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Department of English and American Studies

Language of Evaluation in Broadsheets and Tabloids

(Diploma thesis)

Bc. Barbora Košňarová

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Supervisor: Mgr. Ondřej Molnár, Ph.D.

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Bc. Barbora Košňarová

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Bc. KOŠŇAROVÁ Barbora	Poříčí 50, Poříčí u Litomyšle	F160235

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This diploma thesis focuses on the evaluation in media discourse. Although the objectivity is considered to be the main feature of news, the language of evaluation is present both in broadsheets and tabloids. The theoretical part introduces both the concept of objectivity connected with the Westerstahl´s objectivity criteria and the language of evaluation as the expression of writer´s opinion and construction of the relations between the writer and the reader. The main focus is the following analysis of the evaluative language in English broadsheets and tabloids. It is based on the approach of Monika Bednarek who concentrates on the analysis of newspaper corpus and evaluation in media discourse.

SEZNAM DOPORUČENÉ LITERATURY:

Bednarek, Monika. Evaluation in Media Discourse: Analysis of a Newspaper Corpus. London: Continuum, 2006.
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Reah, D. The Language of Newspapers. London/New York: Routledge, 1998.

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I hereby confirm that I wrote this thesis myself and I integrated corrections and suggestions of improvement of my supervisor. I also confirm that the thesis includes a complete list of sources and literature cited.

In Olomouc ....

List of Tables

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this thesis:

Newspapers

Daily Mirror = The Daily Mirror

Guardian = The Guardian

Sun = The Sun

Times = The Times

Articles (date and topic)

1 March = Trump's adviser

2 March = Ken Livingstone

3 March = Storm

4 March = Sir Roger Bannister

5 March = Russian spy

6 March = LGBT adviser

7 March = Saudi prince

8 March = Women's day

9 March = North Korea meeting

10 March = Salisbury

11 March = China

12 March = Ken Dodd

13 March = Rex Tillerson

14 March = Stephen Hawking

15 March = Egyptian teenager

Parameters

Emot = Emotivity

Imp = Importance

Rel = Reliability

Evid = Evidentiality

St = Style

MS = Mental State

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1 Introduction

In the last few decades, mass media have witnessed immense changes connected with the fast technological progress, which means that they either have to keep up and adapt to all the new trends continuously appearing in the contemporary society, or nobody will want to follow them anymore and they will be completely forgotten by the audience. Additionally, the continuous access to the Internet has changed the whole perception of the world.

All those changes have influenced not only mass media such as radio or television, but also the press. Journalists had to accept the new situation and create an online content which would be continuously edited and available twenty-four hours a day. Therefore, they established newspaper websites and continue to supply the world with news, even though some people claimed that the appearance of the Internet also means the death of journalism (Lundén 2008–2009).

However, the constant pressure on journalists concerning requirements for the fastest possible reporting and perpetually bringing something new for the audience has led to the change of some journalistic standards. Although newspapers are expected to deliver objective news reports, journalists often present their opinions and use evaluative language.

It is also said that mass media manipulate the audience and mainly their beliefs and values and they can also have an influence on the outcome of events (McQuail 2010). Agrawal even claims that "this kind of broadcasting tends to create emotional dissonance, increases control over information by few, and thereby weakens democracy" (Agrawal 2004, 110). People question the trustworthiness of newspapers and blame them for losing objectivity and offering only their stances and human-interest stories which are supposed to evoke emotions in readers. While tabloid newspapers are publicly known for mostly focusing on catching the attention of a large number of readers and using evaluative language, people lately recognize these tendencies also in broadsheets, or the so-called quality press. This phenomenon is called tabloidization (Conboy 2010).

The concept of evaluative language has been studied by many linguists. Although defining evaluation is very problematic, many theories and attempts

to establish a possible way of analysing it have appeared during the last decades. In the research presented by Biber and Finegan (1988) which focuses mainly on the different adverbial stance used in English, they employ the term stance. They describe it as a speaker's expression of his feelings, attitudes and his own opinion about his message. They also define it as a connection of three individual domains—epistemic, attitudinal and style stance (Biber and Finegan 1988).

One of the most famous approaches to evaluative language was presented by J. R. Martin and P. R. R. White (2005) in their famous book named *The Language of Evaluation*. Rooted in Systemic Functional Linguistics, they developed the appraisal theory which deals with devices that are used in various texts for expressing appraisal. They state that the concept of appraisal deals with the subjective expressions of writer's presence in texts. Martin and White (2005, 1) also claim that "it is concerned with how writers/speakers approve and disapprove, enthuse and abhor, applaud and criticise, and with how they position their readers/listeners to do likewise." Appraisal theory introduces a comprehensive strategy for analysing evaluative expressions used in individual texts based on three main categories—attitude, engagement and graduation. Their approach is, however, sometimes described as too complex and difficult by other linguists.

Monika Bednarek, who presently works as an Associate Professor in Linguistics at the University of Sydney, focuses on the evaluative language in newspapers for several years and she introduced a new parameter-based approach to evaluation in 2006. She claims:

> Evaluation itself is a significant element of our lives: as a device
> for interpreting the world and offering this evaluation to others,
> it pervades human behaviour: when we interact with the world
> around us, we perceive, categorize and evaluate what we
> encounter. (Bednarek 2006, 4)

Her approach describes evaluation as a concept created by nine evaluative parameters and their various combinations and she provides a detailed analysis of news stories in tabloids and broadsheets and evaluative expressions used by journalists in selected articles.

The aim of this thesis is to observe the evaluative language which is used in the British online press and also the process of tabloidization. It will be analysed with the help of the parameter-based approach of Monika Bednarek. Based on the study of the history of British international newspapers and their online versions (Conboy 2010) and the observation of their websites, I expect that tabloids will prove to be overall more evaluative and contain a larger amount of evaluative expressions. However, I believe that the phenomenon of tabloidization is apparent in British quality press and that the difference between broadsheets and tabloids will not be so distinctive. In my analysis, I will focus not only on articles, but also their headlines because they represent a very important part of news stories and often use the evaluative language to attract the attention of readers.

The structure of this thesis is divided into two main parts including the theoretical background and the analysis of evaluative language. The theoretical part introduces the main trends in present-day journalism, the difference between the quality and popular press, and also the phenomenon of tabloidization. It also provides a brief history of the British journalism.

The practical part provides the analysis of evaluative language in online news stories of two well-known British broadsheets and two tabloids. Firstly, it states all the methodological decisions which had to be taken before the analysis could be realized. There were several changes as opposed to Monika Bednarek's approach, because I considered it unsatisfactory in some points. Subsequently, it describes the results focusing on individual parameters and also the overall summary of all the findings.

It is important to note here that although the analysis offers some generalized conclusions about the phenomenon of tabloidization and contemporary trends in selected British online newspapers, the results cannot be considered as representative of the whole British journalism. However, I hope that the findings will serve as a contribution to the current research in the field of online journalism and evaluative language.

2 Present-day Journalism

The current world supports the tendency to be constantly on the move and to keep the increasing production speed in various areas of life including industry, the flow of information and also journalism. Although there were speculations about the death of printed journalism (Lundén 2008–2009), it still manages to survive and seeks for new possibilities to attract the attention of the audience. That is why journalists decided to transfer their content to the Internet which nowadays plays a crucial role in people's lives. The journalism thus continues to be a very important power in the society because it has the potential to influence masses of people.

Allan Nevins (1959, 412), who discusses the history of journalism and various influences connected with it, describes the dual role of journalism in the present-day world as follows:

> Journalism can be the best single instrument of democratic self-government, informing the mind, enlightening the conscience and freeing the spirit of intelligent citizens. It can also be a mortal foe of modern democracy, and that sometimes in subtle ways. (Nevins 1959, 412)

Although mass media including printed press are said to be impersonal and lacking the direct feedback from the audience (McQuail 2010), the Internet brought new endless possibilities and changed this situation. People have continuous online access and the online media are publishing their news regardless the time of the day. Their main aim is to bring the news to the audience as soon as possible. In fact, different online newspapers literally compete to be the first that inform the world and therefore to get the most attention, readiness and also money.

