swales' (1990, 2004) work on the discourse structure and linguistic features of texts. Swales uses the notion of *moves* to describe the discourse structure of texts. These studies have had a strong influence in the teaching of English for Specific Purposes and especially the teaching of academic writing to second language graduate students (see Paltridge 2014 for a review of this work). Genre studies in composition studies, and in what is often called the *rhetorical genre studies*, has been influenced in particular by a paper written by the speech communications specialist Carolyn Miller (1984) titled 'Genre as social action' and has been discussed, in particular, in relation to first-year undergraduate writing and professional communication in North American settings. Here, discussion is more on social and contextual aspects of genres rather than the language or discourse structures of texts (see Berkenkotter 2009; Devitt 2004; Schryer 2011 for reviews of rhetorical genre studies).

Critical discourse analysis

Researchers such as Fairclough (2003, 2010), Wodak (2011), Wodak and Meyer (2009), van Dijk (2001) and van Leeuwen (2008) have considered the use of language from a critical perspective, that is, how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideology and the effects discourse has upon social identities, relations, knowledge and beliefs. This perspective, *critical discourse analysis*, starts with the assumption that language use is always social and that discourse both reflects and constructs the social world. A critical analysis might explore issues such as gender (see Sunderland this volume), ideology and identity (see Block this volume) and how these are reflected in particular texts. The analysis might commence with an analysis of the use of discourse and move from there to an explanation and interpretation of the discourse. From here, the analysis might proceed to deconstruct and challenge the texts, tracing ideologies and assumptions underlying the use of discourse and relating these to different views of the world, experiences and beliefs.

Contrastive rhetoric

The area of research known as *contrastive rhetoric* (Connor 1996) compares genres in different languages and cultures. Contrastive rhetoric has its origins in the work of Kaplan (1966) who examined different patterns in the academic essays written by students from a number of different languages and cultures. Although Kaplan has since revised his strong claim that differences in academic writing are the result of culturally different ways of thinking, many studies have found important differences in the ways in which texts are written in different languages and cultures. Other studies, however, have found important similarities in writing across cultures. Kubota (1992) and Kubota and Lehner (2004), for example, argue that just as Japanese expository writing has more than one rhetorical style, so too does English and that it is misleading to try to reduce rhetorical styles to the one single norm. Contrastive rhetoric has, in more recent years, moved to emphasize the social situation of writing rather than just discourse patterns across cultures. This has led to the area now known as *intercultural rhetoric* (Connor 2004, 2011) where writing is examined in relation to the intellectual history and social structures of different cultures.

Corpus approaches to discourse analysis

Important researchers in the area of corpus approaches to discourse analysis include Douglas Biber (1988, 1992) and his proposal for a multidimensional view of discourse and Ken Hyland (2009) who has analysed a range of academic genres from a corpus perspective. Corpus approaches to discourse analysis involves the collection of large sets of

authentic or 'real word' texts and analysing features of language within them with the help of a computer. It is now a widely used methodology for doing discourse analysis and offers unique insights into the use of language. With the use of computers, researchers are able to explore patterns of language use (grammatical or lexical for instance) within texts. This use of modern technologies has greatly facilitated discourse-oriented research and dramatically reduced the time and resources needed to find particular linguistic patterns and collocations of words in texts.

Corpus-based discourse analyses can be categorized into three main approaches:

- Textual: approaches that focus on language choices, meanings and patterns in texts.
- Critical: an approach that draws on other research perspectives as well such as critical discourse analysis to explore underlying meanings and motivations of texts.
- Contextual: analyses where situational factors are also taken into consideration in the analysis and discussion of the texts (Hyland 2009).

There may be overlaps between each of these approaches, of course, as more than one approach may be used in the same study to answer the same research question. The core contribution of corpus approaches to discourse analysis, however, lies in their ability to make generalizable discoveries about patterns of language use across large samples of text (see Baker 2006; Flowerdew 2012 for further discussions of corpus assisted discourse analysis).

Classroom discourse analysis

John Sinclair and Malcolm Coulthard (1975) are two important early researchers in the area of classroom discourse analysis. By studying classroom discourse, researchers are able to gain insights into complex and dynamic relationships between discourse, learning and social practices. A key feature of classroom discourse analysis is the assumption that 'the task of systematically observing, analysing and understanding classroom aims and events is central to any serious educational enterprise' (Kumaravadivelu 1999, p. 454). There are, however, important differences as to how to observe and analyse classroom discourse. Edwards and Westgate (1994) make a distinction between approaches to the analysis of classroom talk where the focus is primarily on 'turns, sequences and meaning' and those where the focus is on a more linguistic analysis of rhetorical and lexico-grammatical patterns. Research within the 'turns, sequences, and meanings' tradition has been shaped by the theoretical perspectives of *conversation*

analysis and *ethnomethodology* with a view to seeking insights into classroom aims and events through a detailed account of patterns of interactions within classrooms. Other research has taken a systemic functional orientation to looking at classroom discourse analysis with the aim of exploring relations between language structures and meanings that are made in the classroom (see Christie 2002; Hammond 2011; Walsh 2011, for further discussions of classroom discourse analysis).

