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Park, J.H.

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

Jin Hee Park (박진희)

*Korean Studies, The Leiden University Institute for Area Studies, Leiden University, 2311, BZ Leiden, the Netherlands*



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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,

E-mail address: [j.h.park@hum.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:j.h.park@hum.leidenuniv.nl).

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> The extensive media attention encompassing a wide variety of issues related to the peace negotiations<sup>3</sup> offers a good opportunity for both Korean populations to learn about each other<sup>4</sup> 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.

	2000 Summit	2007 Summit	2018 Summit
Date	13–15 June 2000	2–4 October 2007	27 April, 26 May, 18–20 September 2018
Venue	Pyongyang (NK)	Pyongyang (NK)	The Peace House (SK), <i>Thongilgak</i> (NK) in <i>Panmunjom</i> and <i>Pyongyang</i> (NK)
Leader of Koreas	<i>Kim Dae-jung</i> (SK) and <i>Kim Jong-il</i> (NK)	<i>Roh Moo-hyun</i> (SK) and <i>Kim Jong-il</i> (NK)	<i>Moon Jae-in</i> (SK) and <i>Kim Jong-un</i> (NK)
Outcome	The June 15th Inter-Korean Joint Declaration	The October 4th Inter-Korean Joint Declaration	The <i>Panmunjom</i> Declaration, the <i>Pyongyang</i> 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 Ceuster, 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,<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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).

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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.'

<sup>6</sup> 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 newspapers 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 focussed 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.<sup>7</sup>

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 newspapers into the media portrayal? What similarities and differences are identified in media representations of the peace negotiations between conservative and liberal news outlets? Lastly, how and why has news discourse about the peace talks changed over time? To answer the research questions, the study sets out to look at both ends of the ideological spectrum of media outlets in South Korea and at selected articles from *Chosun ilbo* and *Hankyoreh shinmun*.

### 3. Corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis

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,<sup>8</sup> 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 conceives of a change in discourse as a dimension of wider social and cultural change (Fairclough, 1992, p. 28).<sup>9</sup> The critical discourse analytic framework provides an insight into the dialectic relation

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> 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).

<sup>9</sup> 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 (Gabrielatos 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 shinmun* during each meeting (13–15 June 2000, 2–4 October 2007, and 27 April, 26 May,<sup>10</sup> 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](http://www.chosun.com)) and *Hankyoreh shinmun* ([www.hani.co.kr](http://www.hani.co.kr)). News coverage of the 2000 summit in *Hankyoreh shinmun* was collected from the online news database *BICKinds* ([www.kinds.or.kr](http://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**  
Inter-Korean summit corpora statistics.

		2000 Summit	2007 Summit	2018 Summit	Total
<i>Chosun</i>	Number of articles	53	80	241	374
<i>ilbo</i>	Word tokens (types)	13,041 (7250)	21,502 (8343)	71,761 (18,582)	106,304 (27,326)
<i>Hankyoreh</i>	Number of articles	93	195	295	583
<i>shinmun</i>	Word tokens (types)	28,031 (13,124)	67,278 (19,313)	106,140 (24,425)	201,449 (43,251)
Total	Number of articles	146	275	536	957
	Word tokens (types)	41,072 (17,769)	88,780 (22,710)	177,901 (33,574)	307,753 (55,909)

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,<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>12</sup> 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 *Hankoyreh* ( $M = 67149.7$ ,  $SD = 39054.6$ );  $t(4) = -1.91$ ,  $p = 0.336$ .

## 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.<sup>13</sup> 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-corpora of each newspaper. I ran the Concord function to create a collocate list of *nampwukcengsanghoytam*, 'inter-Korean summit,' *cengsanghoytam*, 'summit,' and *hoytam*, 'talks' from each sub-corpus and to compute MI3 score<sup>14</sup> 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-corpora. 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 shinmun*, 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.<sup>15</sup> The corpus tool calculated keyness based on Log Ratio values which were set to a minimum of 2.5. A threshold of BIC score ( $BIC \geq 2$ ) 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.

<sup>13</sup> 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.

<sup>14</sup> 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 ( $F_{n,c}$  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;  $F_c$  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):  $MI3 = \frac{\log(F_{n,c}N/F_nF_cS)}{\log_2}$

<sup>15</sup> 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*):  $Log\ Ratio = \log \frac{NFC1}{NFC2}$

## 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 collocations 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 *nampwukcengsanghoytam*/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 *nampwukcengsanghoytam*/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 MI3 score of c-collocates listed in [Tables 3 and 4](#) varies across the corpora but the collocations remain strong, as the lowest MI3 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**

Consistent collocates of *nampwukcengsanghoytam*/NNP, 'inter-Korean summit,' *cengsanghoytam*/NNG, 'summit,' and *hoytam*/NNG, 'talks' from the *Chosun* corpora.

Category	Consistent collocates
Actor	<i>cengsang</i> /NNG, 'head'; <i>Kim</i> /NNP; <i>Kim Jong-il</i> /NNP; <i>taythonglyeng</i> /NNG, 'president'
Country	<i>nampwuk</i> /NNP, 'The South and the North'; <i>pwukhan</i> /NNP, 'North Korea'
Place and time	<i>aphtwu</i> /VV, 'to have (a distance) ahead'; <i>halwu</i> /NNG, 'a day'; <i>ipen</i> /NNG, 'this time'; <i>Pyongyang</i> /NNP
Event outline	<i>cinhayng</i> /NNG, 'progress'; <i>hapuy</i> /NNG, 'mutual agreement'; <i>kaychoy</i> /NNG, 'holding'; <i>yelli</i> /VV, 'to be held'
Expectation	<i>sengkong</i> /NNG, 'success'
Miscellaneous	<i>tayha</i> /VV, 'to be in regard to'; <i>wiha</i> /VV, 'to do for the sake of'; <i>thongha</i> /VV, 'to go through'

**Table 4**

Consistent collocates of *nampwukcengsanghoytam*/NNP, 'inter-Korean summit,' *cengsanghoytam*/NNG, 'summit,' and *hoytam*/NNG, 'talks' from the *Hankyoreh* corpora.