The newspaper language is largely influenced by time and space constraints (McQuail 2010). Journalists are expected to be able to write their news reports immediately after the event or the incident and the articles should be easily reducible because the printed version offers only a limited space. Therefore, many stereotypical expressions, patterns and phrases are used. However, this has also a bad influence on the present-day journalism:

> The notion of objectivity starts to fall apart in this environment. And as more people have access to more stories that claim partiality and subjectivity as their modus operandi and even as route to 'truthfulness' so too does a 'journalism of attachment' begin to emerge. This journalism of attachment brings a more personal style of reporting . . . (Allan 2010, 560)

Journalists are increasingly inclined to the use of personalization, dramatization and simplification in their articles and they also express themselves with the help of evaluative language.

However, news writing should always be seen as a complex process where articles are usually not a product of an individual author, but it comes through several different hands before they are published. There are people in various positions including reporters, editors, subeditors and many others who have some control and participate in the creation of the final product (Bednarek 2006, 14). The evaluative language used in a news story thus does not have to be only the work of the author, but it can be added later during the process of editing by other people who are responsible for some other parts of news production process.

Journalists often distinguish two main types of news produced by contemporary newspapers—hard news and soft news (Caple 2009). Lisa Mills-Brown (2014) describes the difference between them in detail:

> Traditionally, so-called hard news relates the circumstances of a recent event or incident considered to be of general local, regional, national, or international significance. By contrast, soft news usually centres on the lives of individuals and has little, if any, perceived urgency. Hard news generally concerns issues, politics, economics, international relations, welfare and scientific development, whereas soft news focuses on human-interest stories and celebrity. (Mills-Brown 2014)

From this definition, it is apparent that hard news is regarded to be more important and intellectual. Articles considered as hard news have a bigger potential for persuasion of the audience and they seem to give its readership

an impression of being objective and incontrovertible (Trampota 2006, 146–147). Hard news also requires investigation and verification, while soft news is defined as more subjective, personal and opinionated (Routledge 2010, 235–236). Caple (2009, 245) claims that in hard news "events are nuclearised and logical relations are disrupted." Both broadsheets and tabloids nowadays publish a combination of hard news and soft news not only in their printed versions but also on their websites.

2.1 Broadsheets and Tabloids

The print journalism distinguishes two main types and also formats of newspapers—broadsheets (also called quality or elite press) and tabloids (also known as popular press). There are many different definitions of these types of newspapers. One of them suggests that "elite press addresses its readers' logic and rational thought whereas the popular press plays on its readers' emotions through images and associations" (Lehman-Wilzig and Seletzky 2010, 43).

2.1.1 Broadsheets

As a format, broadsheets were originally the most widespread newspapers. The name suggests that it is the largest newspaper format which usually includes six columns of the text on the page. However, later broadsheets became associated not only with this format, but also with the specific content and with the approach of journalists creating broadsheet newspapers which prevails until these days: "Even today, broadsheet papers tend to employ a traditional approach to newsgathering that emphasizes in-depth coverage and sober tone in articles and editorials" (Rogers 2018).

Broadsheets also often tended to be associated with a particular readership, which can be described as "fairly affluent and educated, with many of them living in suburbs" (Rogers 2018). But nowadays, these stereotypical descriptions often do not apply. Many influential broadsheet newspapers also decided to reduce their size to a smaller format lately and the tradition of calling a newspaper to be broadsheet because its size is slowly disappearing.

Except for opinions and other articles offering the direct opinion of journalists included in relevant sections, the content of broadsheets should

consist of serious news. The news referred to as serious should readily bring the factual information and connections which are necessary for understanding of what happened. The measure of the information quality of such message is, for example, its relevance, objectivity, accuracy, transparency, diversity, and comprehensibility. However, many other criteria including the balance of individual opinions can be added to the list (Bartošek 2002, 50).

There are many principles that journalists are supposed to follow in order to bring serious news to their audience. They are expected to exclude evaluative language and expressing their own opinions about described concepts and events. Instead, journalists in broadsheets are automatically supposed to obey principles of the journalistic ethics such as truthfulness, accuracy, and unbiasedness and therefore exclude emotions and opinions.

2.1.2 Tabloids

From the technical point of view, the term tabloid refers to the specific format of newspapers. Tabloids have compact page size; they are considerably smaller than broadsheets. They usually have only five columns and contain shorter stories than broadsheets. The style of news reporting is also different: "the connotation of being compressed was transferred to other entities and activities, including a new kind of reporting that condensed stories into a simplified, concentrated style" (Gossel 2014).

Because of the more comfortable size, many newspapers which used to be printed in broadsheet format chose to change to tabloid size, which is preferred by many readers. Tabloid readership tends to be defined as "working-class residentials of big cities" (Rogers 2018).

There is also a considerable difference from broadsheets in the content of tabloid newspapers. Their articles focus on topics connected with the death, fear, disasters, violence, erotic themes, money and celebrities. Authors supply the audience mostly with stunts, scandals and affairs and they also use the corresponding language (Bartošek 2002, 52). Even though tabloids also provide some hard news dealing with politics, economy and world-class events, they often work with these topics in their own way. Tabloid journalists seek for human-interest stories, focusing on stories of individuals invoking emotions

in the audience and frequently prefer emotion-inducing expressions. Conboy (2010, 134) describes the language of tabloids as very specific: "Tabloids combine dialect and register in their deployment of a language which draws on social sensitivities about who uses which forms of language." It is also sometimes described as "more irreverent and slangy" (Rogers 2018) than the language of broadsheets. Except for this, tabloid news also uses banner headlines, catchphrases and many other techniques in order to shock and attract the audience.

However, there are not only tabloids focusing on attaining the widespread public attention by emotional stories and shocking news. Some tabloids are considered to be serious and respectable, including for example the Boston Herald or the New York Daily News which has won ten Pulitzer Prizes for its journalistic work (Rogers 2018). As was mentioned before, a lot of newspapers which were originally produced as broadsheets also changed to tabloid format over time.

2.2 Tabloidization

Especially during the last decades, the newspaper industry faces a phenomenon called tabloidization. This trend is caused mainly by the technological and social changes and "greater pressure on media and especially news organizations to maintain or increase profitability, more easily accomplished by providing greater amounts of less expensive entertainment even within the news" (Lehman-Wilzig and Seletzky 2010, 41).

Denis McQuail (2010, 476), a distinguished British communication theorist, defines the tabloidization:

> A term derived from the common tabloid format for
> sensationalist (i.e. gossip and scandal-mongering) newspapers,
> to refer to the alleged process of 'dumbing down' or going
> 'down market' of the more serious press in many countries. The
> main believed cause was commercialization and intense
> competition for readers. (McQuail 2010, 476)

In his book called *The Language of Newspapers*, Martin Conboy (2010, 130) analyses both broadsheets and tabloids and the language they use and provides an even more detailed definition of tabloidization:

Tabloidization may refer to an increase in news about celebrities, entertainment, lifestyle features, personal issues, an increase in sensationalism, in the use of pictures and sloganized headlines, vulgar language and a decrease in international news, public affairs news including politics, the reduction of the complexity of language and also a convergence with agendas of popular and in particular television culture. (Conboy 2010, 130)

The general public often seems to prefer soft news over hard news because of their level of entertainment. In an attempt to reach new and different readers and because of "demands of advertisers to reach the broadest possible audience, not just 'hard' news junkies" (Lehman-Wilzig and Seletzky 2010, 41), the quality press resorts to several main strategies. The first of them is a literal transformation of newspapers to a compact tabloid format. Broadsheets also adopt topics and types of articles originally used mainly in tabloids. Another important feature is the spreading of the tabloid language and style to quality press which begins to use an increasing amount of evaluative words in their articles.

