Discourse construction of Inter-Korean summits in South Korean newspapers: A diachronic study

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Abstract

This article represents a diachronic corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of South Korean news reports on inter-Korean summits in 2000, 2007, and 2018. By examining similarities and differences between conservative and liberal newspaper corpora, the study identifies discursive shifts that took place between the first and second summit in accordance with developments and changes in inter-Korean relations. The comparative analysis indicates that a cluster of discursive changes in media attention and source diversity facilitates the recontextualisation of the peace talks into multilateral international negotiations on the Korean peninsula. The contrastive study reveals that discursive contests between newspapers reproduce ideological conflicts despite increased media coverage of diplomatic ceremony.

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1. Introduction

This study attempts to identify salient discursive patterns and strategies of South Korean media in depicting inter-Korean summits (henceforth IKS) and to examine how the discourse of the peace talks is diachronically constructed. In doing so, the study aims to elucidate discursive changes in media representation of IKS in the context of developments in inter-Korean relations. To describe and explain discursive patterns and changes surrounding the peace talks, a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis is adopted. Critical discourse analysis is a widely adopted qualitative approach to investigate, reveal, and clarify how social power and dominance (of media, in the present study) is inscribed in – and mediated through – linguistic representation (van Dijk, 1996; Fowler, 1996). In addition, the methods and tools of corpus linguistics will aid the navigation of the IKS corpus, which comprises an extensive body of news articles related to the summits in 2000, 2007, and 2018, and also help the detection of representative discursive features which are utilised for the cumulative effects of media power (Fairclough, 1989) in South Korea.

IKS is considered a pivotal moment in the two Koreas’ relations, as it takes the initiative to ease tensions and promote peace on the Korean peninsula, and to facilitate the reunion of dislocated people, inter-Korean sociocultural exchange, and economic cooperation. The impact of the summits goes beyond domestic politics, as was illustrated by the latest summit in May 2018, which successfully paved the way for the 2019 North Korea–United States summit in Hanoi. In parallel with its political significance, IKS is a key example of a critical discourse moment ([Carvalho and Burgess, 2005, pp. 1461–1462), which enables established public understanding of North Korea and inter-Korean relations to be tested and reshaped. Because North Korea is the prime example of an isolated country, which is closed to the world and allows only extremely limited access,
media coverage of North Korea has been the exclusive source of information about the country for the world. The secretive and closed nature of North Korea leaves scope for media sources to have a very influential role in moulding public opinion on the hermit kingdom. In this light, news coverage of such epoch-making events becomes one of the most powerful discourses to shape public opinion on inter-Korean relations and North Korea. When North Korea becomes the focus of South Korea’s and the world’s attention, the news is widely circulated. The extensive media attention encompassing a wide variety of issues related to the peace negotiations offers a good opportunity for both Korean populations to learn about each other and to review their relations. In addition, news reports on the summits provide a rare source of information directing people’s attention to the idea of the peaceful coexistence of the two Koreas. However, the way in which disparate discourses around IKS compete and are combined to reproduce and transform news discourse of inter-Korean relations during these critical discourse moments has remained under-researched.

In the following sections, an outline of the historical context of IKS and a review of previous research on South Korean media will be presented. Then a corpus approach to discourse analysis, data collection, and the methodological approach employed in this study will be discussed. Lastly, the findings of discourse analyses and discussions will be detailed and followed by conclusions.

2. The news discourse of Inter-Korean relations in South Korea

This section will describe a brief history of IKS and discuss how inter-Korean relations are depicted in the South Korean media. Since the armistice of 1953, the leaders of the North and South have met five times in search of peace and prosperity on the Korean peninsula, and the meetings culminated in historic agreements in inter-Korean relations. A short outline of IKS in the past is summarised in Table 1.

Table 1
List of inter-Korean summits.

| Date                | Venue          | Leader of Koreas | Outcome |
|---------------------|----------------|------------------|---------|
| 13–15 June 2000     | Pyongyang (NK) | Kim Dae-jung (SK) and Kim Jong-il (NK) | The June 15th Inter-Korean Joint Declaration |
| 2–4 October 2007    | Pyongyang (NK) | Roh Moo-hyun (SK) and Kim Jong-un (NK) | The October 4th Inter-Korean Joint Declaration |
| 27 April, 26 May, 18–20 September 2018 | The Peace House (SK), Thongilak (NK) in Panmunjom and Pyongyang (NK) | The Panmunjom Declaration, the Pyongyang Joint Declaration of September 2018, and the September 19th Military Agreement |

The peace negotiations between the two Koreas have been guided by the principle of independence and self-determination of the Korean nation formulated in the 1972 Joint Statement (De Ceu ster, 2018), which was the first inter-Korean agreement reached in the context of East–West détente, and facilitated by the South’s engagement policy towards the North which Kim Dae-jung, the then-president of South Korea and Nobel Peace Prize laureate in 2000, inaugurated and which his liberal successors, Roh Moo-hyun and Moon Jae-in, continued. The 2000 summit paved the way for the establishment of the Kaesong Industrial Complex and Mt. Kumgang Tourism Project in North Korea, as well as for the expansion of the project of reuniting of separated families; however, the countries’ dialogue was subject to immense criticism for its emphasis on reconciliation and cooperation at the expense of securing peace on the Korean peninsula. In response to the critique, IKS held in later years sought agreements on easing military tension, which were explicitly articulated in Articles 3 and 4 of the October 4th Declaration, and which became more comprehensive and substantial as shown in Article 5 of the Pyongyang Declaration of September 2018 and the September 19th Military Agreement. At the same time the peace dialogues have continually pursued inter-Korean exchange and cooperation.

The problem was that the summit agreements and declarations were not ratified upon legislative approval in South Korea, and the two Koreas encountered constant setbacks, recent examples of which are the shutdown of the Kaesong Industrial

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1. Studies analysing the framing effect of news coverage argue that media plays a key role in informing the public about and shaping citizens’ opinions on North Korea (Kim and Kim, 2017, p. 14; Kim and Noh, 2011, p. 362; Rhee, 2004; Son, 2004).

2. According to Lee (2000, p. 27), media coverage of the 2000 summit was so dominant that it occupied 90.5% of television newscasting during the event.

3. News coverage of the summits in South Korea tends to encompass various topics, such as the history of inter-Korean relations, political leaders and governments of the two Koreas, the economic impact of the summit, neighbouring countries’ views on the event and on North Korean people, and North Korean culture and society, among others.

4. The so-called Kim Jong-il shock (Lee, 2000, p. 33) refers to a cultural shock-wave caused by media coverage of the inter-Korean summit in 2000.

5. Article 3 of the October 4th Declaration reaffirms the principle of non-aggression and declares the creation of the special zone for peace and cooperation in the West Sea. Article 4 states the two Koreas’ agreements on building a permanent peace regime and denuclearisation. The following is an excerpt from Article 4: ‘The South and the North agree to work together to implement the September 19th Joint Statement and the February 13th Agreement of the Six-Party Talks smoothly in order to resolve the nuclear problem on the Korean Peninsula.’

6. In comparison with the 2007 summit declaration, Article 5 of the Pyongyang Declaration of September 2018 stipulates the denuclearisation process in a more concrete and specific manner, and the military agreement includes substantial measures to prevent tactical and operational contingencies between the two Korean militaries. An excerpt from Article 5 reads: ‘The North expressed its willingness to continue to take additional measures [in addition to the dismantling of the Dongchang-ri missile engine test site], such as the permanent dismantlement of the nuclear facilities in Yongbyon, as the United States takes corresponding measures in accordance with the spirit of the June 12 DPRK–US Joint Statement.’
Complex in 2016 and the destruction of the inter-Korean liaison office in the region in 2020. Historically, inter-Korean relations have fluctuated sharply in accordance with changes in local and multifaceted dynamics on the Korean peninsula amid the continuing stalemate over peaceful coexistence.