Category	Consistent collocates
Actor	<i>cengsang</i> /NNG, 'head'; <i>cengpwu</i> /NNG, 'government'; <i>Kim</i> /NNP; <i>Kim Jong-il</i> /NNP; <i>kwukpangwiwencang</i> /NNG, 'the chairperson of the DPRK National Defence Commission'; <i>taythonglyeng</i> /NNG, 'president'; <i>thukpyel</i> /NNG, 'being special'; <i>wiwencang</i> /NNG, 'chairperson'
Country	<i>cwungkwuk</i> /NNP, 'China'; <i>hanpanto</i> /NNP, 'the Korean peninsula'; <i>namccok</i> /NNG, 'the South'; <i>nampwuk</i> /NNP, 'The South and the North'; <i>pwukcok</i> /NNG, 'the North'; <i>pwukhan</i> /NNP, 'North Korea'
Place and time	<i>aphtwu</i> /VV, 'to have (a distance) ahead'; <i>halwu</i> /NNG, 'a day'; <i>ihwu</i> /NNG, 'henceforth'; <i>inal</i> /NNG, 'this day'; <i>ipen</i> /NNG, 'this time'; <i>kikan</i> /NNG, 'period'; <i>ohwu</i> /NNG, 'afternoon'; <i>Pyongyang</i> /NNP; <i>Seoul</i> /NNP; <i>tongan</i> /NNG, 'space (of time)'; <i>tay</i> /NNG, 'time'; <i>twi</i> /NNG, 'after, next'
Agenda	<i>ceksipca</i> /NNP, 'the Red Cross'; <i>isankacok</i> /NNG, 'dispersed family'; <i>mwuncey</i> /NNG, 'question, problem'; <i>sangpong</i> /NNG, 'reunion'
Event outline	<i>cwunpi</i> /NNG, 'preparation'; <i>hapuy</i> /NNG, 'mutual agreement'; <i>kkuthna</i> /VV, 'to end'; <i>palphyo</i> /NNG, 'announcement'; <i>pangpwuk</i> /NNG, 'visit to North Korea'; <i>sengsa</i> /NNG, 'accomplishment'; <i>sicak</i> /NNG, 'beginning'; <i>yelli</i> /VV, 'to be held'
Description	<i>khu</i> /VA, 'to be big/ADJECTIVE'; <i>tantok</i> /NNG, 'one-on-one'; <i>yeksacek</i> /NNG, 'historic, historical'
Expectation	<i>kitay</i> /NNG, 'expectation'; <i>kyelkwa</i> /NNG, 'outcome'; <i>kyeyki</i> /NNG, 'moment, opportunity'; <i>phyenghwa</i> /NNG, 'peace'; <i>sengkong</i> /NNG, 'success'
News	<i>sosik</i> /NNG, 'news'
Miscellaneous	<i>ha</i> /VV, 'to do'; <i>iss</i> /VV, '(there) to be, to have'; <i>kwanyen</i> /NNG, 'relation, connection'; <i>po</i> /VV, <sup>16</sup> 'see, watch'; <i>tayha</i> /VV, 'to be in regard to'; <i>thongha</i> /VV, 'to go through'; <i>tto</i> /MAG, 'again/ADVERB'; <i>wiha</i> /VV, 'to do for the sake of'

Eighteen content c-collocates of *nampwukcengsanghoytam*/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, *thukpyel*/NNG, 'being special,' which appeared in

<sup>16</sup> As *po*/VV, 'see, watch' recurred 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 *po*/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 *kwanyen*/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.

*thukpyel swuhayngwen*, ‘special attendant’ and *thukpyel swuhayngtan*, ‘special attendant group,’ and *cengpwu*/NNG, ‘government’ in the [actor] category in Table 4 provided readers with further information on participants. And the items in the [agenda] and the [description] categories indicate that *Hankyoreh* dedicated more in-depth coverage to the topic than *Chosun*.

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.

N	Concordance	File
1	/XSV+았/EP+을/ETN+를/JKO 언급/NNG+하/XSV+고/EM+/SP	남북정상회담/NNP+의 /JKG 성공/NNG+를/JKO 기대/NNG+하/
2	/SS 우려/NNG+기대/NNG 교차/NNG 제/XPN+2/SN+자/NNB	남북정상회담/NNP+에서 /JKB 서해/NNG+에/JKB 공동/
3	/JX 이날/NNG 오후/NNG 브리핑/NNG+에서/JKB /SS+명양/NNP	남북정상회담/NNP+에서 /JKB 무엇/NP+를/JKO 기대/NNG+하/
4	/SN+본기/NNB 기입/NNG+실적/NNG 개선/NNG 기대/NNG+/SP	남북정상회담/NNP 개최/NNG 등/NNB+도/JX 조재/NNG+트/JKB
5	/ETM 현황수/NNP+(/SS+44/SN+서울/NNP+)/SS+씨/XSN+는/JX /	SS+남북정상회담/NNP+이 /JKS 기대/NNG+되/XSV+L 다/EM+.
6	/SS+트/JKB 예정/NNG+되/XSV+L/ETM 북/NNP+/SS+미/NNP	정상회담/NNG+에 /JKB 대학/VV+L/ETM 기대/NNG+를/JKO
7	/ETM 아침/NNG+부터/JX 역사적/NNG+이/VCP+L/ETM 남북/NNP	정상회담/NNG+을 /JKO 기대/NNG+와/JKB 감격/NNG+으로/JKB
8	및/MAG 잇/VV+어/EM+지/VX+는/ETM 북/NNP+/SS+미/NNP	정상회담/NNG+에 /JKB 대학/VV+L/ETM 기대/NNG+를/JKO
9	/JKS 삼상오르/MAG 모이/VV+어/EM 발돋움/VA+게/EM+까지/JX	정상회담/NNG+에 /JKB 대학/VV+L/ETM 기대/NNG 속/NNG+에
10	제외/NNG+하/XSV+았/EP+다/EM+/SF 건설/NNG+중/NNG+/SP+/	SS+정상회담/NNG 기대/NNG+ /SS+트/JKB 다시/MAG 또/
11	/XSN+은/JX 역사적/NNG+이/VCP+L/ETM 첫/MM 남북/NNP	정상회담/NNG+을 /JKO 앞두/VV+고/EM 기대/NNG+와/JKB
12	/ETM 첫/NNB+은/JX 애초/NNG 기대/NNG+대로/JKB 6/SN+자/	NNB+회담/NNG+과 /JKB 남북/NNP+관계/NNG 발전/NNG+이/JKS
13	/XSV+고자/EM 하/VX+L 다/EM+/SS+는/ETM 일/NNG+트/JKB	회담/NNG+에서 /JKB 기대/NNG+하/XSV+는/ETM 성과/NNG+를
14	조선/NNG+스텝/XSA+L/ETM 기대감/NNG 러시아/NNP+도/JX /	SS+회담/NNG+으로 /JKB 지역/NNG 정체/NNG 개선/NNG 기대/
15	/XSV+는/EM 걱정/NNG+/SS+/SS 트럼프/NNP /SS+6.12/NNP	회담/NNG 열리/VV+기/ETN+는/JKO 기대/NNG+ /SS 내달/NNG
16	/NNP 정상회담/NNG+의/JKG 성공적/NNG 진행/NNG+은/큰/	JX 회담/NNG 개최/NNG+조자/JX 기대/NNG+하/XSV+기/ETN 어렵/
17	ETM 첫/NNB+으로/JKB 열리/VV+어/EM+지/VX+았/EP+다/EM+/SF	회담/NNG 성과/NNG+를/JKO 크/VA+게/EM 기대/NNG+하/
18	다르/VA+어/EM+지/VX+L/ETM 태도/NNG+이/VCP+자/EM+/SP	회담/NNG 결과/NNG+를/JKO 기대/NNG+하/XSV+게/EM 하/
19	/NNG+를/JKO 앞/VV+게/EM 되/VV+았/EP+다/EM+/SS+며/EM /	SS+회담/NNG 결과/NNG+가/JKS 기대/NNG 이상/NNG+이/
20	중전/NNG+선언/NNG 기대/NNG+/SS 트럼프/NNP /SS+북미/	NNP+회담/NNG 연장/NNG+하/XSV+는/ETM+수/NNB+도/JX+/SS
21	가족/NNG 등/NNB 이산가족/NNG+를/XSN+은/JX 온종일/NNG	회담/NNG+에 /JKB 걸/VV+는/ETM 기대/NNG+와/JKB 설레/
22	적대감/NNG+이/JKS 많이/MAG 누그러지/VV+았/EP+다/EM+/SF	회담/NNG+에 /JKB 너무/MAG 크/VA+L/ETM 기대/NNG+를/
23	NNG+/SS 자원/NNG+으로/JKB 받아들여/VV+어/EM+지/VX+어/EM	회담/NNG+성과 /NNG+에/JKB 대학/VV+L/ETM 기대/NNG+를/

**Fig. 1.** A full set of collocation examples of 남북정상회담(*nampwukcengsanghoytam*)/NNP, ‘inter-Korean summit,’ 정상회담(*cengsanghoytam*)/NNG, ‘summit,’ and 회담(*hoytam*)/NNG, ‘talks’ with 기대(*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.)