Conboy (2010, 133) also suggests that tabloidization is nowadays very obvious in broadsheets and that "the mockery, trivialization and conversationalization of the tabloid newspapers provide a pervasive sense of the 'carnivalesque' across the media which they permeate."

When people realized the presence of this tabloidization phenomenon, they became concerned about the effects it could have on the readership and society as a whole. Denis McQuail (2010, 476) claims that it "caused alarm at the decline of journalistic standards, the rise in public ignorance and the risk of confusion between fiction and reality."

However, other linguists also describe a counter-tendency. Lehman and Seletzky (2010, 42) propose an idea that "there seems to be a trend in 'homogenization' of popular and hard journalism, with tabloid journalists adhering to the accepted discourse and professional vocabulary of elite journalism's professional ideology: objectivity, ethics, autonomy."

Both tabloidization and homogenization became even more visible with the appearance and the increasing importance of the Internet.

2.3   Online newspapers

One of the greatest events for the newspaper industry was the appearance of the Internet. It has brought immense consequences and completely changed the journalistic practice. In the beginning, some people saw the Internet as a threat to traditional media and this view has survived until these days. Others, nevertheless, appreciated the new opportunities associated with the online journalism.

There are different types of online newspapers. Usually, they are created by the convergence of the original printed newspapers and the Internet websites and "most online newspapers are owned by their print counterparts, which also serve as online editions' primary content providers" (Chyi and Sylvie 2001, 232). Some online newspapers are only mirror images of their printed versions, but most of them extend the original printed articles or create a completely new content.

When the Internet appeared and newspapers created their online editions, their producers also realized that while printed versions were often declining, online media attracted new audiences. Most online newspapers provide free content and they make revenues mainly from advertising on their websites. Their main focus became younger readers and also people who do not buy and read the printed version.

Nowadays, having an online version of newspapers or magazine seems like a necessity for a medium to be successful. Kamerer and Bressers (1998, 2) describe the importance of online editions:

> Newspapers need an online presence to explore cheaper production and distribution methods; to reverse circulation declines by building a new base of young and computer-savvy readers; to develop new advertising revenue potential; and to protect their advertising base. (Kamerer and Bressers 1998, 2)

The online journalism brings many advantages to the journalistic practice. It is mainly the larger space for articles which can contain texts as long as journalists want. Online media also offer the possibility of constant updates. The author can re-write the content or correct some mistakes if necessary and add more

information to the original article. There is also an endless space for photographs, videos, infographics and additional material. Other advantages include hyperlinks and some connection with various articles and websites, "customization" and "permanently available digital library" (Ihlström 2004, 12).

Readers can post their feedbacks immediately, they can share their opinions in the comments section or in chat groups and they can also bring some more information to the topic or point out to mistakes. All those features contribute to the specific character of online news. That is also why their articles are different from the printed version.

Both tabloidization and homogenization processes are visible in online newspapers, often even more than in printed papers. While some tabloids try to produce serious news stories, tabloidization appears to be the solution for many quality papers. As Lehman-Wilzig and Seletzky (2010, 50) suggest, "under the onslaught of internet-based instant reporting, the elite press seems to have no choice but to present more news analysis and 'general' type news."

The differences between online editions of broadsheets and tabloids are not so evident and "one finds fast-breaking 'hard' news, general news and sensationalist 'soft' news mixed together within a larger, non-'news' information framework" (Lehman-Wilzig and Seletzky 2010, 51).

3 Press in the United Kingdom

The United Kingdom is widely known for its rich and diverse newspaper industry. Although there is a great amount of local and regional papers and magazines, the market is dominated by London-based and national newspapers.

The first periodicals in the United Kingdom, which were called corantos, appeared in the 1620s. During the following centuries, British journalists fought for the liberty of the press and there were several reform movements. The first daily newspaper was founded by Samuel Buckley in 1702 and it was called Daily Courant (Hampton n.d.).

Over the next centuries, the press in Britain flourished and the 19th century is even called 'golden age' for the British press (Hampton n.d.). Newspapers became known for their officially declared partisanship. There was also a considerable change in the content of newspapers. In order to be more appealing to the audience, newspapers slowly began to focus on human-interest stories, catching headlines, illustrations and other methods. Tabloids also appeared on the scene for the first time and "Alfred Harmsworth is often credited with creating the modern popular press" (Hampton n.d.).

Advertising became a very important source of revenue and throughout the 20th century, the press was concentrated into fewer hands. The 19th and 20th centuries also saw the origin of the contemporary distribution of British newspapers into three different markets including quality market (with newspapers like the Times, the Guardian, the Daily Telegraph, the Independent or the Financial Times), middle market (for example Daily Mail and Daily Express) and mass market (for example the Daily Mirror and the Sun).

Rupert Murdoch became a prominent figure of British journalism in the 1970s and 1980s and his tabloids, including News of the World and the Sun, introduced lower quality of journalism in the United Kingdom. Although it would be unacceptable in the USA, British press retains the overt partisanship even today. However, national newspapers are editorially independent (Hampton n.d.).

Nowadays, all newspapers rely heavily on advertising. Broadsheets are dependent primarily on revenues from advertising, while tabloids have higher circulations and they are dependent mainly on sales or circulation (Hampton n.d.).

There is an apparent concentration of ownership in the British newspapers and media industry. The report from 2015 showed that press in the United Kingdom is dominated only by three companies and that "News UK, Daily Mail & General Trust and Trinity Mirror control 71% of national newspaper market" (Sweney 2015).

Newspapers gradually became part of a greater business and it is feared now that this concentration of ownership can have a potentially bad influence on journalism. Newspapers which belong to the corporation might be operated by interests of this wider organization and they can also be expected by their owners not to bring news which could damage the reputation of the corporation. "This kind of concentration creates conditions in which wealthy individuals and organisations can amass huge political and economic power and distort the media landscape to suit their interests and personal views" (Sweney 2015).

The process of tabloidization is very obvious in British broadsheets. It can be seen for example in the disappearance of the report from the parliament and also in the new focus on feature-oriented articles. Journalists emphasize the exclusivity of their stories and speed (Hampton n.d.).

There are also critics who condemn contemporary British tabloids, including Adrian Bingham (2005) who says:

> The British popular press is repeatedly accused of being untrustworthy and irresponsible; of poisoning political debate and undermining the democratic process; of inciting hostility against immigrants and ethnic minorities; and of coarsening public life by promoting a sleazy and intrusive celebrity culture.
> (Bingham 2005)

In April 2018, PressGazette published the monthly report of the circulation of British newspapers. It shows that the Sun dominates the market with a total print circulation of 1,481,876 sold copies in March 2018. Other most widely read papers in Britain include Daily Mail, the Daily Mirror, the Times, Daily Star, the Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Financial Times, the Observer and the Guardian (Tobitt 2018).

Here I decided to describe more closely only those newspapers that were chosen as a source for the parameter-based analysis of evaluative language in British press which is presented later in this thesis.

3.1 The Times

The Times is a daily national newspaper based in London which belongs to the oldest and also most influential British newspapers. In was founded in 1785 by a publisher named John Walter and its original name was The Daily Universal Register. The current name, which gave the title also to many other papers all around the world, was adopted already in 1788. It used to be printed in a broadsheet format for more than two hundred years. However, it changed to compact format in 2004 (Britannica 1998).

Similarly to many other British newspapers, it also has a sister paper which is called the Sunday Times. The political alignment is Centre-right. It is currently owned by News UK which is a British newspaper publisher owned by American conglomerate News Corp founded by Rupert Murdoch. The average daily circulation of the Times was 435,061 in March 2018. In the same period, the circulation of the Sunday Times was much higher with the average number of 739,444 copies (Tobitt 2018).