Turning our attention to South Korean politics, the direct negotiations between the two Koreas offered a good opportunity to explore South Korean perspectives on Seoul–Pyongyang relations. Political and media studies identified ideological conflicts between conservatives and liberals in South Korea, which are deeply rooted in the Cold War, which surfaced through the engagement policy implemented by Kim Dae-jung (Kim, 2006, p. 132; Kwon, 2012, p. 8) and were sharpened by prevalent shifts in the South’s policies and practices towards the North. Inter-Korean relations have been a robust criterion for detecting the political orientation of media in previous studies, which revealed that news outlets in South Korea mirrored the conservative versus liberal politics of South Korean society (Choi, 2010; Han and Lim, 2001; Kim and Noh, 2011). Among major newspapers in South Korea, Chosun ilbo and Hankyoreh shinmun, as representatives of conservatives and liberals respectively, are the most frequently studied news media. The conflicting ideologies between the two newspapers have been rigidly voiced in media portrayals of the abolishment of the patriarchal family registration system (Lee and Kim, 2006), the 2008 candlelight protests (Byun, 2015), the Sewol ferry disaster (Lee and Lee, 2015), North Korean refugees (Kwon, 2017), multiculturalism (Hwang, 2017; Shin and Ma, 2019), the nuclear phase-out policy (Kang, 2020), and the COVID-19 pandemic (Park, 2020a, 2020b), whereas other news outlets can be located at different positions on the conservative–liberal spectrum depending on issues and circumstances (Choi, 2010, p. 418).

Existing research on South Korean news discourse on North Korea has particularly focused on frames of news reporting in order to uncover the political stance of news outlets towards a specific political event or the prime effect of media coverage on news consumers in a specific time span (Kim and Kim, 2017; Kim and Noh, 2011; Rhee, 2004; Son, 2004). These approaches unveiled the political bias of conservative media and the textual strategies they utilise to underpin their political inclination, such as the demonisation of North Korea by foregrounding its missiles and nuclear weapons programme, and the preference of conservative newspapers for anonymous news sources to voice their views. However, the positive and negative evaluation scale in framing analysis is too coarse-grained to identify salient textual patterns, and by focussing on peculiarities in media portrayals of the North, it remains unclear how disparate discourses around inter-Korean relations are constructed and ideologically retextualised across the political spectrum. In addition, despite milestones laid out by IKS to improve the countries’ relations (Foster, 2018, p. 71), the media representation of IKS remains under-researched.7

This study attempts to fill these gaps in the previous literature by examining the keyness of news reports on IKS in South Korea. It aims to identify salient textual patterns and strategies in the portrayal of IKS in South Korea, and through a contrastive analysis of news reports on the summits and an examination of the relation between discursive change and social change, it attempts to elucidate how and why discursive construction of the peace talks in the South Korean press has changed diachronically. The research questions are: what are the salient discursive patterns and textual strategies utilised in the discourse of the peace talks? How do these textual strategies facilitate the inscription of the political orientation of news outlets towards a specific political event or the prime effect of media coverage on news consumers in a specific time span (Kim and Kim, 2017; Kim and Noh, 2011; Rhee, 2004; Son, 2004). These approaches unveiled the political bias of conservative media and the textual strategies they utilise to underpin their political inclination, such as the demonisation of North Korea by foregrounding its missiles and nuclear weapons programme, and the preference of conservative newspapers for anonymous news sources to voice their views. However, the positive and negative evaluation scale in framing analysis is too coarse-grained to identify salient textual patterns, and by focussing on peculiarities in media portrayals of the North, it remains unclear how disparate discourses around inter-Korean relations are constructed and ideologically retextualised across the political spectrum. In addition, despite milestones laid out by IKS to improve the countries’ relations (Foster, 2018, p. 71), the media representation of IKS remains under-researched.7

The present study makes use of a corpus approach to critical discourse analysis to identify what salient textual features and discursive strategies are exploited in depicting the peace talks, and to analyse how different discourses compete and are combined to reproduce and transform news discourse regarding IKS in the context of changes in inter-Korean relations. The mixed analytical approach of quantitative corpus linguistic methods and qualitative discourse studies has become increasingly popular in recent years,8 because the combination is seen as complementing and overcoming methodological limitations (Baker et al., 2008, p. 274; Marchi and Taylor, 2018, p. 7).

Critical discourse analysis views discourse as a particular form of social practice (Fairclough, 1992, p. 71) and a domain in which social struggles take place, and therefore conceive of a change in discourse as a dimension of wider social and cultural change (Fairclough, 1992, p. 28).9 The critical discourse analytic framework provides an insight into the dialectic relation

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7 Lee’s (2000) analysis of television news of three major broadcasting networks in South Korea, KBS, MBC, and SBS, identified that the news coverage of the 2000 summit in all media outlets under investigation showed a sudden change from a negative to a positive attitude when depicting the North and its then- leader, Kim Jong-il. It is likely that the seemingly homogeneous tone in the media portrayal of IKS on the surface helped the research topic remain understudied.

8 Previous studies applying corpus approaches to discourse analysis have explored a range of topics and themes surrounding social inequalities. The trend in research topics is likely a result of discourse analysts’ particular interest in the relationship between language and power (Wodak and Busch, 2004, p. 108), and related to their preference for certain text types (March and Taylor, 2018, p. 9).

9 Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis framework is particularly interested in how discursive change reshapes the systems of knowledge and belief. One of the limitations of this approach is that what is absent or not manifested in the text plays a central role in analysis. Therefore, the explanation may vary largely depending on the analysts’ understanding of the order of discourse (as a part of social order), background knowledge (members’ resources), and common sense (knowledge and belief).
between text and social change, but it is not feasible to utilise close textual analysis to investigate large bodies of textual data, as it requires considerable human input. Another common criticism of the qualitative analysis of discourse is that it is subjective, and therefore the reliability and validity of the results are difficult to test. In this light, using computer-based tools to examine wide-scale linguistic patterns and trends in the data (Gabrieliatos and Baker, 2008, p. 8) can be useful, as it helps counterbalance the issues of researcher bias; and computational identification of key elements in texts can be reproducible.

On the other hand, critical discourse analysis provides explanatory power for the descriptive results of the corpus analysis (Baker et al., 2008, p. 295). Techniques of corpus analysis locate emerging patterns and pinpoint specific textual aboutness (and/or styles) of text. Amongst these techniques, keyness analysis offers useful starting points for the investigation of texts by computing significant (in)frequencies of particular items, such as words, lemmas, or clusters, in the subject corpus in comparison with the reference corpus. As established by frequency comparison, keyness is intrinsically context-bound, and the examination of keywords, such as collocation and concordance analysis, is context-informed. The qualitative nature of keyness analysis links language use beyond the sentence to the study of social practices and ideological assumptions associated with language (Bondi, 2010, p. 7).

4. Data and methodology

4.1. Data

The present study compiled 6 diachronic specialised corpora comprising news reports including the word, nampwuk-cengsanghoytam, ‘inter-Korean summit’ or its homonymous expressions, cengsanghoytam, ‘summit,’ or hoytam, ‘talks,’ which appeared in Chosun ilbo and Hankyoreh shinnun during each meeting (13–15 June 2000, 2–4 October 2007, and 27 April, 26 May,10 and 18–20 September 2018). All the articles except Hankyoreh’s newspaper reports on the 2000 summit were retrieved from the websites of the two newspaper companies, Chosun ilbo (www.chosun.com) and Hankyoreh shinnun (www.hani.co.kr). News coverage of the 2000 summit in Hankyoreh shinnun was collected from the online news database BICKinds (www.kinds.or.kr), because Hankyoreh’s online website provides only partial access to the archive for the year 2000.

In order to achieve a refined analysis of discursive construction, the study examines only news reports and excludes editorials and opinion columns, as news commentaries differ from news reports in their communicative purpose as well as in the linguistic resources they exploit (Braham, 1982; Lavid et al., 2012). Many articles in 2007 and the vast majority in 2018 feature images and videos along with captions describing the multimodal materials. In contrast, only a few texts in 2000 are multimodal, and only captions can be retrieved. Therefore, a comparison between images, videos, and captions was not attempted. The Chosun corpora consist of 106,304 tokens and the Hankyoreh corpora comprise 201,449 tokens. Table 2 shows the breakdown for sub-corpora.