- (1) 김 위원장의 영접은 지난 1차 정상회담 때와 마찬가지로 남한의 대통령에 대한 ‘예우’ 차원으로 받아들여져 회담 성과에 대한 기대를 높이고 있다. Chairperson *Kim*’s reception regarded as an ‘honourable treatment’ of the South Korean president as in the first summit [in 2000], raises **expectations** for the outcomes of the talks. (*Hankyoreh*, 2 October 2007)

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, *kaychoy*/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	<i>Chosun</i> 2000 corpus	<i>Chosun</i> 2007 corpus	<i>Chosun</i> 2018 corpus
Summit	<i>cengsanghoytam</i> /NNG, ‘summit’; <i>hoytam</i> /NNG, ‘talks’	<i>cengsanghoytam</i> /NNG, ‘summit’; <i>hoytam</i> /NNG, ‘talks’	<i>cengsanghoytam</i> /NNG, ‘summit’
Two Koreas and their leaders	<i>cengsang</i> /NNG, ‘head’; <i>citoca</i> /NNG, ‘leader’; <i>pwukchuk</i> /NNG, ‘the North’; <i>yangchuk</i> /NNG, ‘both sides’	<i>namchuk</i> /NNG, ‘the South’; <i>pwukchuk</i> /NNG, <i>swunoy</i> /NNG, ‘head’ ‘the North’; <i>thongswukwenca</i> /NNG, ‘the commander-in-chief of the armed forces’	
Travel to North or South Korea	<i>konghang</i> /NNG, ‘airport’; <i>pangpwuk</i> /NNG, ‘visit to North Korea’; <i>sengmyeng</i> /NNG, ‘statement’; <i>tochak</i> /NNG, ‘arrival’	<i>pangpwuk</i> /NNG, ‘visit to North Korea’; <i>punkyeysen</i> /NNG, ‘The (Military) Demarcation Line’; <i>yuklo</i> /NNG, ‘overland route’	<i>punkyeysen</i> /NNG, ‘The (Military) Demarcation Line’
Ceremonies and protocol	<i>hwanyeng</i> /NNG, ‘welcome’; <i>kongsik</i> /NNG, ‘official’; <i>manchan</i> /NNP, ‘banquet’; <i>swuhayngwen</i> /NNG, ‘attendant’;	<i>akswu</i> /NNG, ‘handshake’; <i>chotayso</i> /NNG, ‘guest house’; <i>cuksek</i> /NNG, ‘being impromptu’; <i>howi</i> /NNG, ‘escort’;	<i>chotayso</i> /NNG, ‘guest house’; <i>hoytamcang</i> /NNG, ‘conference hall’; <i>hwansong</i> /NNG, ‘farewell’; <i>hwantam</i> /NNG,

(continued on next page)

Table 5 (continued)

Category	Chosun 2000 corpus	Chosun 2007 corpus	Chosun 2018 corpus
	<i>yengcep</i> /NNG, 'reception'; <i>yengpinkwan</i> /NNG, 'State guest house'	<i>hwansong</i> /NNG, 'farewell'; <i>hwayeng</i> /NNG, 'welcome'; <i>hwayengsik</i> /NNG, 'welcoming ceremony'; <i>kenpay</i> /NNG, 'toast'; <i>kkoskkosha</i> /VA, 'to be upright'; <i>kyengho</i> /NNG, 'guard'; <i>malmi</i> /NNG, 'end'; <i>manchan</i> /NNP, 'banquet'; <i>moley</i> /NNG, 'the day after tomorrow'; <i>ochan</i> /NNG, 'luncheon'; <i>swuhayngwen</i> /NNG, 'attendant'; <i>swuki</i> /VV, 'to lower (one's head)'; <i>swukso</i> /NNG, 'accommodation'; <i>tongsung</i> /NNG, 'riding together'; <i>uycen</i> /NNG, 'protocol'; <i>yengcep</i> /NNG, 'reception'; <i>yengpinkwan</i> /NNG, 'State guest house'	'pleasant talk, chat'; <i>hwatong</i> /NNG, 'child handing out flowers'; <i>hwayengsik</i> /NNG, 'welcoming ceremony'; <i>inkongki</i> /NNG, 'North Korean national flag'; <i>kenpaysa</i> /NNG, 'toast'; <i>kkochtapol</i> /NNG, 'bouquet'; <i>kyengceyin</i> /NNG, 'business man'; <i>manchan</i> /NNP, 'banquet'; <i>nayngmyen</i> /NNG, 'cold noodle dish'; <i>nuc</i> /VV, 'to become late'; <i>pangmyenglok</i> /NNG, 'guest book'; <i>pangpwuktan</i> /NNG, 'delegation to North Korea'; <i>payseka</i> /NNG, 'attendant'; <i>pyongyangnayngmyen</i> /NNG, 'North Korean cold noodle dish'; <i>swuhayngtan</i> /NNG, 'attendant group'; <i>swuhayngwen</i> /NNG, 'attendant'; <i>tamsa</i> /NNG, 'friendly talk'; <i>thuksatan</i> /NNG, 'special delegates'; <i>toyel</i> /NNG, 'lining up'; <i>uycangtay</i> /NNG, 'honour guards'; <i>yelyelhi</i> /MAG, '(to welcome) warmly'; <i>yengcep</i> /NNG, 'reception'; <i>yengpinkwan</i> /NNG, 'State guest house'; <i>yeypho</i> /NNG, '(gun) salute'; <i>hyelmayk</i> /NNG, 'blood relations'; <i>kyeley</i> /NNG, 'nation'; <i>penyeng</i> /NNG, 'prosperity'
Inter-Korean exchange and cooperation	<i>cayulop</i> /VA, 'to be free'; <i>hapcak</i> /NNG, 'joint venture'; <i>hwahay</i> /NNG, 'reconciliation'; <i>imkakong</i> /NNG, 'toll manufacturing'; <i>isankacok</i> /NNG, 'dispersed family'; <i>kamhoy</i> /NNG, 'sentiments'; <i>kitaykam</i> /NNG, 'feeling of expectancy'; <i>kohayng</i> /NNG, 'hometown'; <i>kyenghyep</i> /NNG, 'economic cooperation'; <i>kyolyu</i> /NNG, 'exchange'; <i>kyoyek</i> /NNG, 'trade'; <i>mincok</i> /NNG, 'nation'; <i>pwuntan</i> /NNG, 'division'; <i>sangpong</i> /NNG, 'reunion'; <i>secek</i> /NNG, 'books'; <i>silhyangmin</i> /NNG, 'dislocated people'; <i>sosik</i> /NNG, 'news'; <i>taypwuk</i> /NNG, 'with or towards North Korea'; <i>thongil</i> /NNG, 'unification'; <i>tulttu</i> /VV, 'to be excited'	<i>kyenghyep</i> /NNG, 'economic cooperation'; <i>penyeng</i> /NNG, 'prosperity'	
Military conflict in the West Sea and peace process		<i>cektay</i> /NNG, 'hostility'; <i>elo</i> /NNG, 'fishery'; <i>hankyeyesen</i> /NNG, 'limit line'; <i>kwunsacek</i> /NNG, 'military'; <i>nappwukca</i> /NNG, 'a person kidnapped to North Korea'; <i>pwukpang</i> /NNG, 'north'; <i>sehay</i> /NNP, 'the West Sea'	<i>cektay</i> /NNG, 'hostility'; <i>elo</i> /NNG, 'fishery'; <i>pwulkachim</i> /NNG, 'non-aggression'
Denuclearisation		<i>pihaykhwa</i> /NNG, 'denuclearisation'; <i>pwukhayk</i> /NNG, 'North Korea's nuclear programme'; <i>pwulnunghwa</i> /NNG, 'disablement'	<i>palsatay</i> /NNG, 'launcher'; <i>pihaykhwa</i> /NNG, 'denuclearisation'; <i>pwulkayekcek</i> /NNG, 'irreversible'; <i>silhemcang</i> /NNG, 'testing site'; <i>yengkwu</i> /NNG, 'permanence'; <i>yukwankwuk</i> /NNG, 'related country'
Responses and evaluations	<i>ciswu</i> /NNG, 'index'; <i>cwuka</i> /NNG, 'share price'; <i>hocay</i> /NNG, 'favourable factor'; <i>kitay</i> /NNG, 'expectation'; <i>kiwen</i> /NNG, 'prayer'; <i>kyeyki</i> /NNG, 'moment, opportunity'; <i>mannam</i> /NNG, 'meeting'; <i>mayswu</i> /NNG, 'purchase'; <i>nayngmyen</i> /NNG, 'cold noodle dish'; <i>pwuknyekh</i> /NNG, 'north'; <i>yeksacek</i> /NNG, 'historic, historical'	<i>caltay</i> /VV, 'to go well'; <i>cayulop</i> /VA, 'to be free'; <i>chapwunha</i> /VA, 'to be calm'; <i>hapuymwun</i> /NNG, 'agreement'; <i>onul</i> /NNG, 'today'; <i>palkelum</i> /NNG, 'step'; <i>phyenghwa</i> /NNG, 'peace'; <i>taha</i> /VV, 'to do (one's best)'; <i>uycey</i> /NNG, 'agenda'	<i>cayulop</i> /VA, 'to be free'; <i>emswukhi</i> /MAG, 'solemnly'; <i>hangkwucek</i> /NNG, 'permanent'; <i>hapuymwun</i> /NNG, 'agreement'; <i>hesimthanhoy</i> /NNG, 'frankness, open-mindedness'; <i>kinmilhi</i> /MAG, 'closely'; <i>onul</i> /NNG, 'today'
Media	<i>cangmyen</i> /NNG, 'scene'; <i>cwungkyey</i> /NNG, 'relay'; <i>sayngcwungkyey</i> /NNG, 'live broadcast'		<i>phuleyse</i> /NNG, 'the press'