Multimodal discourse analysis

Two key researchers in the area of multimodal discourse analysis are Gunther Kress and Theo van Leuuwen (see e.g. Kress 2010; Kress & van Leeuwen 2001, 2006). Multimodal discourse analysis examines how meaning is made through the use of modes of communication such as images, sounds, video, gestures and actions rather than just language. Multimodal discourse analysis has two main strands of research: one is the study of multimodality in texts such as internet webpages, comic books and magazines etc.; the other is the study of multimodality in spoken interactions such as interviews, classroom interactions and other face-to-face talk. Each area of research focus has drawn on different traditions in linguistic and social science research. While the work on the analysis of multimodality in texts has its roots in systemic functional linguistics, work on the analysis of spoken interactions has been more influenced by linguistic ethnography, anthropology and psychiatry. An influential work in this latter approach is Sigrid Norris's (2004) *Analysing Multimodal Interaction* which lays out a framework for analysing the multimodal nature of face-to-face interactions. These two lines of research sometimes interact, however, as texts on web pages become more interactive (e.g. Jewitt 2009; Kress 2003) and multimodal texts play an increasingly important role in classroom interactions (e.g. O'Halloran 2005; O'Halloran & Smith 2011).

In summary, each of these areas of research has given us insights into the organization and interpretation of spoken and written discourse. What each of these views reveals is, in part, a result of the perspective the researchers have taken and the questions they have asked. There are many ways, then, in which one could and can approach discourse analysis.

A sample study

The rest of this chapter discusses a discourse analysis project that drew on a number of research techniques to answer its set of questions. The study (Wang 2006, 2007, 2008a, b) examined newspaper commentaries on the events of September 11 that were published in China and Australia in the

months that followed these events. The study aimed to explore how the texts were written from a discourse point of view as well as possible reasons for the ways in which they were written.

Research perspectives

The study drew on four research perspectives: intercultural rhetoric, rhetorical genre studies, the systemic functional view of genre and critical discourse analysis. The framework presented in Figure 12.1 summarizes the perspectives that were drawn on to examine the two sets of texts and the relationship between the texts and the sociocultural contexts in which they were produced.

Intercultural rhetoric was the major starting point for the study in that it explored similarities and differences in rhetorical patterns between the two sets of texts. The systemic functional view of genre was drawn on to examine textual features of genres. Work in the area of critical discourse

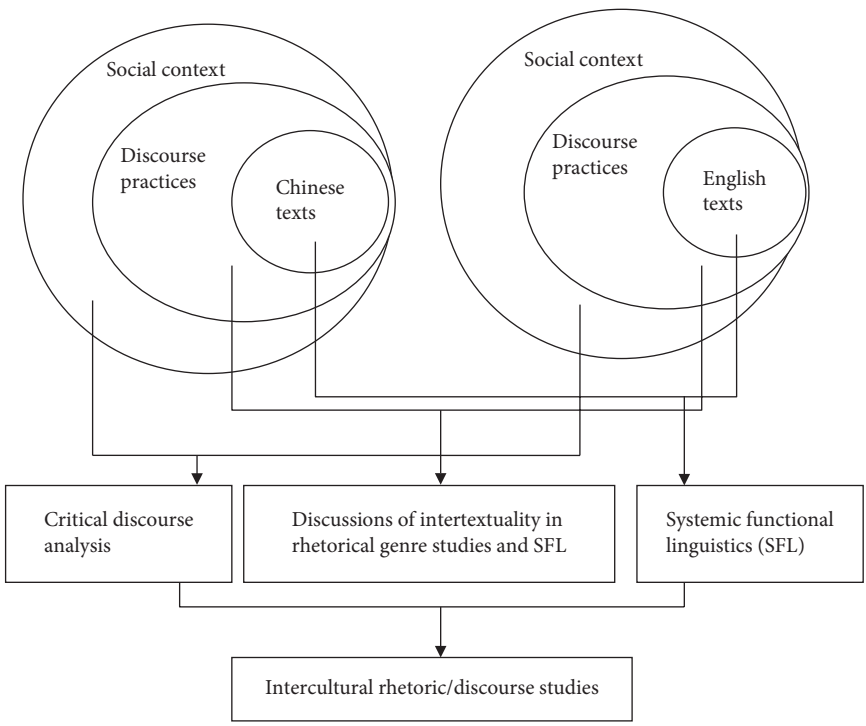

FIGURE 12.1 *Theoretical framework for the study*

analysis was drawn on to explore the social, political and contextual factors which contributed to the construction of the texts. The study, thus, aimed to describe not only linguistic characteristics of the texts but also considered how the texts had been produced and were consumed in the particular sociocultural context in which they had been written.