Table 2 indicates a massive increase in the frequency and length of the news reports. During the time span, the Internet became the dominant source of news,11 as Internet users in South Korea had grown by 46,124,694 (91.5% of the population ages 3 and above) by 2018 (Korea Internet and Security Agency, 2018, p. 25). Therefore, it is plausible that the extensive growth in news production accompanying excessive use of multimodal elements was closely related to the transition to online journalism. In comparison with the Chosun corpora, the liberal-leaning Hankyoreh has given more coverage to each summit. It may be related to the fact that South Korean leaders who sat at a meeting table together with North Korean counterparts were all supported and backed by liberal political parties. But the differences in both text and word counts between the corpora are not statistically significant.12

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10 The second meeting in 2018 was exceptional as the summit was announced ex post facto. Therefore, news reports featured on 27 May (the next day of the meeting) are included as well.

11 According to a media audience survey (Korea Press Foundation, 2017, p. 25) conducted in 2017, 70% of news readers in South Korea used smartphones (32.8% were reading news on computers) while a mere 16.7% read printed papers.

12 Two-paired t-test results indicate that there is no significant difference in either the frequency of news in Chosun (M = 124.7, SD = 101.6) and Hankyoreh (M = 194.3, SD = 101.0); t(4) = -0.842, p = 0.447, or the length of news reports in Chosun (M = 35434.7, SD = 31742.7) and Hankyoreh (M = 67149.7, SD = 39054.6); t(4) = -1.91, p = 0.336.
4.2. Methodology

In keyness analysis, frequency comparisons between lexical items in corpora play a key role in identifying the conceptual structure and the aboutness of a text (Bondi, 2010; Scott and Tribble, 2006). Keyword lists are often established by statistical significance calculation in comparison with a reference corpus, and contrastive analysis of corpora comes to the foreground of corpus-based discourse studies (Gabrielatos, 2018, p. 225). But looking only at the keywords with high statistical significance scores will give a partial picture of a text, as it fails to identify similarities within corpora. Aiming at a fully-fledged examination of the news discourse of IKS, this study sets out to investigate both keyness-difference and keyness-similarity. The present study attempts to offer a rounded view of the IKS corpora by examining discursive changes and variations, as well as by identifying shared discourse patterns which have remained constant over time.

The study used WordSmith Tools version 8 (Scott, 2020) to compute frequency lists and to carry out concordance, collocation, and keyness analysis. Similarities within the corpora were identified through the calculation of constant collocates (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Taylor, 2018) which recur in three sub-corpus of each newspaper. I ran the Concord function to create a collocate list of nampuwkcengsanghoytam, ‘inter-Korean summit’, cengsanghoytam, ‘summit,’ and hoytam, ‘talks’ from each sub-corpus and to compute MI3 score in order to measure collocational strength. The collocate lists were then compared, using Excel (specifically, the conditional formatting and filtering function) to identify items shared within either the Chosun or the Hankyoreh sub-corpus. Because the study searches for similarities or the smallest differences between the corpora, no statistical significance test which estimates the probability of rejecting the null hypothesis was adopted (Gabrielatos, 2018, p. 241).

In attempting to examine changes and variations, I used the KeyWord function to derive lists of keywords which are saliently frequent compared with reference texts, specifically the Trends 21 corpus. Trends 21 is a corpus of the four largest newspapers in South Korea, Chosun ilbo, Donga ilbo, Joongang ilbo, and Hankyoreh shinnun, containing more than 600 million words from 2001 to 2013. Its user interface (http://corpus.korea.ac.kr) offers a word frequency list of each year (Choi and Lee, 2014; Kim et al., 2013), thus I compiled a master wordlist by merging thirteen lists of words and frequencies with the corpus tool. The Log Ratio (log_R) was employed to measure the magnitude of differences between the corpora and the Bayesian information criterion (BIC) was used to test the significance of differences. The corpus tool calculated keyness based on Log Ratio values which were set to a minimum of 2.5. A threshold of BIC score (BIC > 2) with a cut-off p-value of 0.01 enabled me to filter out keywords indexing low statistical significance value. In addition, I set a dispersion threshold to a minimum 0.4 (D > 0.4) in a bid to prevent certain words which appeared often but were grouped into a small number of texts. Lastly, the minimum frequency count was set to 5 in accordance with the reference corpus.

Aiming at accurate and principled identification of keywords, the corpora of Korean texts were morpho-grammatically annotated. Korean is an agglutinative language, as many words consist of different types of morphemes, such as nominals accompanied with case particles and verbs combined with sentence endings. Therefore, grammatical annotation of the data is a requisite for locating a certain item and counting its frequencies. The present study assigned a part-of-speech information tag to each morpheme in the texts using the Intelligent morphemic parser developed by 21st Century Sejong Plan. Then the PoS tagging was manually corrected and calibrated accordingly in order to facilitate comparison between study corpora, IKS corpora, and the reference corpus, Trends 21. In the tagged texts, each morpheme was represented by a slash-separated PoS tag. To make use of PoS tags in keyness analysis and prevent WordSmith Tools from counting a PoS tag as an independent item, the language settings were adjusted to allow a slash to be included as a valid character within words, adopting Jeon’s (2014) suggestion.

Lastly, the constant collocates, keywords, and original excerpts in Korean were translated into English by the researcher, a native Korean speaker, and then proofread by a native English speaker. In the following sections, the constant collocates and keywords are transcribed in the Yale system and accompanied by English translation, whereas the excerpts are provided in Korean and followed by the translation into English.

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13 Keyness-D and keyness-S (Gabrielatos, 2018, p. 243) are more informational terms than positive and negative keyness (Scott, 2020, p. 296), as the words ‘difference’ and ‘similarity’ convey clearer concepts.

14 The present study chose the MI3 score to calculate association strength because it is independent of corpus size in comparison with t-score (Gablasova et al., 2017, p. 169) and it returns more balanced values than MI score, which gives too much weight to low-frequency words (Oakes, 1998). The MI3 formula is as follows (F_n is the number of co-occurrences of the note and the collocate within a given span; N refers to the total number of words in the corpus; F_n is the number of occurrences of the note; Fc means the number of occurrences of the collocate; and S refers to the span, i.e. the number of items on either side of the node considered as its environment): MI3 = log(NF_n/FcS). Because the LL test is sensitive to corpus size and the corpus frequencies of an item, keywords in a larger corpus or with high raw frequencies can overrepresent a text when keyness is measured only by the LL score. To avoid possible misrepresentation of the data, I took up Gabrielatos’ (2018, p. 241) suggestion to apply BIC value, which takes corpus size into account, as a secondary statistical significance threshold. In addition, the study used a Log Ratio metric to estimate the level of difference and similarity within the corpora. The formula is as follows (NFC1 corresponds to normalised frequencies of an item in the IKS corpora and NFC2 is the equivalent in Trends 21): Log Ratio = log NFC1/NFC2.
5. Findings and discussion

5.1. Discursive construction of Inter-Korean summits: stasis and change

Consistent collocates were introduced in Gabrielatos and Baker (2008, p. 11) in an attempt to identify collocates which are viewed as indicating consistent and core linguistic resources utilised for discursive construction. The examination of words which consistently collocate with a lexical item over time enable us to investigate similarities and thus to enhance the completeness of keyness studies which focus on differences or changes (Taylor, 2018).