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	<i>cengsanghoytam</i> /NNG, 'summit'	<i>cengsanghoytam</i> /NNG, 'summit'	<i>cengsanghoytam</i> /NNG, 'summit'
Two Koreas and their leaders	<i>namccok</i> /NNG, 'the South'; <i>pwukccok</i> /NNG, 'the North'	<i>swunoy</i> /NNG, 'head'	<i>swunoy</i> /NNG, 'head'
Travel to North or South Korea	<i>pangpwuk</i> /NNG, 'visit to North Korea'; <i>pihayngcang</i> /NNG, 'airport'	<i>punkyeysen</i> /NNG, 'The (Military) Demarcation Line'; <i>yuklo</i> /NNG, 'overland route'	<i>pangnam</i> /NNG, 'visit to South Korea'; <i>punkyeysen</i> /NNG, 'The (Military) Demarcation Line'

Table 6 (continued)

Category	Hankyoreh 2000 corpus	Hankyoreh 2007 corpus	Hankyoreh 2018 corpus
Ceremonies and protocol	<i>akswu</i> /NNG, 'handshake'; <i>chotayso</i> /NNG, 'guest house'; <i>hwantay</i> /NNG, 'warm reception'; <i>hwanyeng</i> /NNG, 'welcome'; <i>macwung</i> /NNG, 'coming to meet'; <i>paysekca</i> /NNG, 'attendant'; <i>sayel</i> /NNG, 'inspection'; <i>swuhayngwen</i> /NNG, 'attendant'; <i>tayphyotan</i> /NNG, 'delegation'; <i>uycangtay</i> /NNG, 'honour guards'; <i>uycen</i> /NNG, 'protocol'; <i>yengcep</i> /NNG, 'reception'; <i>yengpinkwan</i> /NNG, 'State guest house'; <i>yesengkyey</i> /NNG, 'women's circles'	<i>akswu</i> /NNG, 'handshake'; <i>cenyongcha</i> /NNG, 'private car'; <i>chotayso</i> /NNG, 'guest house'; <i>cuktap</i> /NNG, 'prompt reply'; <i>cwumwusi</i> /VV, 'sleep (honorific)'; <i>hoytamcang</i> /NNG, 'conference hall'; <i>hwansong</i> /NNG, 'farewell'; <i>hwantam</i> /NNG, 'pleasant talk, chat'; <i>hwanyengsik</i> /NNG, 'welcoming ceremony'; <i>kenpay</i> /NNG, 'toast'; <i>kenpaysa</i> /NNG, 'toast'; <i>khapheleyitu</i> /NNG, 'car parade'; <i>kukcinha</i> /VA, 'to be very cordial'; <i>mwukaycha</i> /NNG, 'open car'; <i>mwuphyoceng</i> /NNG, 'absence of expression'; <i>ochancang</i> /NNG, 'luncheon room'; <i>paysek</i> /NNG, 'sitting with one's superior'; <i>paysekca</i> /NNG, 'attendant'; <i>semyengsik</i> /NNG, 'signing event'; <i>swuhayngwen</i> /NNG, 'attendant'; <i>taplyey</i> /NNG, 'return present'; <i>tongsung</i> /NNG, 'riding together'; <i>untwun</i> /NNG, 'seclusion'; <i>yengcep</i> /NNG, 'reception'; <i>yengpinkwan</i> /NNG, 'State guest house'	<i>akswu</i> /NNG, 'handshake'; <i>chinkyu</i> /NNG, 'friendship'; <i>hoytamcang</i> /NNG, 'conference hall'; <i>hwantam</i> /NNG, 'pleasant talk'; <i>hwantamcang</i> /NNG, 'lobby'; <i>hwanyengsik</i> /NNG, 'welcoming ceremony'; <i>hwatong</i> /NNG, 'child handing out flowers'; <i>insapep</i> /NNG, 'greeting'; <i>kenpaysa</i> /NNG, 'toast'; <i>kyenglyey</i> /NNG, 'salutation'; <i>leytukhapheys</i> /NNG, 'red carpet'; <i>manchancang</i> /NNG, 'banquet hall'; <i>hwangmyenglok</i> /NNG, 'guest book'; <i>pattulechong</i> /NNG, 'present arms'; <i>paysekca</i> /NNG, 'attendant'; <i>pyongyangnayngmyen</i> /NNG, 'North Korean cold noodle dish'; <i>sayel</i> /NNG, 'inspection'; <i>swuhayngtan</i> /NNG, 'attendant group'; <i>swuhayngwen</i> /NNG, 'attendant'; <i>tamso</i> /NNG, 'friendly talk'; <i>thuksatan</i> /NNG, 'special delegates'; <i>toyel</i> /NNG, 'lining up'; <i>uycangtay</i> /NNG, 'honour guards'; <i>yengcep</i> /NNG, 'reception'; <i>yengpinkwan</i> /NNG, 'State guest house'; <i>hyelmayk</i> /NNG, 'blood relations'; <i>kongli</i> /NNG, 'mutual reciprocity'; <i>kyeley</i> /NNG, 'nation'; <i>kyunhyengcek</i> /NNG, 'balanced'; <i>penyeng</i> /NNG, 'prosperity'; <i>tapangmyencek</i> /NNG, 'multifaceted'
Inter-Korean exchange and cooperation	<i>cangkiswu</i> /NNG, 'long-term prisoner'; <i>hyucensen</i> /NNG, 'truce line'; <i>inkongki</i> /NNG, 'North Korean national flag'; <i>isankacok</i> /NNG, 'dispersed family'; <i>kyeley</i> /NNG, 'nation'; <i>kyenghyep</i> /NNG, 'economic cooperation'; <i>kyolyu</i> /NNG, 'exchange'; <i>mincokcek</i> /NNG, 'national'; <i>mwulkko</i> /NNG, 'sluice gate'; <i>pangmwuntan</i> /NNG, 'a group of visitors'; <i>pankong</i> /NNG, 'anticommunism'; <i>piwen</i> /NNG, 'earnest wish'; <i>pichenhayng</i> /NNG, 'unconverted'; <i>pwuntan</i> /NNG, 'division'; <i>sangpong</i> /NNG, 'reunion'; <i>sayngsa</i> /NNG, 'life and death'; <i>silhyangmin</i> /NNG, 'dislocated people'; <i>tanilthim</i> /NNG, 'joint (sports) team'; <i>thaykukki</i> /NNG, 'South Korean national flag'; <i>thongil</i> /NNG, 'unification'; <i>yuklo</i> /NNG, 'overland route'	<i>haku</i> /NNG, 'estuary'; <i>kayposwu</i> /NNG, 'repairs'; <i>kyenghyep</i> /NNG, 'economic cooperation'; <i>penyeng</i> /NNG, 'prosperity'; <i>pwuchonglikup</i> /NNG, 'deputy prime minister-level'	<i>cektay</i> /NNG, 'hostility'
Military conflict in the West Sea and peace process		<i>cayselceng</i> /NNG, 'reestablishment'; <i>cikhanglo</i> /NNG, 'direct route'; <i>ecok</i> /NNG, 'fishes'; <i>elo</i> /NNG, 'fishery'; <i>hankyeysen</i> /NNG, 'limit line'; <i>sehaysang</i> /NNG, 'on the West Sea'; <i>swuyek</i> /NNG, 'waters'; <i>pwulnunchwa</i> /NNG, 'disablement'	
Denuclearisation			<i>pihaykhwa</i> /NNG, 'denuclearisation'; <i>pwulkayekcek</i> /NNG, 'irreversible'; <i>yengkwucek</i> /NNG, 'permanent'; <i>yengkwuhi</i> /MAG, 'permanently'; <i>yukwankwuk</i> /NNG, 'related country'
Responses and evaluations	<i>chakwankup</i> /NNG, 'vice minister-level'; <i>hwahay</i> /NNG, 'reconciliation';	<i>caltoy</i> /VV, 'to go well'; <i>cenglyehwa</i> /NNG, 'regularisation'; <i>chonglikup</i> /NNG,	<i>caltoy</i> /VV, 'to go well'; <i>hangkwucek</i> /NNG, 'permanent'; <i>hesimthanhoy</i> /NNG, 'frankness,