In Journalism Quarterly, Allan Nevins (1959, 414) published his analysis of American journalism where he also mentioned that the Times belongs to the most important newspapers because:

> For much more than a century the Times has been an integral and important part of the political structure of Great Britain. Its news and its editorial comment have in general been carefully coordinated, and have at most times been handled with an earnest sense of responsibility. (Nevins 1959, 414)

3.2 The Guardian

The Guardian is a British daily newspaper with its headquarters in London. It was founded in 1821 as the Manchester Guardian by John Edward Taylor and later it became only the Guardian in 1959. It belongs to the Guardian Media Group which is owned by Scott Trust and it has two sister papers—the Observer and

the Guardian Weekly. The political orientation is Centre-left. After the World War II, they became connected with Labour party and overall with the political left. It has been published in tabloid format since 2018. Before that, it used to be printed both in the broadsheet and the Berliner format (Britannica 1998).

The average daily circulation of the Guardian was 148,169 in March 2018 (Tobitt 2018). In 2014, the online edition reached the fifth place among the most widely read newspapers around the world. It had more than 42 million readers (Sweney 2014).

3.3 The Daily Mirror

The Daily Mirror is a British national daily tabloid newspaper published in London. It was founded in 1903 by Alfred Harmsworth also known as Lord Northcliffe who later sold the paper to his brother Harold Harmsworth. Earlier, the title appearing on its masthead was only the Mirror. It was expected to be a newspaper for women and it had a politically independent stance. It included many photographs and stressed mainly human interest stories and sensational topics (Britannica 1998).

Over the years, it became a very popular newspaper and it was no longer expected to be only for women. This newspaper "articulated the views and aspirations of the working classes and perfected a vernacular style which transmitted that solidarity even if it was in an intensely commercialized form" (Conboy 2010, 124).

The Daily Mirror is today owned by Trinity Mirror and its political orientation is Left-Wing, supporting the Labour Party. It has one sister paper called the Sunday Mirror. The average circulation of the Daily Mirror was 565,074 in March 2018. The daily average unique browsers of Trinity Mirror Group-Digital was 8,268,971 during the same period (Tobitt 2018).

3.4 The Sun

The Sun is a British tabloid daily newspaper with its headquarters situated in London. It was founded in 1964 as a broadsheet and it replaced another newspaper called Daily Herald. Nowadays, it is published by News UK owned

by News Corp of Rupert Murdoch similarly to the Times. Since 1969 it has been published in tabloid format. Its political alignment is Right-Wing and it supports the Conservative Party. The sister paper is called the Sun on Sunday (Kellner 1998).

Over the years, it became the most popular newspaper in Great Britain. It had shown that "there was an audience for softer, features-based material and heavily angled news in which comment and reporting were intertwined. It also adopted a more idiosyncratic agenda, presenting offbeat that fell outside the remit of broadcast news producers" (Greenslade 2003, 337).

As was mentioned before, in March 2018, the average circulation of the Sun was the highest in the United Kingdom with 1,481,876 sold copies. The visit rate of the official websites of the Sun was 4,962,187 during the same period (Tobitt 2018).

3.5   Digital editions of British newspapers

All of the above-mentioned newspapers have their own popular and frequently visited websites which are accessible for everyone. Their content is mostly free, except for the Times, where readers have to pay to see all of the articles.

These online editions are not only the mirror images of printed versions of British broadsheets and tabloids but they also include their own content and often bring exclusive news stories immediately after some important event or accident. People have continuous access to the articles, photographs, videos and other material published by the journalists and they can comment on the articles and share their opinions about various topics.

However, Conboy (2010, 145) claims that with the appearance of the Internet, people have registered many changes:

> With the advent of the internet, the language as well as the layout and accessibility of the newspaper have begun to change out of all recognition. They have done this in part to retain readers but also to align themselves more to the apparent democratic imperatives of online interactivity. (Conboy 2010, 145)

One of the changes in the language of newspapers was the apparent and growing use of evaluation in news stories connected with the inclusion of subjective opinions and stance of their authors. In their online articles, journalists often use catchphrases and evaluative expressions which have the potential to attain the attention of their readers but also to manipulate the audience.

According to Sambrook (2012, 3), people nowadays more and more challenge the objectivity of presented articles:

> Questions of truth, trust, bias, partisanship, and verification have been raised since the first steps in public communication. In today's environment of democratised mass digital media they are as important as ever. (Sambrook 2012, 3)

Both objectivity of the individual newspapers and the use of evaluative language in news stories play a crucial role in the way society views and evaluates these media.

4   Objectivity and Language of Evaluation

This chapter introduces the concept of objectivity in journalism which is considered to be a necessary component of journalistic work, but it is also seen as an unreachable goal. It also focuses on the language of evaluation, its various definitions and different kinds of approaches which try to describe this concept.

4.1   Objectivity

Objectivity is one of the main concepts connected with media and their way of presenting information and news to the audience. There are many various definitions not only connected with journalism, but also with other disciplines. However, this concept plays a crucial role in the journalistic field. Charlotte Wien (2005, 3), who focuses on the development of approaches to objectivity, claims:

> Journalism derives a great deal of its legitimacy from the postulate that it is able to present true pictures of reality. No one would have use for journalism if the journalists themselves asserted that the dissemination of news consisted of false pictures of unreality. (Wien 2005, 3)

Objectivity can be seen as the practice in media and the attitude of journalists towards their work, collecting, processing and also presenting the information to the audience. The journalist is expected to be neutral in transfer of the news and to avoid the subjective approach to the information. He should not take any side or show preferences for any opinions or interpretations. McQuail (2010, 170) stresses also the link between objectivity and equality: "Objectivity requires a fair and non-discriminatory attitude to sources and to objects of news reporting, all of which should be treated on equal terms."

Objectivity is also connected with the trustworthiness of the media and the audience's reliability on the presented content. McQuail (2010, 170) claims: "The media themselves find that objectivity gives their own news product a higher and wider market value." That is why media usually divide the space for the objective news and the sections dedicated to opinions and commentaries.

Throughout the history of journalism, there have been many attempts to define the concept of objectivity. Andrén and Hermánus attempted to define

objectivity as an operational concept (quoted in Wien 2005, 9): "The definition of objectivity which we build upon says that a program is objective to the extent that it contains assertions which enter into a realistic view of the world." Another attempt to define objectivity is connected with a famous American journalist and philosopher Walter Lippmann, who tried to connect journalism and science in order to be objective (McQuail 2010).

However, one of the best-known conceptual frameworks of objectivity is probably the Westerståhl's model. Jorgën Westerståhl (1983) focused on the Swedish broadcasting system and its degree of objectivity. He presented his model of objectivity and identified several sub-values of this concept and described them individually. In his view, objectivity is seen as adhering to those sub-values and standards.

Westerståhl's model (1983) shows objectivity as a connection between two main concepts–factuality and impartiality. Factuality means that the journalist should present information and statements that can be compared with sources and he avoids commentary on the facts. It is seen as a connection of three criteria, involving truth which is represented as accuracy and good intention in presenting news, relevance in the selection and subsequent presentation of information significant for the audience and finally informativeness which is understood as the quality of the news that contributes to the possibility of being noticed and remembered by the audience. Impartiality, as the second main concept creating objectivity, means that the journalist should take a neutral attitude. It is composed as a combination of two different criteria, neutrality in the presentation of news and balance meaning equal time and opportunities for all the sides, participants, versions or interpretations (McQuail 2010, 170–171).

But even Westerståhl's model is not sufficient in describing objectivity. This is connected mainly with the vagueness of some concepts like relevance or accuracy, because it is not possible to define them in detail and when a person decides what is relevant, accurate or informative for the others, there is still some level of subjectivity involved.

Although there are many different definitions of objectivity trying to describe it as accurately as possible and thus give journalists some kind of instructions how to write objective articles, it is still quite vague

and problematic concept. It is also supported by the fact that journalists attempt to define it by using other equally problematic concepts. Furthermore, most journalists and people surrounding media production concluded that objectivity is unattainable (McQuail 2010, 172).