The present study used the concordance of WordSmith Tools and Excel to identify consistent collocates of nampwuk-cengsanghoytam/NNP, ‘inter-Korean summit/PROPER NOUN,’ cengsanghoytam/NNG, ‘summit/GENERAL NOUN,’ and hoytam/NNG, ‘talks,’ which are shared within all three sub-corpora of Chosun and Hankyoreh. The window span was set at five words to the left and five words to the right (5L–5R) and the minimum frequency for collocates was set at five for both corpora. Amongst collocates, the study has considered only lexical items which may reflect the aboutness of texts (Baker, 2006, p. 55). Over a span of eighteen years, there has been an overall increase in the number of collocates of nampwuk-cengsanghoytam/NNP, ‘inter-Korean summit,’ cengsanghoytam/NNG, ‘summit,’ and hoytam/NNG, ‘talks,’ and Hankyoreh has a larger number of c-collocates than Chosun each year. The M13 score of c-collocates listed in Tables 3 and 4 varies across the corpora but the collocations remain strong, as the lowest M13 score is 10.48 of thongha/VV, ‘to go through/VERB’ from the Chosun 2007 corpus and 7.57 of iss/VV, ‘(there) to be, to have/VERB’ from Hankyoreh 2000.

| Table 3 |
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| Consistent collocates of nampwuk-cengsanghoytam/NNP, ‘inter-Korean summit,’ cengsanghoytam/NNG, ‘summit,’ and hoytam/NNG, ‘talks’ from the Chosun corpora. |
| Category | Consistent collocates |
| --- | --- |
| Actor | cengsang/NNG, ‘head’; Kim/NNP; Kim Jong-il/NNP; taythonglyeng/NNG, ‘president’ |
| Country | nampwuk/NNP, ‘The South and the North’; pwukhan/NNP, ‘North Korea’ |
| Place and time | aphi/VV, ‘to have (a distance) ahead’; halwu/NNG, ‘a day’; ipen/NNG, ‘this time’; Pyongyang/NNP |
| Event outline | cinhuyong/NNG, ‘progress’; hapuy/NNG, ‘mutual agreement’; kaychoy/NNG, ‘holding’; yelli/VV, ‘to be held’ |
| Expectation | tayha/VV, ‘to be in regard to’; wiha/VV, ‘to do for the sake of’; thongha/VV, ‘to go through’ |
| Miscellaneous | |

| Table 4 |
| --- |
| Consistent collocates of nampwuk-cengsanghoytam/NNP, ‘inter-Korean summit,’ cengsanghoytam/NNG, ‘summit,’ and hoytam/NNG, ‘talks’ from the Hankyoreh corpora. |
| Category | Consistent collocates |
| --- | --- |
| Actor | cengsang/NNG, ‘head’; cengpwo/NNG, ‘government’; Kim/NNP; Kim Jong-il/NNP; kwukpengwencang/NNG, ‘the chairperson of the DPRK National Defence Commission’; taythonglyeng/NNG, ‘president’; thukpypel/NNG, ‘being special’; wiwencang/NNG, ‘chairperson’ |
| Country | cwingwuk/NNP, ‘China’; hanpanto/NNP, ‘the Korean peninsula’; namcok/NNG, ‘the South’; nampwuk/NNP, ‘The South and the North’; pwukccok/NNG, ‘the North’; pwukhan/NNP, ‘North Korea’ |
| Place and time | aphi/VV, ‘to have (a distance) ahead’; halwu/NNG, ‘a day’; ihwu/NNG, ‘henceforth’; inal/NNG, ‘this day’; ipen/NNG, ‘this time’; kikan/NNG, ‘period’; oihwu/NNG, ‘afternoon’; Pyongyang/NNP; Seoul/NNP; tongan/NNG, ‘space (of time)’; tay/NNG, ‘time’; twi/NNG, ‘after, next’ |
| Agenda | ceksipca/NNP, ‘the Red Cross’; isankocok/NNG, ‘dispersed family’; mwuncey/NNG, ‘question, problem’; sangpong/NNG, ‘reunion’ |
| Event outline | cvunj/NNG, ‘preparation’; hapuy/NNG, ‘mutual agreement’; kwuhuy/VV, ‘to end’; palphyo/NNG, ‘announcement’; pangpwuk/NNG, ‘visit to North Korea’; sengsang/NNG, ‘accomplishment’; sicak/NNG, ‘beginning’; yelli/VV, ‘to be held’ |
| Description | khui/VV, ‘to be big/ADJECTIVE’; taktok/NNG, ‘one-on-one’; yeokaxe/NNG, ‘historic, historical’ |
| Expectation | kitay/NNG, ‘expectation’; kyeilkwu/NNG, ‘outcome’; kyeiky/NNG, ‘moment, opportunity’; phyenghwa/NNG, ‘peace’; sengkong/NNG, ‘success’ |
| News | sosil/NNG, ‘news’ |
| Miscellaneous | ha/VV, ‘to do’; iss/VV, ‘(there) to be, to have’; kwonilten/NNG, ‘relation, connection’; poi/VV, 16  ‘see, watch’; tayha/VV, ‘to be in regard to’; thongha/VV, ‘to go through’; tto/MAG, ‘again’; ADVERB; wiha/VV, ‘to do for the sake of’ |

Eighteen content c-collocates of nampwuk-cengsanghoytam/NNP, ‘inter-Korean summit,’ cengsanghoytam/NNG, ‘summit,’ and hoytam/NNG, ‘talks’ in the Chosun corpora and fifty-five in Hankyoreh were identified and then grouped into thematic categories (see Tables 3 and 4) according to the examination of concordance lines. Firstly, the c-collocate analysis reveals that the shared words within each newspaper were consistently utilised to enact the genre characteristics of news reports. Most categories facilitated the specification of the who (the person and country category), what (agenda and event outline), where (place), when (time), and how (description) of the summit. Table 4 shows that Hankyoreh employed a larger pool of linguistic resources for detailed news reporting and thus had a wider range of categories. For example, thukpypel/NNG, ‘being special,’ which appeared in

16 As po/VV, ‘see, watch’ occurred often in live coverage of the summit across the Hankyoreh corpora, it may be assigned to the [news] category. But the same word referring to different senses such as ‘manage,’ ‘agree,’ and ‘judge’ appeared in a wide range of contexts. In this light, it is worth noting that the [miscellaneous] category is not homogeneous, because polysemous c-collocates, such as poi/VV, ‘see, watch’; iss/VV, ‘(there) to be, to have’; and ha/VV, ‘to do,’ require semantic tagging for an in-depth concordance analysis, whereas kwonilten/NNG, ‘relation, connection,’ tayha/VV, ‘to be in regard to,’ wiha/VV, ‘to do for the sake of,’ and thongha/VV, ‘to go through’ raise questions about the PoS tagging system as they primarily occurred as a functional word despite their ‘VV’ PoS tag.
towards the summit.

When we compare the items in the [expectation] category between the newspapers, it is apparent that Hankyoreh took a positive stance towards the summits. In addition to sengkong/NNG, 'success,' there are several items with positive connotations recurring in Hankyoreh’s news reports.

| Fig. 1 | A full set of collocation examples of 남북 정상회담 (nampuwikengsanghoytam)/NNG, 'inter-Korean summit,' 정상 회담 (cengsanghoytam)/NNG, 'summit,' and 화담 (hoytam)/NNG, 'talks,' with 김/kitay/NNG, 'expectation' in the Hankyoreh corpora, where the node words are marked in blue and the collocate is marked in red. (For interpretation of the references to colour in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the Web version of this article.)

Table 1

Extract (1) exemplifies one of the contexts where kitay/NNG, 'expectation,' as a c-collocate of hoytam/NNG, 'talks,' occurred in the Hankyoreh corpora (see Fig. 1). In the same vein, while Chosun chose a more neutral word, kacyjho/NNG, 'holding,' Hankyoreh used sengsa/NNG, 'accomplishment,' to describe the summit, which indicated the newspaper’s positive attitude towards the summit.