(continued on next page)

Table 6 (continued)

Category	Hankyoreh 2000 corpus	Hankyoreh 2007 corpus	Hankyoreh 2018 corpus
	<i>kamkaymwulyang</i> /NNG, 'being deeply moved'; <i>kowikup</i> /NNG, 'high-level'; <i>mannam</i> /NNG, 'meeting'; <i>pyongyangnayngmyen</i> /NNG, 'North Korean cold noodle dish'; <i>silli</i> /NNG, 'actual profit'	'prime minister-level'; <i>hapuymwun</i> /NNG, 'agreement'; <i>kalonohi</i> /VV, 'to lie across'; <i>pwukhanhak</i> /NNG, 'North Korean Studies'	open-mindedness'; <i>lyeksa</i> /NNG, 'history'; <i>olay</i> /NNG, 'a long time'; <i>silchencek</i> /NNG, 'practical'; <i>yongtan</i> /NNG, 'courageous decision'
Media	<i>phuleyse</i> /NNG, 'the press'; <i>sayngcwungkyey</i> /NNG, 'live broadcast'; <i>theylleypicen</i> /NNG, 'television'	<i>chwicaytan</i> /NNG, 'the press'; <i>thacen</i> /NNG, 'sending a telegram'	<i>nayoysin</i> /NNG, 'domestic and foreign journalists'; <i>phuleyse</i> /NNG, 'the press'

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.<sup>17</sup>

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,' *hwanyengsik*/NNG, 'welcoming ceremony,' *khapheleyitu*/NNG, 'car parade,' and *kkochtapol*/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,' *kyeyki*/NNG, 'moment, opportunity,' and *kamkaymwulyang*/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 *hesimthanho*/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.

- (2) a. 반면 실랑미 1세대인 함남 부녀회 합창단원 장모 (71) 할머니는 “큰 기대는 안 한다. 너무 떠들썩하는 것 아니냐”며 “회담 결과를 차분히 지켜보아야 할 것”이라고 담담하게 말했다.  
On the other hand, *Cang*, a 71-year-old first generation woman of dislocated people and a member of *Hamnam 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. 육로로 올 수 있었던 것이 아주 **잘된** 일이라고 생각합니다.  
[President *Roh* said,] I think it **went very well** to be able to come [to *Pyongyang*] by land. (*Chosun*, 4 October 2007)  
c. 김 위원장은 “**허심탄회**하게, 진지하게, 솔직하게 문 대통령님과 좋은 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)

The examination of concordance lines of *kitay*/NNG, 'expectation,' *kiwen*/NNG, 'prayer,' and *kyeyki*/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 *hesimthanho*/NNG, 'frankness, open-mindedness' in the 2018 corpora appeared primarily in the context of the speeches of both Koreas' political figures and the agreement of the summit. In the same vein, it is interesting to see how the discussion of *Pyongyang* cold noodles was recontextualised over time. As indicated by a change in themes under which it is categorised, (*pyongyang*)*nayngmyen*/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.

- (3) a. 일부 냉면집에서는 정상회담을 축하하는 뜻에서 손님들에게 냉면을 공짜로 대접하기도 했다.  
Some **cold noodle dish** restaurants also offered **cold noodle dishes** to customers for free to celebrate the summit. (*Hankyoreh*, 14 June 2000)  
b. 김정은 북한 노동당 위원장은 27일 (한국 시각) 오전 10시 15분 시작된 남북 정상회담 모두발언 중 “오늘 저녁 만찬 음식에 대한 이야기가 많던데, 멀리서 평양냉면을 가져왔다”며 “문재인 대통령이 맛있게 드셔 주셨으면 좋겠다”고 말했다.  
During his opening remarks at the inter-Korean summit at 10:15 a.m. on the 27th (Korea Standard Time), Chairperson of the North Korean Worker's Party *Kim Jong-un* said, '[I have been checking news and] there was a lot of talk about the banquet menu this evening. So, I brought **Pyongyang cold noodles** a long way,' and 'I hope President *Moon Jae-in* will enjoy it.' (*Chosun*, 27 April 2018)

<sup>17</sup> 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 ceremonies, 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 *kyeley*/NNG, 'nation' and a metaphoric expression *hyelmayk*/NNG, 'blood relations' substituted for *isankacok*/NNG, 'dispersed family,' *pichenhayng*/NNG *cangkiswu*/NNG, 'long-term political prisoners,' *silhyangmin*/NNG, 'dislocated people,' and abstraction that *penyeng*/NNG, 'prosperity' replaced *kyenghyep*/NNG, 'economic cooperation,' *hapcak*/NNG, 'joint venture,' *imkakong*/NNG, 'toll manufacturing,' and *yuklo*/NNG,<sup>18</sup> '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.