Data collection

Twenty-five Chinese newspaper commentaries published during the first three months after 11 September 2001 and twenty-five newspaper commentaries from Australian newspapers were the focus of the study. The criteria for selection were first, that the commentaries had to be close to the date of 11 September 2001; and second, that the commentaries focus on the issue of terrorism or the terrorist attacks of September 11. The total of fifty commentaries were considered both manageable and of sufficient range for both the linguistic and contextual analysis of the data.

An important feature of the data collection was the establishment of a '*tertium comparationis*' (a comparable platform) (Connor & Moreno 2005, p. 155; Moreno 2008) for the two sets of newspaper that were examined. Texts were chosen from Chinese and Australian newspapers, thus, taking into consideration geographic and demographic features that seemed to be comparable between the two countries. The newspapers were put into three broad groups: National General, National Specialist and State/Provincial. (The principal administrative division in China is a province, while in Australia it is a State.) Seven Australian and sixteen Chinese newspapers were matched to these categories. The number and sources of the texts are shown in the appendix.

Analysis of the data

The newspaper commentaries were examined at three levels of analysis, namely, textual, intertextual and contextual. At the textual level, the analysis aimed to identify similarities and differences in terms of macro- and micro-genres (Martin 1997; Martin & Rose 2008) in the two sets of texts. A *micro-genre* is a section of a text (or whole text) which represents a type of text such as exposition, discussion or problem-solution type text. The discourse structure of a micro-genre is described as its *schematic structure*. The discourse structures of the macro-genre newspaper commentaries (i.e. their *schematic stages*) were also analysed. Table 12.1 shows the typical structure of two of the key micro-genres found in the study, exposition (explanation) and exposition (argument).

Table 12.1 Examples of macro- and micro-genres and their discourse structures

Macro-genre	Schematic stages	Micro-genre	Schematic structures
Newspaper commentary	Heading ^ Name of author^ Introduction ^ Body ^ Conclusion ^	Exposition (Explanation)	Thesis ^ Orientation ^ Thesis Reiteration ^ Facts ^ Reasons ^ Solutions ^ Conclusion
Newspaper commentary	Heading ^ Name of author^ Introduction ^ Body ^ Conclusion ^	Exposition (Argument)	Thesis ^ Argument 1 ^ Argument 2 ^ Argument 3 ^ Conclusion 1 ^ Argument 1 ^ Argument 2 ^ Argument 3 ^ Conclusion 2

Note: ^ = followed by

At the intertextual level, the study examined how the writers employed outside sources to construct their texts by drawing on frameworks for analysis from rhetorical genre studies (Bazerman 2004) and systemic functional linguistics (White 2005). At the contextual level, the study investigated the role of the mass media and opinion discourses in the two sociocultural contexts and how this lead to different representations of terrorism in the texts (see Wang 2007, 2008a, b for further details on this).

Findings of the study

The study found that the Chinese writers frequently used explanatory expositions in their commentaries whereas the Australian writers used argumentative expositions. The study found, further, that the Chinese commentaries focused mainly on explaining terrorism, advocating an anti-terrorist battle under the leadership of the United Nations and discussing the possible impacts of the events of September 11 on the world economy. The Australian commentaries on terrorism debated the rhetoric of 'us' vs. 'them' and whether a humanitarian approach should be adopted to combat terrorism. These findings are very much in line with the role of the press in China as the public voice of the government and in Australia as a public forum for discussion, that is, the very different roles that newspaper commentaries play in the different social and cultural settings.

The study showed, then, that the newspaper commentaries on terrorism in the Chinese and Australian newspapers were constructed in different ways. It also showed that many of these differences can be traced back to the different sociocultural settings in which the texts were produced. It did

this by drawing together textual and contextual views on the texts as a way of aiming to understand not only what the writers did but also why they did what they did.

Reliability and validity of the study

Taylor (2001) suggests a number of criteria by which discourse studies can be evaluated. These criteria, she argues, should be an integral part of any discourse analysis project. Key issues to consider in this are the *reliability* and *validity* of the project that has been carried out. The way in which each of these is taken up depends, of course, on whether the project is a quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods study (see Chapters 2, 3 and 4 where these research perspectives are discussed and how issues of reliability and validity are taken up in each of them).

In order to enhance the internal reliability of his study, Wang decided which newspapers would best represent the genre under investigation in terms of their circulation and which of them were most widely read in each of the social and cultural settings. Once he had decided which newspapers to select his texts from, he chose his texts from only these newspapers. He then analysed each of his texts in the same way. That is, he looked at the discourse structure of the macro- and micro-genres in each of the texts in the study. He looked for typical patterns in each of the sets of texts and considered the extent to which the use of the patterns he observed reflected particular sociocultural views of the relationship between the writers and their audience in the particular settings in which the texts were produced.