The c-collocate analysis identified the stasis of inter-Korean summit discourse by investigating the similarities between the sub-corpora. However, the examination of repeated patterns which the two newspapers with opposing views shared over time provided only partial insight into how the discourse has been constructed. In order to offer a well-rounded and balanced view regarding the discourse construction of inter-Korean summits, the manner in which the discourse changed diachronically should be studied. Therefore, the study carried out keyness comparison between news coverage of summits within each newspaper. A keyword list compiled based on automated frequency comparisons between a study corpus, a corpus under investigation, and a (general) reference corpus provides a measure of saliency (Baker, 2006, p. 125) and can aid the narrowing of analytical focus. Using the Trends 21 corpus as a reference, the KeyWord function of WordSmith Tools version 8 derived two

Table 5

The top 50 keywords in the Chosun corpora categorised into thematic groups.

| Category                      | Chosun 2000 corpus                                                                 | Chosun 2007 corpus                                                                 | Chosun 2018 corpus                                                                 |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Summit                        | cengsanghoytam/NNG, 'summit'; hoytam/NNG, 'talks'; cengsang/NNG, 'head'; ciotca/NNG, 'leader'; pwukchuk/NNG, 'the North'; yangchuk/NNG, 'both sides' | cengsanghoytam/NNG, 'summit'; hoytam/NNG, 'talks'; namchuk/NNG, 'the South'; pwukchuk/NNG, 'swunoy/NNG, 'head' | cengsanghoytam/NNG, 'summit'                                                      |
| Two Koreas and their leaders  | kongang/NNG, 'airport'; panggwuk/NNG, 'visit to North Korea'; sengmyeng/NNG, 'statement'; tochuk/NNG, 'arrival'                      | pungwuk/NNG, 'visit to North Korea'; punkyeysen/NNG, 'The (Military) Demarcation Line'; yulko/NNG, 'overland route' | punkyeysen/NNG, 'The (Military) Demarcation Line'                                 |
| Travel to North or South Korea| hwanyeng/NNG, 'welcome'; kongsik/NNG, 'official'; manchan/NNG, 'banquet'; swuhayngwen/NNG, 'attendant' | akwu/NNG, 'handshake'; chotayono/NNG, 'guest house'; culek/NNG, 'being impromptu'; howi/NNG, 'escort' | chotayono/NNG, 'guest house'; hoytamcang/NNG, 'conference hall'; hwansang/NNG, 'farewell'; hwantam/NNG, 'continued on next page' |
Table 5 (continued)

| Category                                      | Hankyoreh 2000 corpus                                      | Hankyoreh 2007 corpus                                      | Hankyoreh 2018 corpus                                      |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| **Inter-Korean exchange and cooperation**     | yengecp/VA, ‘to be free’; hapcok/VA, ‘joint venture’; hwahay/VA, ‘reconciliation’; imlikong/VA, ‘toll manufacturing’; isanalak/VA, ‘dispersed family’; kanzhoy/VA, ‘sentiments’; kitaykam/VA, ‘feeling of expectancy’; kohanyo/VA, ‘homecoming’; kyenghey/VA, ‘economic cooperation’; kyoyek/VA, ‘trade’; mincok/VA, ‘nation’; pwuantan/VA, ‘division’; sangpung/VA, ‘reunification’; secek/VA, ‘books’; silhyangmin/VA, ‘dislocated people’; sosik/VA, ‘news’; tapyuk/VA, ‘with or towards North Korea’; thongil/VA, ‘unification’; tulitutu/VA, ‘to be excited’ | kyenghey/VA, ‘economic cooperation’; penyeng/VA, ‘prosperity’ | cekta/VA, ‘hostility’; elo/VA, ‘fishery’; hankyeyen/VA, ‘limit line’; kwunsacek/VA, ‘military’; nappwukac/VA, ‘a person kidnapped to North Korea’; pwukwpang/VA, ‘north’; sehaj/VA, ‘the West Sea’; pibhaykkwa/VA, ‘denationalisation’; pwukhayk/VA, ‘North Korea’s nuclear programme’; pwulunghwa/VA, ‘disability’ | cekta/VA, ‘hostility’; elo/VA, ‘fishery’; pwulwakim/VA, ‘non-aggression’ | palsatay/VA, ‘launcher’; pihbaykhwa/VA, ‘denationalisation’; pwuilakkek/VA, ‘irreversible’; silhencang/VA, ‘testing site’; yengkwa/VA, ‘permanence’; yuakunwak/VA, ‘related country’; cayulop/VA, ‘to be free’; ensmuuk/VA, ‘solemnly’; hangkwak/VA, ‘permanent’; hapuyymwan/VA, ‘agreement’; hesintanhoy/VA, ‘frankness, openness-mindedness’; kimnilli/VA, ‘closely’; onul/VA, ‘today’ |
| **Military conflict in the West Sea**          |                                                            |                                                            |                                                            |                                                            |
| **Peace process**                             |                                                            |                                                            |                                                            |                                                            |
| **Denationalisation**                         |                                                            |                                                            |                                                            |                                                            |
| **Responses and evaluations**                 |                                                            |                                                            |                                                            |                                                            |
| **Media**                                     |                                                            |                                                            |                                                            |                                                            |

Table 6

The top 50 keywords in the Hankyoreh corpora categorised into thematic groups.

| Category                              | Hankyoreh 2000 corpus                                      | Hankyoreh 2007 corpus                                      | Hankyoreh 2018 corpus                                      |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| **Summit**                             | cengsanghojam/VA, ‘summit’                                | cengsanghojam/VA, ‘summit’                                | cengsanghojam/VA, ‘summit’                                |
| **Two Koreas and their leaders**       | namcok/VA, ‘the South’                                    | swunoy/VA, ‘head’                                         | swunoy/VA, ‘head’                                         |
| **Travel to North or South Korea**      | pukko/VA, ‘the North’                                     | punkyeysen/VA, ‘The (Military Demarcation Line’; yukho/VA, ‘overland route’ | punkyeysen/VA, ‘The (Military Demarcation Line’ |
| **Visit to North or South Korea**       | pihaykkwa/VA, ‘visit to North Korea’; pihayykkwa/VA, ‘airport’ |                                                            |                                                            |
| Category                              | Hankyoreh 2000 corpus                                                                 | Hankyoreh 2007 corpus                                                                 | Hankyoreh 2018 corpus                                                                 |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ceremonies and protocol               | akswu/NNG, 'handshake'; chotayso/NNG, 'guest house'; hwantam/NNG, 'warm reception'; hwanyeng/NNG, 'welcome'; macwung/NNG, 'coming to meet'; paysекa/NNG, 'attendant'; sayel/NNG, 'inspection'; swuhaungwun/NNG, 'attendant'; tapyphyotan/NNG, 'delegation'; uycangtay/NNG, 'honour guards'; uyen/NNG, 'protocol'; yengcpr/NNG, 'reception'; yengpikwan/NNG, 'State guest house'; yeseungkye/NNG, 'women's circles' | akswu/NNG, 'handshake'; cenyongcha/NNG, 'private car'; chotayso/NNG, 'guest house'; cuktap/NNG, 'prompt reply'; cvumwuni/VV, 'sleep (honofrific)'; hoytamcng/NNG, 'conference hall'; hwansong/NNG, 'farewell'; hwantam/NNG, 'pleasant talk'; chat; hwanyengsik/NNG, 'welcoming ceremony'; kensay/NNG, 'toast'; kengpesa/NNG, 'toast'; khaheleyitu/NNG, 'car parade'; kukcinha/VA, 'to be very cordial'; mwukaycha/NNG, 'open car'; mwuphyoceng/NNG, 'absence of expression'; ochancang/NNG, 'luncheon room'; paysek/NNG, 'sitting with one's superior'; paysекa/NNG, 'attendant'; semnyengsik/NNG, 'signing event'; swuhaungwun/NNG, 'attendant'; tapylle/NNG, 'return present'; tongsong/NNG, 'riding together'; untwan/NNG, 'seclusion'; yengcpr/NNG, 'reception'; yengpikwan/NNG, 'State guest house' | akswu/NNG, 'handshake'; chinkyoyo/NNG, 'friendship'; hoytamcng/NNG, 'conference hall'; hwantam/NNG, 'pleasant talk'; hwantamcng/NNG, 'lobby'; hwanyengsik/NNG, 'welcoming ceremony'; hwatong/NNG, 'child handing out flowers'; insape/NNG, 'greeting'; kensay/NNG, 'toast'; kyengley/NNG, 'salutation'; leytukhapey/NNG, 'red carpet'; manchancang/NNG, 'banquet hall'; pangmyenglok/NNG, 'guest book'; pattulechong/NNG, 'present arms'; paysекa/NNG, 'attendant'; pyongyangnyungmye/NNG, 'North Korean cold noodle dish'; sayel/NNG, 'inspection'; swuhaungytn/NNG, 'attendant group'; swuhaungwun/NNG, 'attendant'; tamso/NNG, 'friendly talk'; thaksan/NNG, 'special delegates'; sayel/NNG, 'lining up'; uycangtay/NNG, 'honour guards'; yengcpr/NNG, 'reception'; yengpikwan/NNG, 'State guest house' |
| Inter-Korean exchange and cooperation | carkgiswu/NNG, 'long-term prisoner'; hyucese/NNG, 'truce line'; inkong/NNG, 'North Korean national flag'; isankakoc/NNG, 'dispersed family'; kyelye/NNG, 'nation'; kyenghey/NNG, 'economic cooperation'; kyolya/NNG, 'exchange'; mincock/NNG, 'national'; mwulkkko/NNG, 'suicide gate'; panmgwunun/NNG, 'a group of visitors'; pankong/NNG, 'antikommunism'; piwen/NNG, 'earnest wish'; picenhyang/NNG, 'unconverted'; pwantan/NNG, 'division'; sanggong/NNG, 'reunion'; sayyangso/NNG, 'life and death'; silhaungmin/NNG, 'dislocated people'; tanilhym/NNG, 'joint (sports) team'; thayukkuk/NNG, 'South Korean national flag'; thongji/NNG, 'unification'; yuklko/NNG, 'overland route' | haku/NNG, 'estuary'; kayposwu/NNG, 'repairs'; kyenghey/NNG, 'economic cooperation'; kyolya/NNG, 'exchange'; mincock/NNG, 'national'; mwulkkko/NNG, 'suicide gate'; panmgwunun/NNG, 'a group of visitors'; pankong/NNG, 'antikommunism'; piwen/NNG, 'earnest wish'; picenhyang/NNG, 'unconverted'; pwantan/NNG, 'division'; sanggong/NNG, 'reunion'; sayyangso/NNG, 'life and death'; silhaungmin/NNG, 'dislocated people'; tanilhym/NNG, 'joint (sports) team'; thayukkuk/NNG, 'South Korean national flag'; thongji/NNG, 'unification'; yuklko/NNG, 'overland route' | hyelmaya/NNG, 'blood relations'; kongi/NNG, 'mutual reciprocity'; kyelye/NNG, 'nation'; kyunbyngye/NNG, 'balanced'; penyeng/NNG, 'prosperity'; papangmense/NNG, 'multifaceted' |
| Military conflict in the West Sea and peace process | capsaelee/NNG, 'reestablishment'; cikhanglko/NNG, 'direct route'; ekot/NNG, 'fishes'; elo/NNG, 'fishery'; hanheye/NNG, 'limit line'; sehaysang/NNG, 'on the West Sea'; swhaye/NNG, 'waters' | capsaelee/NNG, 'reestablishment'; cikhanglko/NNG, 'direct route'; ekot/NNG, 'fishes'; elo/NNG, 'fishery'; hanheye/NNG, 'limit line'; sehaysang/NNG, 'on the West Sea'; swhaye/NNG, 'waters' | cekay/NNG, 'hostility' |
| Denuclearisation                       | chakwunkip/NNG, 'vice minister-level'; hwaahay/NNG, 'reconciliation' | chakwunkip/NNG, 'vice minister-level'; hwaahay/NNG, 'reconciliation' | pihaykho/NNG, 'denuclearisation'; pwulkaykeck/NNG, 'irreversible'; yengkwuske/NNG, 'permanent'; yengkwusu/MAG, 'permanently'; yuksawunuk/NNG, 'related country' |
| Responses and evaluations              | caltoy/VV, 'to go well'; cengiyyeha/NNG, 'regularisation'; changlik/NNG, | caltoy/VV, 'to go well'; cengiyyeha/NNG, 'regularisation'; changlik/NNG, | caltoy/VV, 'to go well'; hangkwee/NNG, 'permanent'; hesinhanhoy/NNG, 'frankness, |