N	Concordance	File
1	JKB 모두/MAG 이익/NNG+이/JKS 되/VV+는/ETM <b>경협</b> /NNG+이 /JKS 이루어지/VV+기/ETN+를/JKO	Hankyoreh 2000.txt
2	것/NNB 없이/MAG 앞/NNG+으로/JKB 남북/NNP <b>경협</b> /NNG+이 /JKS 급류/NNG+를/JKO 타/VV+e/	Chosun 2000.txt
3	/EM+ /SF 따라서/MAJ 정상회담/NNG 이후/NNG <b>경협</b> /NNG+이 /JKS 본격화/NNG+되/XSV+면/EM	Hankyoreh 2000.txt
4	JKB 달하/VV+았/EP+다/EM+ /SF 특히/MAG 남북/ <b>NNP+경협</b> /NNG+이 /JKS 그룹/NNG 중심/	Chosun 2000.txt
5	/NNB+산업/NNG 중심/NNG+의/JKG 남북/NNP <b>경협</b> /NNG+이 /JKS 2/SN+차/NNB+산업/NNG+ /SP	Hankyoreh 2000.txt
6	/JX 이번/NNG 회담/NNG+으로/JKB 남북/NNP <b>경협</b> /NNG+이 /JKS 급전전/NNG+을/JKO 보이/	Hankyoreh 2000.txt
7	/JKO 계기/NNG+로/JKB 남북/NNG+의/JKG 대북/ <b>NNG+경협</b> /NNG+이 /JKS 본격화/NNG+하/XSV+e/	Hankyoreh 2000.txt
8	/NNG+의/JKG 종식/NNG+과/JKB 함께/MAG 남북/ <b>NNP+경협</b> /NNG+이 /JKS 사실상/NNG 재개/	Chosun 2000.txt
9	/NNG+보장/NNG+협정/NNG 체결/NNG 등/NNB <b>경협</b> /NNG+의 /JKG 제도적/NNG 기틀/NNG+을/	Chosun 2000.txt
10	/NNG+는/JX 끝나/VV+았/EP+지만/EM 남북/NNP <b>경협</b> /NNG+의 /JKG 실질적/NNG 성과/NNG+와/	Chosun 2000.txt

  

N	Concordance	File
1	/NNG+에/JKB 필요/NNG+하/XSA+고/EM+ /SP <b>경협</b> /NNG+은 /JX 우리/NP+에게/JKB+도/JX 매우/	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
2	/VCP+다/EM+ /SF+(/SS+)/SS 서해/NNG+평화/ <b>NNG+번영</b> /NNG+의 /JKG 벨트/NNG+ /SP 해주/	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
3	/JKO 넘어서/VV+며/EM 평화/NNG+와/JKB <b>번영</b> /NNG+의 /JKG 길/NNG+로/JKB 가/VV+는/	Chosun 2007.txt
4	/NNG+가/JKS 한반도/NNP 평화/NNG+와/JKB <b>번영</b> /NNG+을 /JKO 잘/MAG 만들/VV+며/EM+가/	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
5	/NNG+은/JX 참여/NNG+정부/NNG+의/JKG 평화/ <b>NNG+번영</b> /NNG 정책/NNG+을/JKO 완성/NNG+하	Chosun 2007.txt
6	/JKO 넘어서/VV+며/EM 평화/NNG+와/JKB <b>번영</b> /NNG+의 /JKG 길/NNG+로/JKB 가/VV+는/	Chosun 2007.txt
7	/EM+ /SF 경제/NNG+협력/NNG =/SW 남북/ <b>NNP+경협</b> /NNG+은 /JX 어느/MM 일방/NNG+을/	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
8	그/NP+외/NNB 지역/NNG+에서/JKB+는/JX 남북/ <b>NNP+경협</b> /NNG+이 /JKS 실패/NNG+하/XSV+았/	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
9	/JKO 넘어서/VV+며/EM 평화/NNG+와/JKB <b>번영</b> /NNG+의 /JKG 길/NNG+로/JKB 가/VV+는/	Chosun 2007.txt
10	당국/NNG+이/JKS 합의/NNG+하/XSV+L /ETM <b>경협</b> /NNG 사업/NNG+에/JKB 대화/VV+아서/	Hankyoreh 2007.txt

  

N	Concordance	File
1	/ETM /SS+한반도/NNP 평화/NNG+와/JKB <b>번영</b> /NNG+ /SP 통일/NNG+을/JKO 위하/VV+L /	Chosun 2018.txt
2	/NNG+에/JKB+는/JX /SS+평화/NNG+와/JKB <b>번영</b> /NNG+을 /JKO 심/VV+다/EM+ /SS+미/	Hankyoreh 2018.txt
3	NNB 밥/NNG+을/JKO 먹/VV+으며/EM 함께/MAG <b>번영</b> /NNG+하 /XSV+기/ETN+를/JKO 진심/	Chosun 2018.txt
4	걸/VV+며/EM+내/VX+고/EM 평화/NNG+와/JKB <b>번영</b> /NNG+ /SP 공존/NNG+하/XSV+는/ETM 새/	Chosun 2018.txt
5	하나/NR+가/JKS 되/VV+며/EM 끝없/VA+는/ETM <b>번영</b> /NNG+을 /JKO 누리/VV+e/ETM 것/NNB+”/	Hankyoreh 2018.txt
6	/NNG+과/JKB 북/NNP+의/JKG 평화/NNG+와/JKB <b>번영</b> /NNG+ /SP 통일/NNG+을/JKO 향하/VV+L /	Chosun 2018.txt
7	평화/NNG+를/JKO 지키/VV+고/EM+ /SP 공동/ <b>NNG+번영</b> /NNG+의 /JKG 새/MM 시대/NNG+를/	Chosun 2018.txt
8	두/MM 사람/NNG+은/JX /SS+평화/NNG+와/JKB <b>번영</b> /NNG+을 /JKO 심/VV+다/EM+ /SF 2018/	Hankyoreh 2018.txt
9	JKB /SS+한반도/NNP+의/JKG 평화/NNG+와/JKB <b>번영</b> /NNG+ /SP 통일/NNG+을/JKO 위하/VV+L /	Hankyoreh 2018.txt
10	/SS+한반도/NNP+의/JKG 평화/NNG+와/JKB <b>번영</b> /NNG+ /SP 통일/NNG+을/JKO 위하/VV+L /	Chosun 2018.txt

Fig. 2. Snapshot images of concordance lines of *경협*(*kyenghyep*)/NNG, 'economic cooperation' and *번영*(*penyeng*)/NNG, 'prosperity' in the corpora, where the keywords are marked in blue, demonstrating the shift in keyness from the former to the latter. (For interpretation of the references to colour in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the Web version of this article.)

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 agenda for each summit changed correspondingly.