To ensure the external reliability of his study, Wang provided his sample texts and detailed analyses of each of the aspects he examined in the appendix to his study. In the methodology section of his study, he both explained and gave details of each of his categories of analysis so that his readers could then take these categories and re-analyse his data in the same way, if they wished to. In the presentation of his Chinese data, he provided English translations for each of his texts and glossed each of his Chinese examples in English so that a reader who cannot read Chinese would be able to follow his analysis and the arguments and claims he was making. That is, he provided sufficient information about the approach he used and his categories of analysis so that someone else approaching his data, in the same way, would come up with the same findings.

In terms of the validity of his study, Wang was careful to caution that his observations were limited to the set of texts that he had chosen for analysis. Even though his texts were chosen at random (although in a principled way), he was well aware that another set of twenty-five texts may reveal something different from what he observed, as indeed may an analysis of a

larger set of texts. In terms of generalizability, then, he was well aware that this is not possible from the size of his sample. He did, however, provide sufficient details on the nature and source of his texts and his analyses of the texts, so that a reader could consider the extent to which his findings could be transferred or compared to what might be found in another, similar set of texts. By doing this, he aimed to provide *credibility*, *dependability* and *transferability* (Lincoln & Guba 1985) to the findings of his study. He, thus, left an *audit trail* that other people reading his research could follow by making as clear as possible what he had done and how he had reached his conclusions.

Ethical considerations in the study

Similarly, ethical considerations in discourse studies apply as they do to all other kinds of applied linguistics research (see Chapter 5 for an extended discussion of this). However, ethical considerations were not an issue for Wang's study as the texts that were chosen were publically available and no people were directly involved in the study. Notwithstanding, Wang took care to show respect for the traditions and customs of the countries and cultures involved in the study and the way in which he reported on these in his final project.

Resources for further reading

Gee, J & Handford M (eds), 2011, *The Routledge Handbook to Discourse Analysis*, Routledge, London.

This Handbook contains chapters on a wide range of areas including conversation analysis, genre analysis, corpus-based studies, multimodal discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis. Educational and institutional applications of discourse analysis are discussed as well as topics such as identity, power, ethnicity, intercultural communication, cognition and discourse.

Jaworski, A & Coupland, N 2006, 'Introduction: Perspectives on discourse analysis', in A Jaworski & N Coupland (eds), *The Discourse Reader*, 2nd edn, Routledge, London, pp. 1–37.

Jaworski and Coupland's introduction to the second edition of their book provides further details on a number of topics that have been presented in this chapter. This includes definitions of the term 'discourse', traditions in the analysis of discourse, speech act theory and pragmatics, conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis. Strengths and limitations of discourse studies are also discussed.

Paltridge, B 2012, *Discourse Analysis*, 2nd edn, Bloomsbury, London.

This book elaborates on many of the topics touched on in this chapter. There are chapters on discourse and society, discourse and pragmatics, discourse and genre,

multimodal discourse analysis and conversation analysis. Grammar is considered from a discourse perspective as are corpus and critical approaches to the analysis of discourse.

Hyland, K & Paltridge, B (eds), 2011, *Continuum Companion to Discourse Analysis*, Continuum, London.

This set of chapters discusses a range of approaches and issues in researching discourse. Assumptions underlying methods and approaches are discussed as are research techniques and instruments appropriate to the goal and method of the research. The second part of the book provides an overview of key areas of discourse studies. In each chapter, the authors include a sample study which illustrates the points they are making and identify resources for further reading on the particular approach or issue under discussion.

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Appendix: Newspaper commentaries examined in the study (Wang 2006, p. 83)

Chinese Newspapers		No of texts	Australian Newspapers		No of texts
Chinese national general newspapers	*People Daily (Overseas edition)*	2	Australian national general newspaper	*The Australian*	10
	People Daily	3			
	Guangmin Daily	1			
	Xinhua Daily Telegraph	2			
	China Youth Daily	1			
	Economic Daily	1			
Chinese national specialist newspapers	*International Financial Daily*	1	Australian national specialist newspapers	*Australian Financial Review*	5
	Security Times	2			
	China's Economic Times	1			
	China's Defence Post	1			

(*continued*)

Chinese Newspapers		No of texts	Australian Newspapers		No of texts
Chinese provincial newspapers	*Hubei Daily*	1	Australian state newspapers	*Sydney Morning Herald*	2
	Wenhui Daily	2		*The Age*	2
	Hebei Daily	1		*The Courier Mail*	2
	Jiefang Daily	2		*Herald Sun*	2
	Huaxia Times	3		*Daily Telegraph*	2
	Study Times	1			