(continued on next page)
The examination of concordance lines of *kitay/NNG, ‘expectation,’* *kiwen/NNG, ‘prayer,’* and *kkeyki/NNG, ‘moment, opportunity,’* in the C2000 corpus revealed that the South expected the summit would achieve significant progress towards national reconciliation and that it could have a positive economic impact. However, the news discourse expressed scepticism about the beneficial effect of the summit as well. Extract (2a) demonstrates a dislocated person’s calm and level-headed approach to the inter-Korean talks. In contrast, as shown in (2b) and (2c), *caltoy/VV, ‘to go well’* from the 2007 summit corpora and *hesimthahoy/NNG, ‘frankness, open-mindedness’* in the 2018 corpora appeared primarily in the context of the speeches of both Korea’s political figures and the agreement of the summit. In the same vein, it is interesting to see how the discussion of *Pongyang cold noodle dishes* was recontextualised over time. As indicated by a change in themes under which it is categorised, *pyongyangnayngmyen/NNG, ‘North Korean cold noodle dish’* in the 2000 corpora largely occurred in the context of citizens’ celebration of the summit, whereas the same item in the 2018 corpora was portrayed as a symbol of diplomacy, as the dish became a staple on the banquet menu at both the April and the September summits.

(2) a. 번번 실패해 1세대인 남한 비자회합단장 장 (71) 할머니는 ‘큰 기대는 안 한다. 너무 따뜻하게 하는 건 아니야’며 ‘회담 결과를 제시하기로 하자’라고 당당하게 말했다.

On the other hand, Cang, a 71-year-old first generation woman of displaced people and a member of Hanmun Women’s Association choir, said calmly, ‘I don’t have high expectations. Isn’t it too much fuss?’ and ‘I will have to carefully watch the results of the meeting.’ (Chosun, 14 June 2000)

b. 목록을 볼 수 있었던 것이 아주 달콤 일이라고 생각합니다.

[President Roh said:] I think it was very well to be able to come to Pyongyang by land. (Chosun, 4 October 2007)

c. 김 위원장은 ‘죄심심한회합, 임치회합, 숙식회합 둘 다정협회 간으로 이야기를 하겠다’고 다짐했다.

Chairperson Kim pledged, ‘I will have a good talk with President Moon in a frank and open-minded manner, sincerely and honestly.’ (Hankyoreh, 27 April 2018)

Keyword lists for each summit. Then the 50 most frequent content words were thematically categorised after examining concordance lines as shown in Tables 5 and 6. Both Tables 5 and 6 show the overall increase of media attention on ceremonial events at the summits. The most populated category indicates that summit participants were diversified in 2018 summit corpora in comparison with previous summits, and a large number of items, such as *akswu/NNG, ‘handshake,’ hwanyeng/NNG, ‘welcome,’ hwanyengsk/NNG, ‘welcoming ceremony,’ khapheleyityu/NNG, ‘car parade,’* and *kkochtapal/NNG, ‘bouquet,* in addition to [travel to North or South Korea] suggests that increasing amounts of media representation of the inter-Korean summit focussed on welcoming ceremonies.

Another diachronic change that both corpora share is that whereas source diversity in both news reports decreased, the discursive dominance of political elites (Fairclough, 1995) increased. *Kitay/NNG, ‘expectation’* (C2000), *kiwen/NNG, ‘prayer,’* *kkeyki/NNG, ‘moment, opportunity,’* and *kakmaynwulyang/NNG, ‘being deeply moved’* (H2000) in [responses and evaluations] of the 2000 summit corpora described the wishes for a successful inter-Korean summit from various groups and individuals, including citizens, dispersed families and relatives, overseas Koreans, academics, professionals, and politicians. On the other hand, *caltoy/VV, ‘to go well’* (C2007; H2007 and H2018) and *hesimthahoy/NNG, ‘frankness, open-mindedness’* (C2018 and H2018) in [responses and evaluations] of the 2007 and 2018 summit corpora appeared in the speeches of the two Koreas’ political leaders.