<sup>18</sup> *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 *sangpong*/NNG, 'reunion' of *isankacok*/NNG, 'separated families' and *silhyangmin*/NNG, 'dislocated people,' *kyenghyep*/NNG, 'economic cooperation,' *tanilthim*/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 *kyeyki*/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. 남북정상회담을 하루 앞둔 12일, 시민들은 “이번 회담은 통일로 가는 큰 발걸음이 되기를 바란다”고 입을 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 [...] “서해상의 평화정착을 위해서는 군사적 대결의 관점이 아니라 경제협력의 관점에서 ‘서해문제를 풀어나가자’는 발상의 전환이 필요하다”는 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 김정은 북한 국무위원장이 공동선언을 통해 동창리 미사일 엔진시험장과 로켓 발사대를 유관국 전문가들이 참관하는 가운데 영구적으로 폐기하겠다고 밝힌 것에 “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 [Pyongyang] 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 newspapers. The previous section identified 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 *hapcak*/NNG, 'joint venture,' *imkakong*/NNG, 'toll manufacturing,' *kitaykam*/NNG, 'feeling of expectancy,' *kyolyu*/NNG, 'exchange,' *kyenghyep*/NNG, 'economic cooperation,' *kyoyek*/NNG, 'trade,' and *secek*/NNG, 'books' in the [inter-Korean exchange and cooperation] category, as well as *ciswu*/NNG, 'index,' *cwuka*/NNG, 'share price,' *hocay*/NNG, 'favourable factor,' *kitay*/NNG, 'expectation,' *kyeyki*/NNG, 'moment, opportunity,' *mayswu*/NNG, 'purchase,' and *taypwuk*/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 *pichenhayng*/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. 정 축구협회장은 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 축원한다며 대학 교정에 태극기와 함께 인공기를 내걸어 경찰이 골머리를 앓고 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 *pihayngcang*/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 번영, 통일의 새 시대”, “4.27 선언 새로운 력사는 이제부터” 등의 메시지가 담긴 것이다.  
It ['Glorious country,' North Korean mass games] contains messages, such as 'a new era of peace, prosperity and unification,' 'the April 27th [Panmunjom] declaration and a new **history** begins now.' (*Hankyoreh*, 19 September 2018)
- b. 김대중 대통령께서도 이 숙소에서 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.

N	Concordance	File
1	/NNP 군사/NNG+훈련/NNG 중단/NNG NLL/SL+(/ SS+서해/NNG 북방/NNG+한계선/NNG+)/SS	Chosun 2007.txt
2	/NNG+에서/JKB 경제/NNG+협력/NNG+과/JKB 서해/NNG+북방 /NNG+한계선/NNG+(/SS+NLL/	Chosun 2007.txt
3	/NNP 중앙대/NNP 교수/NNG+는/JX "/SS+(/ SS+서해/NNG 해상/NNG+에서/JKB 충돌/NNG+미	Chosun 2007.txt
4	/JKB 보미/√V+L 다/EM+ /SF NLL/SL+(/ SS+서해/NNG+북방 /NNG+한계선/NNG+)/	Chosun 2007.txt
5	/EM+ /SF 백령도/NNP+연평도/NNP 등/NNB 서해/NNG 5/SN+도/NNB+의/JKG 950/SN+대/XSN	Chosun 2007.txt
6	/JKS 4/SN+일/NNB 방문/√V+하/XSV+는/ETM 서해/NNG+갈문 /NNG 역시/NNG 86/SN+년/NNB	Chosun 2007.txt
7	NNP 국방장관/NNG+과/JKB 함께/MAG NLL/SL+(/ SS+서해/NNG+북방 /NNG+한계선/NNG+)/SS+과/	Chosun 2007.txt
8	/NNG+으로/JKB 압록/NNP+강/NNG+에서/JKB 서해/NNG+까지 /JX 가지/√V+고/EM 오/√X+는/	Chosun 2007.txt
9	/JX 이날/NNG "/SS+노/NNP 대통령/NNG+은/JX 서해/NNG+북방 /NNG+한계선/NNG+(/SS+NLL/	Chosun 2007.txt
10	/NNP 평화/NNG+체제/NNG 구축/NNG+/SP 서해/NNG 북방/NNG+한계선/NNG+(/SS+NLL/	Chosun 2007.txt

  

N	Concordance	File
1	뜻/NNG+을/JKO 모으/√V+았/EP+다/EM+ /SF 서해상/NNG+의 /JKG 평화/NNG+를/JKO 위하/	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
2	/NNG+자료/NNG+를/JKO 보/√V+면/EM+ /SP "/ SS+서해상/NNG 특정/NNG 구역/NNG+에/JKB	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
3	/JKS 잠복/NNG+하/XSV+고/EM 있/√X+던/ETM 서해상/NNG 북방/NNG+한계선/NNG+(/SS+NLL/	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
4	/NNG 공동/NNG+이용/NNG 사업/NNG+은/JX 서해상/NNG 군사적/NNG 보장/NNG 문제/NNG+로	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
5	/JKO 마련/NNG+하/XSV+았/EP+다/EM+ /SF 서해상/NNG 평화/NNG+정착/NNG+과/JKB 서해안	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
6	북측/NNG+미/JKS NLL/SL 문제/NNG+를/JKO 서해상/NNG 충돌/NNG+의/JKG "/SS+근원적/	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
7	/JKO 말/√V+도록/EM 하/√X+는/ETM 등/NNB 서해상/NNG 안보/NNG+를/JKO 강화/NNG+하/	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
8	관할/NNG 인천시/NNP+ /SP 울진군/NNP+은/JX 서해상/NNG 서북방/NNG+에/JKB 있/√V+으면서/	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
9	/JKS 상존/NNP+하/XSV+고/EM 있/√X+는/ETM 서해상/NNG+에서 /JKB 평화/NNG+경제/NNG+사업	Hankyoreh 2007.txt
10	/JKB 출기/√V+며/EM+지/√X+르/ETM 경우/NNG 서해상/NNG+의 /JKG 무력/NNG+충돌/NNG 가능성	Hankyoreh 2007.txt

Fig. 3. Snapshot images of concordance lines of 서해(sehay)/NNP, 'the West Sea' in the Chosun 2007 corpus and 서해상(sehaysang)/NNG, 'on the West Sea' in the Hankyoreh 2007 corpus.

- (7) a. 남북정상은 "군사적 적대관계를 종식시키고 한반도에서 긴장완화와 평화를 보장하기 위해 긴밀히 협력하기로 했다"면서 "남과 북은 서로 적대시하지 않고 군사적 긴장을 완화하며 분쟁문제들을 대화와 협상을 통하여 해결하기로 했다"고 밝혔다.  
The South and North leaders said, 'we agreed to cooperate closely to end **military hostilities**, ease tensions, and guarantee peace on the Korean peninsula' and 'The South and North agreed not to confront each other, but to ease **military** tensions and resolve disputes through dialogues and consultations.' (Chosun, 4 October 2007)
- b. 백령도 근해에서 고기를 잡던 박 씨는 그만 NLL (서해 북방한계선)을 넘었다가 동료 선원 11명과 함께 납북됐다.  
Pak, who had been fishing off the coast of Baengnyeong island, was abducted to North Korea with 11 fellow sailors after crossing the NLL (the **Northern Limit Line in the West Sea**). (Chosun, 4 October 2007)
- c. 정부는 이런 서해를 남북한 대치의 바다가 아닌 남북 공동 번영과 화해의 바다로 만들기 위해 이번 회담에서 남북 공동어로수역과 평화수역 지정 추진, 민간선박의 해주 직항로 이용, 한강 하구 공동 이용을 담은 '서해평화협력 특별지대' 설치에 합의했다.  
To make the West Sea a sea of mutual **prosperity** and reconciliation, not a sea of confrontation between the two Koreas, the government agreed at this meeting to establish 'a special zone for peace and cooperation in the West Sea' which comprises the establishment of a joint **fishery zone** and peace zone, the use of *Haeju* Port for **direct passage** of civilian vessels, and the joint utilisation of the *Han River estuary*. (Hankyoreh, 4 October 2007)

As shown in extract (7a) and (7b), concordance lines containing *cektay*/NNG, 'hostility,' *hankyeyesen*/NNG, 'limit line,' *kwunsacek*/NNG, 'military' and *pwukpang*/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 programme, in contrast with Hankyoreh's attempt to recontextualise them within inter-Korean cooperation, and C2018 reproduced the discourse of North Korea threat, employing the demonisation of North Korea, which is a dominant discursive practice in Western media (Heo and Yun, 2019).