One can never be wholly objective. In every article, people project parts of themselves. It does not have to be apparent at first sight, the author does not have to use evaluative language or show his stance toward the subject, but even the choice of words and choice of details is subjective. Moreover, objectivity in media is also connected with several limits. It is often not possible to follow all the principles of information quality, because of the limited space in newspapers or other media, time pressure and approaching deadlines, public opinions, but also the pressure and interests of media owners, individuals, groups and organizations (Jílek 2005, 199).

However, this does not mean that because objectivity is not wholly attainable, people in media should not try to reach it. There are many newspapers, magazines or programmes which overtly state that they bring their own subjective opinions and commentaries and they also use evaluative language and people thus know what to expect from them. But media claiming to be objective should at least try to present true pictures of reality, find their information in official places, remain distant from the events and subjects they are describing and avoid the use of evaluative language.

4.2   Language of Evaluation

Defining the concept of evaluation is very problematic. In fact, there is not any single correct definition. Evaluation and the language used to express it in various texts of different fields have been studied by many linguists including Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan, J. R. Martin and P. R. R. White or Monika Bednarek. Therefore, there are also many different approaches which focus on notions like evaluation, subjectivity and stance.

The term evaluation is employed in different ways, not only in connection with the language and newspapers. It can be heard both in technical and everyday use where it means simply forming an own subjective idea about something.

One of the famous definitions of evaluation was made by linguists Susan Hunston and Geoff Thompson (2000, 5) who describe evaluation as:

> The broad cover term for the expression of the speaker's or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any number of other sets of values. (Hunston and Thompson 2000, 5)

This definition was also later quoted by Monika Bednarek, whose approach is adopted in this thesis. She extends this definition to the news discourse and claims: ". . . evaluations in the news can express the evaluative stance, ideological or political position of the principal; they can construe news values; they can establish relationships with readers/audiences; and they can be used to structure or organize news stories" (Bednarek and Caple 2012, 138–139).

Evaluation is an important part of everyday life. It allows people to create and express their opinions and to compare them with evaluations of others. It is also connected with establishing and maintaining relations among people and it contributes to the establishment of people's values.

Evaluation is sometimes seen simply as subjectivity which could be described as one's self-expression. However, Bednarek (2006, 20) states that there is a difference between those terms in emphasis and scope and that evaluation is a narrower concept while subjectivity is more speaker-centred.

When focusing on the language area, there are several competing terms, including *stance*, *appraisal* and *affect*. They are all, however, in some way problematic and linguists constantly try to improve their definitions. Although Thompson and Hunston consider affect as a type of evaluation, Bednarek (2006, 20) describes it rather as "a broad cover term for various approaches analysing the relationship between language and emotion."

Various linguists established alternative theories and conceptualizations of evaluation and evaluative language. Lyons works with the term *subjectivity* (1982), Thompson and Hunston simply use the term *evaluation* (2000),

Martin and White developed the concept of *appraisal* (2005) and Biber and Finegan employ the notion of *stance* (1988).

There are some overlaps among the terms *evaluation*, *stance* and *appraisal*. *Stance* is a term used for example by Biber and Finegan, and it is often associated rather with large-scale corpus analyses. In their view (Biber and Finegan 1988), *stance* is defined as the expression of the feelings, opinions and judgements of the speaker. It also concerns his commitment towards the truthfulness of a message. It focuses on three general domains which are further examined during the analysis, including epistemic, attitudinal and style stance. *Epistemic stance* focuses on comments on such things as the certainty or doubt and also the reliability of a proposition. *Attitudinal stance* is concerned with feelings, attitudes and judgements. And lastly, *style stance* deals with comments on the nature of communication (Bednarek 2006, 26). Although stance is a competing term to evaluation and it could be used instead of it, Monika Bednarek (2006) chooses to use the term *evaluation* and therefore she can identify the individual parameters of evaluation.

4.3 Appraisal Theory

Another well-known approach is the Appraisal Theory which is connected with M. A. K. Halliday's (1994) Systemic Functional Linguistics. J. R. Martin and P. R. R. White introduced this theory in the book named *Language of Evaluation*. They also developed the Appraisal Website, which focuses on the language of attitude, arguability and interpersonal positioning (White n.d.).

In their work, they focus on "appraisal resources" (Bednarek 2006, 27) which are the linguistic devices used for expressing appraisal. The appraisal is in their view seen as a notion which involves "resources for modalising, amplifying, reacting emotionally (affect), judging morally (judgement) and evaluating aesthetically (appreciation)" (Martin 1995, 28). They offer the detailed definition of three main components of appraisal:

Appraisal itself is regionalised as three interacting domains–'attitude', 'engagement' and 'graduation'. Attitude is concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things. Engagement deals with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse. Graduation attends to grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred. (Martin and White 2005, 35)

Martin and White then further describe individual sub-values of those three components (which can be seen in Table 1 below), proposing a complex theory of the appraisal analysis. They also offer many examples where they show which expressions could be considered to belong to particular categories.
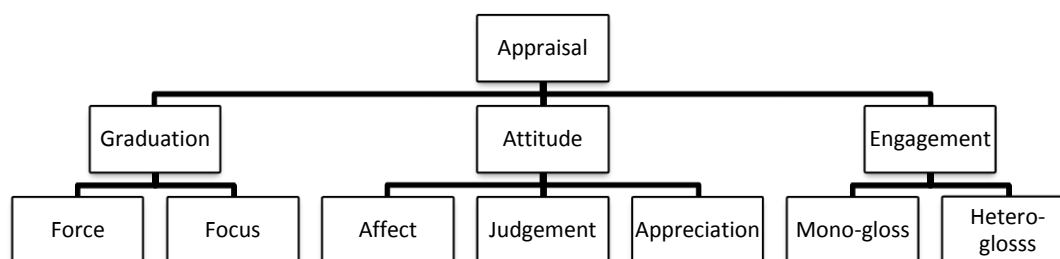
Table 1: Appraisal Theory

Monika Bednarek (2006, 31) admits that the concept of appraisal is used similarly to her concept of evaluation and that Martin and White have similar objectives as her own work and also focus on important concepts which must be taken into consideration: "It reveals the significance of context and the interpersonal character of evaluation as well as the communicative importance of evaluation itself" (Bednarek 2006, 31).

Not only Monika Bednarek, but also many other linguists consider the appraisal theory to be a very important development in the field of evaluation,

because it provides a systematic and elaborate framework. However, she finds several drawbacks of this theory. She claims that it is too much connected with the Systemic Functional Linguistics and accessible almost only for those people who have very detailed prior knowledge and are familiar with it. She also disagrees with several suggestions of this theory including the absence of the importance parameter, the subdivision of Attitude into three systems or the inclusion of authorial and non-authorial expressions within the same category (Bednarek 2006, 32). Even Martin and White admit that their appraisal theory is still an ongoing project and that their proposals require further work and testing (White 2002, 3).

Bednarek (2006) prefers a parameter-based approach to evaluation. Several parameter-based approaches already exist, for example Thomson and Hunston (2000) who identify four parameters, Francis (1995) who works with eight parameters or Lemke (1998) and his seven dimensions. However, Bednarek (2006, 37) claims that "none of these 'parameter-based' approaches seem broad enough to capture all aspects of the complex phenomenon that is evaluation." That is why she decided to establish her own approach which would try to incorporate all the important features and their individual sub-values.

4.4 Monika Bednarek's Approach to Evaluation in Media Discourse

Monika Bednarek (2006, 41) develops a new approach to evaluation "based on the assumption that there are different parameters along which speakers can evaluate aspects of the world." She follows the terminology of Thompson and Hunston who call different dimensions of evaluation evaluative parameters or parameters of evaluation (Bednarek and Caple 2012).