Table 6 (continued)

| Category | Hankyoreh 2000 corpus | Hankyoreh 2007 corpus | Hankyoreh 2018 corpus |
|----------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Media    | phuleye/NNG, ‘the press’; sayngcwungkyey/NNG, ‘live broadcast; thelyllypycen/NNG, ‘television’; | chwicyatan/NNG, ‘the press’; thacen/NNG, ‘sending a telegram’; | nayaysin/NNG, ‘domestic and foreign journalists’; phuleye/NNG, ‘the press’ |

A few proper nouns including governmental institutions and related titles are absent in Trends 21, mainly due to political regime changes and reorganisation of government departments after 2013. As the absence of these words in the reference corpus resulted in an extremely high keyness score, proper nouns and related titles were removed from the comparison.
Extracts (2) and (3) indicate a discursive change whereby both newspapers used government-affiliated sources more extensively and gave more coverage to the voices of the power elites instead of quoting from individuals. This increasing reliance on government sources is compatible with textual prominence of diplomatic ceremonials, and contributed to the growing media presence of the summit declarations and the agreements between the two Koreas. Across the 2018 corpora, the vast majority of keywords populating the thematic categories which are related to agendas for the summits, namely [inter-Korean exchange and cooperation], [military conflict in the West Sea and the peace process], and [denuclearisation], as well as [responses and evaluations] categories, occurred in reporting the declarations and agreements. This change in keyness led to depersonalisation that kyelye/NNG, ‘nation’ and a metaphoric expression hyelmayk/NNG, ‘blood relations’ substituted for isankacok/NNG, ‘dispersed family,’ picenhayng/NNG cangkiswu/NNG, ‘long-term political prisoners,’ silhyangmin/NNG, ‘dispersed people,’ and abstraction that penyeng/NNG, ‘prosperity’ replaced kyenghyep/NNG, ‘economic cooperation,’ hapcak/NNG, ‘joint venture,’ imbakong/NNG, ‘toll manufacturing,’ and yuklo/NNG,18 ‘overland route,’ as illustrated in Fig. 2. This cluster of diachronic changes in the summit discourse which distanced readers from the event is closely related to the internationalisation of inter-Korean relations, as discussed below.

We will conclude this section with a chronological comparison within each newspaper to detect salient changes in topics of the summit discourse. The first observation is that there is a correspondence between shifts in media attention and changes in the key agenda items for each attempt at inter-Korean rapprochement. South Korean presidents Kim Dae-jung (1998–2003), Roh Moo-hyun (2003–2008) and Moon Jae-in (2017–present), who participated in inter-Korean dialogue, have advocated a peaceful co-existence and co-prosperity policy towards North Korea. However, the engagement-oriented policy of South Korea has fluctuated in response to local and multilateral interactions on the Korean peninsula over the last twenty years, and the key agendas for each summit changed correspondingly.

18 Yuklo/NNG, ‘overland route’ appeared in the context of the Mt. Kumgang Tourism Project and overland transport between the North and South in H2000, whereas the same word primarily occurred in coverage of the then-president Roh’s overland trip to Pyongyang in both C2007 and H2007 corpora, as shown in extract (2b).
Tables 5 and 6 indicate a shift of the media’s interests away from the unification of Korea. In the media portrayals of the 2000 summit, [inter-Korean exchange and cooperation] is the most populated category with the top 50 keywords, consisting of *sangpung*/NNG, ‘reunion’ of *isankacok*/NNG, ‘separated families’ and *silhyangmin*/NNG, ‘dislocated people,’ kyenghyep/NNG, ‘economic cooperation,’ *tanithim*/NNG, ‘joint (sports) team’ and *thongil*/NNG, ‘unification.’ Both newspapers accentuated expected benefits which could follow the first inter-Korean talks, employing keywords, *kitay*/NNG, ‘expectation,’ *kiwen*/NNG, ‘prayer,’ and *kyeiki*/NNG, ‘moment, opportunity’ in *Chosun* and *kamkaymwulyang*/NNG, ‘being deeply moved’ in *Hankyoreh.* In contrast, the discourse of unification was replaced by the concept of peaceful coexistence in media representations of both the 2007 and 2018 summits. The summit meetings of the two Koreas after 2000 were no longer portrayed as an endeavour to unify the Korean peninsula but instead as an attempt to establish peaceful relations between the two Koreas and eliminate nuclear crises on the international stage, regardless of conflicting evaluations of the outcomes, which will be discussed in next section. The broadened meeting agenda, which encompassed regional and global issues within a multifaceted peacebuilding process, helped internationalise the context of the two Koreas’ dialogue, utilising the discourse of denuclearisation, its international actors, and their terms as exemplified in (4c).

(4) a. 남북정상회의를 허용 했던 12일, 시민들은 ‘이번 회담은 통일로 가는 큰 발걸음이 되기로 바랐다’고 있을 모았다.
   On the 12th, one day before the inter-Korean summit, citizens have all said, ‘I hope this meeting will be a big step towards unification.’ *(Chosun, 13 June 2000)*

b. 노무현 대통령은 […] ‘세상의 평화정착을 위해서는 군사적 대결의 관점이 아니라 경제협력의 관점으로서 “세계문제를 풀어나가자”는 발상의 전환이 필요하다는 점을 강조했다’고 말했다.
   President Roh Moo-hyun said, ‘I emphasised that we need to think outside the box to solve the West Sea issue through economic cooperation, not through military confrontation, in order to establish peace in the West Sea.’ *(Chosun, 4 October 2007)*

c. 그는 김대중은 북한 국군위치적정을 통해 통일전략의 대책과 발전을 위해 유엔군과 관련자들이 합리적인 끝에 영구적으로 폐기하였다 고 말한 데에 “아주 좋은 뉴스”라고 반응했다.
   He [President Trump] said that it is ‘very good news’ that North Korean leader Kim Jong-un expressed his intention in the *[Jongnyong]* joint declaration that he will permanently dismantle the Dongchang-ri missile engine test site and rocket launcher in the presence of experts from related countries. *(Hankyoreh, 19 September 2018)*

5.2. Contrastive analysis between newspapers

This section details a contrastive analysis of saliently frequent words between the two previous sections. A set of discursive changes revolving around internationalisation of summit discourse across the corpora. While on the surface *Chosun* and *Hankyoreh* may seem to share the same recognition of developments in inter-Korean relations, closer inspection of concordance lines and texts reveals discursive contests between them in depicting the two-Koreas’ talks. As shown in Tables 5 and 6, both media paid great attention to inter-Korean economic cooperation and sociocultural exchange in 2000. Keywords from C2000 such as *hapcal*/NNG, ‘joint venture,’ *imkakong*/NNG, ‘toll manufacturing,’ *kitaykam*/NNG, ‘feeling of expectancy,’ *koyooy*/NNG, ‘exchange,’ kyenghyep/NNG, ‘economic cooperation,’ kyooyek/NNG, ‘trade,’ and secek/NNG, ‘books’ in the [inter-Korean exchange and cooperation] category, as well as ciswuu/NNG, ‘index,’ *cwuka*/NNG, ‘share price,’ *hocay*/NNG, ‘favourable factor,’ *kitay*/NNG, ‘expectation,’ kyeyki/NNG, ‘moment, opportunity,’ *mayswu*/NNG, ‘purchase,’ and *taypwu*/NNG, ‘with or towards North Korea’ in the [responses and evaluations] category represent the fact that the media interest was focussed on possible economic benefits from expanding inter-Korean trade ties. On the contrary, the examination of keywords categorised under [inter-Korean exchange and cooperation] from H2000 shows a more comprehensive view in comparison to *Chosun*. The H2000 corpus touched upon issues of *piceihayng*/NNG, *cangkiswu*/NNG, ‘long-term political prisoners,’ in addition to *isankacok*/NNG, ‘dispersed family’ and *silhyangmin*/NNG, ‘dislocated people,’ and inter-Korean sport exchanges when discussing North–South partnerships and ideological conflicts which the progress in inter-Korean relations could give rise to.

(5) a. 정축구협회장은 남북 축구 단일팀을 구성해 10월 레바논에서 열리는 아시안컵 대회와 2001년 아르헨티나 세계청소년축구대회에 참가할 것을 제의했다.
   Chung, president of the Korea Football Association proposed the formation of a joint South–North soccer team to participate in the [AFC] Asian Cup in Lebanon in October and the [FIFA] World Youth Championship in Argentina in 2001. *(Hankyoreh, 15 June 2000)*

b. 대학생들이 남북 정상회담을 축하하며 대학 교정이 태극기와 함께 인공기념을 내걸어 경합이 급미를 얻고 있다.
   The police are troubled with college students who put up a *North Korean national flag* along with a *South Korean national flag* on campus to celebrate the inter-Korean summit. *(Hankyoreh, 13 June 2000)*

Extracts (5a) and (5b) illustrate *Hankyoreh’s* attempt at more balanced reporting by illuminating different aspects of socio-economic cooperation between the two Koreas. The relatively comprehensive view of *Hankyoreh* was also found in recurrent standard North Korean language across the *Hankyoreh* corpora, such as *pihanyungcang*/NNG, ‘airport’ (H2000), *swunoy*/NNG, ‘head’ (H2007 and 2018), and *lyeksa*/NNG, ‘history’ (H2018), as well as in direct quotations of North Korean leaders as shown in extracts (6a) and (6b) respectively.