- (8) a. 그러나 평화체제나 평화정착은 원한다고 되는 문제가 아니다. [...] 북핵 문제도 언제 어떻게 될지 아무도 모른다.  
However, it does not matter if we want a peace regime or the establishment of peace. [...] No one knows what will happen to the **North Korean nuclear programme**. (Chosun, 2 October 2007)
- b. 고정식 미사일 발사대 폐기도 북한이 이동식발사대(TEL)를 터널에 숨겨두고 미사일을 발사한다는 사실을 감안하면 크게 의미를 부여할 수 없는 조치다. The dismantling of the stationary missile **launcher** is also a measure that we cannot give much meaning to, considering North Korea launches missiles using a mobile [missile] **launcher** (TEL) [Transporter-Erector-Launcher] hidden in a tunnel. (Chosun, 20 September 2018)
- c. 미국에서는 남북 관계 개선 속도가 미국 비핵화 협상 속도보다 계속 빠르게 진행될 경우 북한 비핵화가 더 늦어질 수 있다는 우려가 나오고 있다. In the US, there are concerns that the **denuclearisation** of North Korea could be delayed if the pace of improvement in inter-Korean relations continues faster than the pace of US-North Korea **denuclearisation** negotiations. (Chosun, 18 September 20018)

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

dismantlement (CVID). The negative stance of C2018 towards North Korea is clearly articulated in the diagrammatic iconicity<sup>19</sup> of 'US–North Korea,' observed in (8c), which occurs more frequently than its conventional counterpart, 'North Korea–US.' In contrast, a keyness analysis of H2018 assigned a high keyness value not only to *pwulkayekcek*/NNG, 'irreversible,' *pihaykhwa*/NNG, 'denuclearisation,' *yengkwucek*/NNG, 'permanent,' *yengkwuhi*/MAG, 'permanently,' and *yuk-wankwuk*/NNG, 'related country,' which were exploited to construct the discourse of denuclearisation, but also to *kongli*/NNG, 'mutual reciprocity,' *kyunhyengcek*/NNG, 'balanced,' *penyeng*/NNG, 'prosperity,' and *tapangmyencek*/NNG, 'multifaceted,' which were utilised for the discourse of inter-Korean economic cooperation.

- (9) a. 한반도 비핵화가 남북정상회담의 핵심 의제로 오른 점도 과거와 다르다. [...] 그러나 이번엔 남북 정상이 비핵화를 3대 핵심 의제 중 하나로 명문화 했다. It is also different from the past that the **denuclearisation** of the Korean peninsula has risen to the top of the inter-Korean summit agenda. [...] But this time, the leaders of the two Koreas stipulated **denuclearisation** as one of the three core agendas. (*Hankyoreh*, 27 April 2018)  
 b. 지역 특성에 맞게 다양한 형태의 소규모 개별구역을 지정해 외자유치 등 대외개방을 통해 북한 전역의 균형적인 경제 발전을 꾀한다는 게 이 구상의 뼈대다.  
 The framework of this initiative is to promote **balanced** economic development throughout North Korea through opening itself to the world such as the attraction of foreign capital [facilitated] by designating various small individual zones according to regional characteristics. (*Hankyoreh*, 19 September 2018)

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.

- (10) a. 무엇보다 남북 양자 회담사에 최초로 구체적 비핵화 방안을 합의 발표한 사실은 한반도 평화사에서 말 그대로 '역사적 변곡점'이다. Above all, the fact that for the first time in the history of bilateral talks between the two Koreas, a concrete **denuclearisation** plan was agreed and announced is literally a 'historical inflection point' in the history of peace on the Korean peninsula. (*Hankyoreh*, 19 September 2018)  
 b. 게다가 영변 핵시설 폐기에는 상응 조치라는 단서까지 붙었다. 13년전 공동성명이 북핵과 관련해선 지금의 평양선언보다 더 진전했다는 평가가 나올 수 밖에 없는 이유다. 한 대북관련 전문가는 "이번 선언은 비핵화에선 별다른 진전이 없는데 진전 있는 것처럼 보이려는 조삼모사, 양두구육"이라고 했다. In addition, a condition of corresponding measures [of the US] was even attached to the decommissioning of nuclear facilities at *Yongbyon*. It is why the evaluation that the joint statement [of the Six-Party Talks] 13 years ago was more advanced than the current *Pyongyang* Declaration regarding 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)

The concordance lines of *pihaykhwa*/NNG, 'denuclearisation' in extract (10) illustrate the competing perspectives on Korea's 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 *Hankyoreh*'s government-affiliated stance, as discussed in the comparative analysis in the previous section.

Finally, despite the opposite stances towards inter-Korean talks and the contrasting approaches to depicting the summits results, both newspapers exploited the same textual tactic associated with news sources in order to mould the political views and outlooks of ordinary citizens. Examination of C2007's and C2018's accentuation of threat and risk reveals that *Chosun* separated government sources from voices of journalists and academics in a bid to alienate the liberal regimes. *Chosun*'s negative viewpoints towards inter-Korean summits were often articulated through citations of elites, as demonstrated in extract (10b) and (11).

- (11) a. 하지만 북한은 1999년부터 꽃게잡이 등 경제적인 이유 때문에 NLL 재설정을 주요 외교 국방 정책 목표로 설정했고, 이후 다섯 차례나 군사적 도발을 감행해 서해안 무력충돌이 벌어진 것이다. [Professor *Bechtol* said,] However, since 1999, North Korea has set the reestablishment of the NLL [the Northern Limit Line in the West Sea] as a main foreign and defence policy goal for economic reasons such as crab fishing, and has since launched five **military** provocations resulting in armed conflict along the west coast. (*Chosun*, 2 October 2007)  
 b. 트럼프 대통령이 9월 평양 공동선언을 긍정적으로 평가한 데 반해 미국 주요 언론은 이와 관련, 비핵화를 위한 구체적인 조치와 합의가 빠져 있다는 평을 내렸다.  
 While President Trump evaluated positively the September *Pyongyang* Joint Declaration, major news outlets in the US commented that concrete and practical measures and agreements for **denuclearisation** are missing. (*Chosun*, 19 September 2018)

Similar patterns of source citation are observed in the *Hankyoreh* corpora. A concordance analysis of keywords assigned to [responses and evaluations] in H2007 and H2018 shows that *Hankyoreh* drew upon multiple sources among political elites in an attempt to shape public opinion towards integration.

- (12) a. 2000년 6.15 남북정상회담의 주역인 김대중(金大中) 전 대통령은 4일 노무현 대통령과 북한 김정일 국방위원장의 '2007 남북정상 선언' 합의와 관련, "잘 됐다"고 평가하며 환영의 뜻을 밝히었다.

<sup>19</sup> Linguistic iconicity refers to a resemblance between a linguistic form and its meaning. Diagrammatic iconicity is more abstract than imagic iconicity such as onomatopoeic expressions, in that a relationship between linguistic forms bears resemblance to a relationship between their meaning. In the present study, diagrammatic iconicity is observed where the order of countries mirrors the geopolitical proximity in their international relations to South Korea.

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. 원래 평양에서 문 대통령님을 만날 줄 알았는데 여기서 만난 것이 더 **잘됐습니다**.

[*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 *Panmunjom*]. (*Hankyoreh*, 27 April 2018)

c. 현정은 회장은 요즘 남북관계 **잘되고** 있다. 북-미 회담도 **잘돼서** 빨리 금강산 관광이 풀렸으면 좋겠다.

Chairperson [of *Hyundai Group*] *Hyun Jeong-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-collocates of *nampwukcengsanghoytam*/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-collocates 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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