In her analysis, Monika Bednarek decided to focus on the printed press. She chose to investigate ten of British most read newspapers including both broadsheets and tabloids. Her corpus contained 70,000 words of news discourse. It was composed of one hundred articles, ten articles for each analysed newspaper.

Bednarek (2006, 12) describes her approach as "corpus-based pragmatic/discourse analytic approach, including some elements of other

methods (practice-focused, critical)." She uses a combination of a corpus analysis with a discourse analysis where the corpus-based research is connected with manual text analysis. The research uses both quantitative and qualitative methods. It includes not only the quantitative calculations which describe the amount and distribution of various evaluations throughout the corpus, but also qualitative comments on her findings concerning evaluations, their functions and what impact they might have on the reader.

Bednarek uses both manual and automatic analysis in her work. She emphasizes the role of the context in evaluative analysis: "On the one hand, linguistic means of evaluation are highly context-dependent; on the other hand, analysing the discourse semantics of evaluation shows how evaluation extends like a wave over the text and lends a specific 'evaluative prosody' to it" (Bednarek 2006, 8). She uses the manual analysis, because her corpus is relatively small and also because of the connection with the context (the textual, socio-cultural and situational environment surrounding linguistic expressions of the corpus). She focuses not only on the nature of individual words that are being analysed, but also on their use in a specific context and that is why the manual analysis is preferred here.

As Monika Bednarek (2006, 8) points out, "there is no clearly defined list of linguistic means of evaluation that could be looked for in a large-scale corpus with the help of a computer." It means that it is not possible to simply create a list of means used for evaluation, because such a list would be endless. And even if we would be able to provide such an enumeration of lexico-grammatical means, the perspective on the evaluation which appears in the chosen sample would still be limited (Bednarek 2006, 8). Bednarek also states that for the time being, there is no suitable corpus which could help with the analysis of the evaluative language in media and mainly in the press.

In her view, the phenomenon of evaluation is seen as a combination of various parameters creating a unitary whole. It represents a connection of previous theories, but it is broader than other approaches. Bednarek introduces nine evaluative parameters, where each of them is created by several sub-values. She does not agree with evaluating something strictly as good or bad, because it could be very subjective and problematic in the context (Bednarek 2006, 41).

Her concept of evaluation concerns not only evaluating various propositions, but also other elements that are connected with the process of communication, including its participants, the whole situation of communication and its circumstances.

Although Bednarek tries to establish a system of parameters which is sufficient for the analysis of evaluation, she still claims that her list of parameters is not exhaustive and that "the parameter-based framework of evaluation is hence to be regarded as an open-ended approach, and in its present form allows the simple addition of more parameters as research into evaluation progresses" (Bednarek 2006, 44).

Bednarek suggests a list of nine evaluative parameters that are quite different in kind. Each individual parameter involves "a different dimension along which the evaluation proceeds" (Bednarek 2006, 41). The approach is quite flexible, because those parameters can be combined together and it is then possible to express complex evaluations. She divides her parameters into two categories—core and peripheral evaluative parameters. These parameters together with their individual sub-values will be introduced in the following subchapters.

4.4.1 Core evaluative parameters

There are six core parameters including Comprehensibility, Emotivity, Expectedness, Importance, Possibility/Necessity and Reliability (Bednarek 2006, 45). These parameters are described as central for evaluation and they "relate to evaluative qualities ascribed to the entities, situations or propositions that are evaluated, and involve evaluative scales with two poles, but also potential intermediate stages between them" (Bednarek 2006, 44). Examples of individual parameters, which are described below, can be seen in Table 2. These examples (as well as examples presented in following subchapters) were taken from my own corpus to illustrate the categories proposed by Monika Bednarek and to offer a better understanding of her approach.

Core Evaluative Parameters		
Parameter	**Sub-value**	**Examples of Expressions**
Comprehensibility	Comprehensible	*apparent, clearer picture, clear*
	Incomprehensible	*mystique, unknown, mysteries, unexplained, unclear*
Emotivity	Positive	*successful, incredible, beloved, perfect, worth, brilliant*
	Negative	*ruthlessness, controversial, personal insults, rogue, tragic*
Expectedness	Expected	*expecting, anticipated, predictable, typical, routine*
	Unexpected	*dramatic, abruptly, unexpected, bizarre, sudden*
	Contrast	*but, however, nevertheless, while, whether, although*
	Contrast/Comparison	*no, not, only, just, all, without*
Importance	Important	*senior, historic, power, leader, monarch, top, officials*
	Unimportant	*neophyte, non-urgent*
Possibility/Necessity	Possible	*capable, allow, could, possible, possibility*
	Not Possible	*impossible, unable, could not, not available*
	Necessary	*need, have to, should, must*
	Not Necessary	*not needed*
Reliability	Genuine	*true, real*
	Fake	*false, had orchestrated*
	High	*will, no hesitation, almost certainly*
	Median	*would, might, likely to, potentially*
	Low	*may, all but certain, unlikely to*

Table 2: Core Evaluative Parameters with Examples

4.4.1.1 Comprehensibility

The first core parameter is Comprehensibility which consists of two sub-values—
Comprehensible and Incomprehensible. Comprehensibility represents "the extent
to which writers evaluate entities, situations or propositions as being within
or beyond the grasp of human understanding" (Bednarek 2006, 45). It includes
a broad range of expressions which could be positioned on a scale ranging from
the completely comprehensible on one side to completely incomprehensible

on the other side. This category includes both expressions of clarity and also expressions of vagueness, mystery and strangeness. Bednarek (2006, 70) claims that the expressions analysed as Incomprehensible seem to dominate over the expressions of clarity in her corpus.

4.4.1.2 Emotivity

Emotivity is a rather problematic parameter. It focuses on "the writer's evaluation of aspects of events as good or bad" (Bednarek 2006, 45). It concentrates on the writer and his assessment of the situation and elements surrounding the events, participants and all the circumstances. The writer, therefore, expresses his or her approval or disapproval with the state of affairs. The parameter of Emotivity includes two sub-values—Negative and Positive. The expression of Emotivity can be placed on the scale which ranges from positive on the one end to negative on the other end.

However, there are many problems connected with this parameter and even Bednarek (2006, 46) describes it as "the most problematic of all parameters." The analysis of what is positive, what is negative and what seems to stand in between and therefore could be described as neutral, is very subjective. Every person can evaluate the same situation differently because the terms positive and negative are very relative and everyone interprets them in their own way. Bednarek mentions six various clines inside the parameter of Emotivity which represent further complications for its analysis. She divides the analysed expressions into two sub-values according to her consultations with native speakers, taking into account the previous research and using the Bank of English and a corpus-based dictionary. In this regard, the present thesis follows her methodological decisions and proceeds in a similar way in the analysis of evaluation of emotive expressions. Nevertheless, Emotivity is a broad area and a possible subject of some individual and more detailed analysis.

4.4.1.3 Expectedness

The parameter of Expectedness expresses "the writer's evaluations of aspects of the world (including propositions) as more or less expected or unexpected" (Bednarek 2006, 48). This parameter is divided into four individual sub-values

including sub-values of Expected (e.g. *typical, routine, expecting*) and Unexpected (e.g. *unpredictable, unusually, extraordinary*), Contrast (e.g. *while, although, but*) and Contrast/Comparison (e.g. *no, just, never*). They help to categorize the expressions of more or less expected or surprising events into more specific groups. Although the two latter sub-values are considered to be rather peripheral (Bednarek 2006, 49) they are also important for the concept of Expectedness. The sub-value of Contrast brings together all the expressions which put two words, propositions or events into opposing positions. The sub-value of Contrast/Comparison includes expressions of negation. The inclusion of these under the parameter of Expectedness can be seen not only in Bednarek's approach, but they are also suggested by Martin and White's appraisal theory. Bednarek (2006, 49) claims that "negative statements are generally used to express something unusual, unexpected or unpredictable about a situation and are regarded as indicators of frames or schemas in cognitive linguistics."