(6) a. “평화 변화, 통일의 새 시대.” “4.27 선언 새로운 역사가 이제부터” 동의 메시지가 담긴 것이다.
   [Glorious country,’ North Korean mass games] contains messages, such as ‘a new era of peace, prosperity and unification,’ ‘the April 27th [Pammunjom] declaration and a new history begins now.’ *(Hankyoreh, 19 September 2018)*

b. 김대중 대통령께서도 이 속소에서 주무셨습니다.
   [Kim Jong-il said,] Former president Kim Dae-Jung also slept in this accommodation. *(Hankyoreh, 4 October 2007)*
Similarly, comparisons between C2007 and H2007 as well as between C2018 and H2018 confirm the contrasting approaches to the inter-Korean summit (see Fig. 3). Firstly, a large shift in media attention from inter-Korean cooperation to military tension took place in C2007, stimulating the news outlet to strengthen its one-dimensional portrayal of inter-Korean relations. C2007 gave substantial coverage to the agreement alleviating military tensions when reporting the October 4th declaration, and discussed it in the context of the North’s hostile aggression in the West Sea in the past.

As shown in extract (7a) and (7b), concordance lines containing cekty/NNG, 'hostility,' hankyeyen/NNG, 'limit line,' kwunsacek/NNG, 'military' and pwuwpang/NNG, 'north' reveal that Chosun emphasised the threat and risk, whereas H2007 drew attention to the establishment of a special zone for peace and cooperation in the West Sea, as illustrated in (7c).

In the construction of a discourse of threats, C2007 aligned military encounters in the West Sea with North Korea’s nuclear denuclearisation as the two Koreas’ first-priority task in the negotiations, and suggested that the process should be enforced according to the US’s policy of complete, verifiable, and irreversible

Chosun 2018 identified the North’s denuclearisation as the two Koreas’ first-priority task in the negotiations, and suggested that the process should be enforced according to the US’s policy of complete, verifiable, and irreversible
The negative stance of C2018 towards North Korea is clearly articulated in the diagramatic iconicity of ‘US–North Korea,’ observed in (8c), which occurs more frequently than its conventional counterpart, ‘North Korea–US.’ In contrast, a key analysis of H2018 assigned a high keyness value not only to pwulkayekcek/NNG, ‘irreversible,’ pihaykhwafa/NNG, ‘denuclearisation,’ yengkwucek/NNG, ‘permanent,’ yengkwuhaf/MAG, ‘permanently,’ and yunkwae/NNG, ‘related country,’ which were exploited to construct the discourse of denuclearisation, but also to kongl/NNG, ‘mutual reciprocity,’ kyunhyengkwe/NNG, ‘balanced,’ penyeng/NNG, ‘prosperity,’ and tapangmyeuncen/NNG, ‘multifaceted,’ which were utilised for the discourse of inter-Korean economic cooperation.

In addition to limiting the media representation of inter-Korean relations to the dismantling of North Korea’s nuclear programme, Chosun employed negative portrayals of the summit and alienation between the citizens and government as textual strategies to downplay inter-Korean talks. The discursive contestation surrounding the two Koreas’ agreement on denuclearisation which was addressed in the 2018 Pyongyang joint declaration is straightforward.

The concordance lines of pihaykhwaf/NNG, ‘denuclearisation’ in extract (10) illustrate the competing perspectives on Koreas’ dialogues in the South Korean media. The salience of keywords referring to military confrontations on the Korean peninsula, as well as the devaluing of inter-Korean summit meetings in the C2007 and C2018 corpora, reinforced the discourse of increasing threat and risk. In contrast, the prevalence of keywords from summit declarations indicates the North Korean nuclear programme is inevitable. An expert on North Korea said, ‘This declaration is a trickery and a wolf in sheep’s clothing intended to appear to be making progress despite little progress in denuclearisation.’ (Chosun, 20 September 2018)
On the 4th, former President Kim Dae-jung, who played a leading role in holding the June 15th Inter-Korean summit in 2000, welcomed the agreements [stipulated in] the ‘Inter-Korean Join Declaration in 2007’ between President Roh Moo-hyun and North Korean leader Kim Jong-il, evaluating ‘it went well.’ (Hankyoreh, 4 October 2007)

b. 한때 빠져서 뜨 봤 대중일을 만날 줄 알아는데 여기서 만날 것이 더 잘되었습니다.

[Kim Jong-un said,] I originally thought I would meet President Moon in Pyongyang, but it went better to meet you here [at the Peace House in Pungmun]. (Hankyoreh, 27 April 2018)
c. 한때는 회망은 오해 남북관계가 잘되고 있다. 북-미 회담도 잘되어 떨리 급강산 관광이 풀렸으면 좋겠다.

Chairperson [of Hyundai Group] Hyan Jong-eun said that inter-Korean relations are going well these days. I hope that the talks between North Korea–US will also go well, so [sanctions on] Mt. Kumgang tourism will be lifted soon. (Hankyoreh, 18 September 2018)

Citing multiple sources can be viewed as the media’s endeavour to provide diverse perspectives and a wider range of background information. However, the examination of citation patterns in the daily press under investigation indicates that the newspapers exploited cumulative media effect, using the cherry-picked quotations of political elites.

6. Conclusion

The present study carried out a diachronic critical discourse analysis of the Chosun ilbo and Hankyoreh shinmun corpora, which are composed of 307,753 tokens. First, consistent collocation analysis revealed that the stasis of IKS news discourse which remained constant over time represents generic features of news reporting. The c-collocares of nampuwukcengsanghoytam/NNP, ‘inter-Korean summit,’ cengsanghoytam/NNG, ‘summit,’ and hoytam/NNG, ‘talks’ constituted basic elements of news coverage by providing answers to questions of who, what, where, when, and how. In addition, keyness analysis using concordance data revealed that media attention to ceremonial events and prominence of political elites as news sources increased in both media, and consequently, various individuals and groups became depersonalised in the news representations. Furthermore, inter-Korean cooperation and exchange was depicted in a more abstract manner. The shared discursive changes facilitated the recontextualisation of IKS into multifaceted international negotiations with the North in accordance with developments in inter-Korean relations during the last twenty years. Lastly, a contrastive analysis identified Chosun’s one-dimensional view of the peace talks, which remained unchanged across the sub-corpora despite a large shift in its media interest from economic benefits of inter-Korean cooperation to nuclear threats from the North. Attempting to downplay inter-Korean relations, the conservative newspaper demonised the North and alienated the liberal governments of the South which took the initiative to hold the meetings. In contrast, Hankyoreh adopted a more comprehensive view by covering diverse aspects of the peace talks. However, the c-collotes of IKS with positive connotations and hand-picked quotations exerting the cumulative power of the media indicate the media’s positive stance.

The research findings demonstrate that shifts in the discourse construction of IKS took place between the first summit in 2000 and the second meeting in 2007, when conservative–liberal conflicts in South Korea surfaced and deepened due to the implementation of the engagement policy of the South towards the North. Moreover, the study revealed that as part of the struggles and transformations in society, discursive contestation between conservative and liberal newspaper agencies surrounding inter-Korean relations continued when portraying the two Koreas’ peace negotiations and their outcomes amid increased media attention to diplomatic ceremonies. On the methodological level, the study supports the view that looking at both similarities and differences between corpora provides a fully-fledged view of data and enhances the completeness of discourse analysis, as the rounded approach detected the liberal newspaper’s projection of its political stance onto news coverage, which the previous literature on South Korean news media overlooked. Finally, the comparative study illustrated how c-collocation analysis can be employed to identify genre characteristics.

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