4.4.1.4 Importance

The parameter of Importance includes two sub-values—Important and Unimportant. It contains expressions of human influence in the world, expressions evaluating something as being more or less prominent than something else and also expressions describing a person as well-known, important and famous. These expressions could also be put on a scale ranging from important on one end to unimportant on the other end. They "evaluate the world according to the speaker's judgement of its states in terms of importance, relevance and significance" (Bednarek 2006, 50).

4.4.1.5 Possibility/Necessity

The parameter of Possibility/Necessity deals with "what has traditionally been described as deontic or dynamic modality, i.e. with the writer's evaluation of what is (not) necessary or (not) possible" (Bednarek 2006, 50). Bednarek thus identifies four sub-values including Possible, Not possible, Necessary and Not necessary. The factors of possibility and necessity are closely connected and logically related and that is why they can be included in the same parameter.

4.4.1.6 Reliability

The parameter of Reliability is connected with the epistemic modality, dealing with "matters of reliability, certainty, confidence and likelihood" (Bednarek 2006, 52). It focuses on whether it is possible to rely on something as a truthful source of information or whether the presented facts are not true or unreliable. This parameter can be divided into five sub-values including two different groups. The first group contains Genuine and Fake sub-values while the second group focuses on the likelihood of something and includes Low, Median and High reliability sub-values.

All of these above mentioned parameters can be included in the category of core parameters because they possess the evaluative scales. Bednarek (2006, 44) claims that expressions of different intensity are already incorporated in them and that is why she decides not to include Intensity as an individual parameter. She sees it only as a "modulator of evaluation" (Bednarek 2006, 44). Expressions of intensity show different degrees of various concepts and states. Bednarek (2006, 44) argues that "there is no appropriate methodology available for identifying the exact position of an evaluator on an evaluative scale." Therefore, she does not examine the occurrence of expressions of Intensity individually in her analysis. However, she includes also another set of parameters called peripheral, which does not work with evaluative scales.

4.4.2 Peripheral Evaluative Parameters

As was mentioned before, the second set of parameters is called peripheral and the parameters which belong to this group differ from the set of core parameters in that they are not created by scales of evaluation. They include Evidentiality, Mental State and Style and Bednarek (2006, 53) claims that "they do tend to occur in evaluative stretches of text, and can be related to evaluation in a variety of ways. Examples of expressions that belong to these parameters and their sub-values can be seen in Table 3. These examples (as well as examples presented in following subchapters) were chosen from my own corpus.

Peripheral Evaluative Parameters		
Parameter	**Sub-value**	**Examples of Expressions**
Evidentiality (in combination with other parameters)	Hearsay	*said, added, wrote*
	Mindsay	*thought*
	Perception	*see, look, hear*
	General Knowledge	*famously*
	Evidence	*find, evidence*
	Unspecific	*it emerged, meaning that*
Mental State	Belief/Disbelief	*suspicion, trusted, were suspected*
	Emotion	*fury, fear, terrified, desperation, anger*
	Expectation	*is expected to*
	Knowledge	*recognize, know*
	State-of-Mind	*peacefully, undecided, ambitious*
	Process	*hope, predicted*
	Volition/Non-Volition	*deliberately, forced to*
Style (+Evidentiality)	Neutral	*said, told, wrote*
	Illocutionary	*blamed, accused, promised, denied*
	Declarative	*was diagnosed, was sentenced, was knighted*
	Discourse signalling	*added, continued, concluded*
	Paralinguistic	*shouted, chanted*

Table 3: Peripheral Evaluative Parameters with Examples

4.4.2.1 Evidentiality

The parameter of Evidentiality focuses on writers and their opinions about the evidence in their texts. The expressions of Evidentiality "evaluate the truth value of a sentence . . . with respect to the source of the information contained in the sentence" (Rooryck 2001, 125). Bednarek (2006, 42) describes six different sub-values of Evidentiality including Hearsay, Mindsay, Perception, General knowledge, (Lack of) Proof and Unspecified. Hearsay means that the proposition was uttered by someone else than the writer. Mindsay is similar to Hearsay, but here the proposition was experienced or felt by someone else than the writer. For these categories, Halliday (1994, 140, 117) uses terms "Sayer" and "Senser."

Bednarek includes three kinds of perception under the sub-value of Perception. It includes "mental perception, sensory perception and showing" (Bednarek 2006, 53). The sub-value of General knowledge focuses on evaluations

showing that something is considered to be a knowledge shared by many people including the writer and his audience. (Lack of) Proof evaluates something as based on real proofs or on the other hand lacking the evidence to prove something. The last sub-value is called Unspecified. This seems to be very problematic, because it includes various evaluators and this group lacks any further functional specification.

4.4.2.2 Mental state

Mental state is a peripheral evaluative parameter which "refers to the writer's evaluation of other social actors' mental states" (Bednarek 2006, 54). Bednarek decides to include this peripheral parameter even though many other linguists did not use it in their theories and approaches. In their concept of stance, Biber and Finegan (1988, 97) decided to focus only on direct expressions of the attitudes of a speaker, but not others, because according to them they seem to be primarily descriptive. However, other linguists (for example in the appraisal theory) include also evaluations of mental states of others because they involve the evaluation of some other character and his mental state by the writer.

Bednarek (2006, 54) describes seven different kinds of Mental State including Belief/Disbelief, Emotion, Expectation, Knowledge, State-of-Mind, Process and Volition/Non-volition. The individual sub-values are connected and the boundaries between them are sometimes not very clear.

4.4.2.3 Style

The peripheral evaluative parameter of Style concerns "the writer's evaluation of the language that is used, for instance, comments on the manner in which the information is presented, or evaluation of the kind of language that is used" (Bednarek 2006, 56). It is divided into two sub-values including Style: Self and Style: Other. Bednarek claims that her corpus includes only examples of Style: Other. She discusses these expressions only in connection with reporting expressions (Evidentiality). There are five sub-values—Neutral, Illocutionary, Declarative, Discourse signalling and Paralinguistic (Bednarek 2006, 57).

Neutral expressions are used only to signal the act of saying (e.g. *say, tell*), while Illocutionary expressions (e.g. *offered, promised, denied*) show the presence

of the author in the text, name the speech situation and "make explicit the speaker's (supposed) purpose" (Bednarek 2006, 57). Expressions labelled as Declarative (e.g. *was diagnosed, was convicted, was charged*) describe linguistic acts "that can only be 'felicitous' within a cultural-institutional setting, when specific constraining circumstances are fulfilled" (Bednarek 2006, 57). Discourse signalling expressions are used to refer to the development of the discourse (e.g. *answer, response, added*). Finally, Paralinguistic expressions (e.g. *chanted, stormed*), which are not very frequent in Bednarek's corpus, "give an indication of prosodic and other accompanying paralinguistic aspects of the act of utterance" (Bednarek 2006, 58).

4.4.3 Other methodological decisions

Except for core and peripheral parameters, Monika Bednarek also identifies several important combinations of these parameters and their sub-values. She names the individual expressions which belong to these categories and describes their functions. This evaluative interplay has two different kinds, firstly when "linguistic expressions evaluate along two or more parameters at the same time" (Bednarek 2006, 59) and secondly when "in a given text different linguistic expressions evaluate along two or more parameters" (Bednarek 2006, 59). Bednarek's final results focus both on the individual parameters and also on their most important combinations. It shows that some of these combinations are even more prominent than the parameters themselves. Except for the combination of Evidentiality and Style, which was already mentioned before, Bednarek (2006, 189–190) names also combinations of Evidentiality and Mental State (e.g. *wished, intended, thought*) or Evidentiality, Style and Reliability (e.g. *according to, claim, reportedly*) as the most frequent.

It is necessary to take into account also the fact that "much of what features in the news is actually reported speech" (Bednarek 2006, 59). Monika Bednarek decided to exclude all the attributed propositions from her analysis. It means mainly expressions of direct quotations of sources in her corpus because they represent what someone else says, the opinion of another person than the author of the article. She also decided not to include the reported speech because it is attributed to someone else than the author.

5 Analysis of Evaluative Language

The following part of the thesis provides practical analysis of the evaluative language in online versions of British newspapers. Firstly, it introduces all the methodological decisions which were made and then it describes the chosen approach and its results in detail.

5.1 Methodological decisions

The language of mass media including both printed and online press is very complex. Any analysis which focuses on such language must be based on a number of important methodological decisions.

Based on the research of various approaches to evaluative language and its analysis, I decided to choose the approach of Monika Bednarek which introduces individual parameters and their sub-values providing several examples of all the categories. It also emphasises the possibility of combining individual parameters and expressing complex evaluations.

While to me, the appraisal theory appeared to be not only more difficult to understand for a reader, but also quite problematic in some aspects, Bednarek's approach seemed to be comprehensible also for people who are not complete experts in the field of media industry, newspapers and their language and also evaluation. I believe that to use the appraisal theory approach, it is necessary to understand Systemic Functional Linguistics very well. Because Monika Bednarek thoroughly describes her intentions, methodology and individual steps taken during her analysis and it seems to be more comprehensible to me, I decided to use her approach and try to adapt it for my own analysis.

However, while Bednarek chose to observe hard news in the British print media, I decided to analyse rather news presented by online editions of British national newspapers. This had several important reasons. Firstly, I did not want to simply copy Bednarek's approach. It would probably be interesting to see whether her results and conclusions are still the same and valid and if the writing style of British newspapers changed over more than a decade. But such analysis seemed to be too similar to her original work.

Secondly, although the print media still have their faithful readers, the world came through many technological changes and nowadays people prefer

the comfort of reading the news on their computers, tablets or smart phones, obtaining all the information they want usually for free. Everything is on the Internet now and newspapers also had to adapt to this situation. Their websites offer the inexhaustible quantity of information twenty-four hours a day and people have almost unlimited access to whatever they want.

Lastly, the interesting thing about the online reporting is that articles and news stories are quite different from those in the printed version. There are no restrictions regarding their length. Journalists can thus publish not only the most important information based on the inverted pyramid template of writing (focusing on answers on questions Who? What? Where? and When?), but they provide all the details about the event or incident that they are able to gather and also the background information. They can provide the opportunity of commenting the event to all the people they want and consider appropriate. But this endless space in combination with the time pressure imposed on journalists also offers a potential space for mistakes, publishing unnecessary information, using evaluative expressions and even manipulating people and their opinions.

In my analysis, I decided to compare the evaluative language in online editions of two British broadsheets and two British tabloids. The goal was to see whether broadsheets still preserve their status of relatively objective newspapers and tabloids really publish more opinions and evaluative expressions, or whether there is an apparent process of tabloidization and the language of both broadsheets and tabloids is similar. For this purpose, I decided to choose the Times and the Guardian as representatives of British broadsheets and the Sun and the Daily Mirror as representatives of British tabloids. There was no problem with obtaining the articles from the Guardian, the Daily Mirror and the Sun, because their websites offer free content for their audience. The Times was the only exception where a small fee had to be paid to get access to their content.

In order to obtain the sample which could be considered as representative, I decided to base my analysis on 60 news stories (15 for each newspaper) and I collected articles in the period between March 1 and March 15, 2018. This provided a corpus of 47,365 words. I tried to keep the subject matter constant or at least similar for every day in all four newspapers. I focused on hard news

dealing with international matters and important topics which appeared in all the chosen online editions. Similarly to Bednarek, I considered it to be necessary, because it is possible to compare and show the different approach of journalists, their language and the style they use when dealing with a particular topic. As Bednarek (2006, 5) points out, it also "avoids the influence of the topic on the analysis of evaluation to a certain degree."

Table 4 lists the word count for all the individual articles in the corpus and it shows the total number of words for individual newspapers. Those words were counted based on an automatic count in Word 2013 for Windows.

	The Times	The Guardian	Daily Mirror	The Sun
1 March - Trump´s adviser	762	656	359	302
2 March - Ken Livingstone	428	535	345	534
3 March - Storm	291	872	771	993
4 March - Sir Roger Bannister	2,298	749	1,508	598
5 March - Russian spy	567	1,312	920	1,207
6 March - LGBT adviser	792	422	775	571
7 March - Saudi prince	618	960	629	461
8 March - Women´s day	412	788	110	457
9 March - North Korea meeting	584	1,004	287	868
10 March - Salisbury	660	1,982	906	856
11 March - China	251	946	329	439
12 March - Ken Dodd	516	952	1,006	1,081
13 March - Tillerson	714	950	812	543
14 March - Stephen Hawking	870	1,891	2,073	791
15 March - Egyptian teenager	753	500	325	577
Total	10,516	14,519	11,155	10,278

Table 4: Number of Words in Individual Newspapers

Table 5 shows the number of words for the headlines of individual news stories.

	The Times	The Guardian	Daily Mirror	The Sun
1 March - Trump´s adviser	11	9	19	18
2 March - Ken Livingstone	10	8	11	17
3 March - Storm	8	12	21	24
4 March - Sir Roger Bannister	24	11	17	17
5 March - Russian spy	12	11	18	17
6 March - LGBT adviser	9	8	13	27
7 March - Saudi prince	13	10	19	26
8 March - Women´s day	8	9	16	20
9 March - North Korea meeting	11	11	13	22
10 March - Salisbury	10	8	24	22
11 March - China	9	13	19	18
12 March - Ken Dodd	10	9	17	23
13 March - Tillerson	15	11	17	21
14 March - Stephen Hawking	11	8	14	25
15 March - Egyptian teenager	14	9	14	26
Total	175	147	252	323

Table 5: Number of Words in Headlines

Expressions were determined as evaluative in the given context mainly based on the research of Monika Bednarek's approach, which provides a guidance and a set of examples for individual categories of her parameter-based analysis. There were also other methods which were used, including the use of dictionaries and consulting native speakers of English.

While Bednarek excluded both direct quotations and reported speech from her analysis, I decided not to follow her on this account. It is important to mention that "in a non-fictional text the writer is responsible for all statements unless a statement is attributed to someone else" (Bednarek 2006, 60). However, I believe that while direct quotations must strictly literally follow what a person said, the reported speech is different. The writer can slightly change the words which were used, add or remove something and it sometimes means a great change. That is why my analysis excludes direct quotations, but not reported speech.

Instead of only following Bednarek's distribution of core and peripheral evaluative parameters, which were adapted as unchanged, I decided to establish one more parameter for Intensity. Intensifying expressions "can be used to express different degrees of the concepts involved" (Bednarek 2006, 44). Monika Bednarek excludes this parameter because it is not possible to identify the right position for the evaluator on the scale of intensity. But the concept of Emotivity is also problematic from the point of view of scales and she still includes it in her analysis. Moreover, she admits that "the distinction of evaluators in terms of intensity could be potentially very interesting where the tabloid-broadsheet distinction is concerned" (Bednarek 2006, 44).

That is why I decided to include Intensity as one of the parameters. I identified four different sub-values including High, Medium and Low for expressions on the intensity scale and also a sub-value called Unspecified, which encompasses all the expressions that cannot be easily located on this scale. Intensity was evaluated together with other parameters and I included conclusions about its distribution as a part of this thesis.

In the following sections, all of the individual parameters and their significant combinations are presented together with the results showing their distribution in broadsheets and tabloids and comments about their function. The Appendix also contains two analysed articles (one for broadsheets and one for tabloids) with tables showing individual evaluative words classified into particular sections. All of the analysed articles are also included on the disc, which is attached to the present thesis.

5.2 Comprehensibility

As was mentioned before, the parameter of Comprehensibility deals with the degree to which something is or is not comprehensible for the audience. It can be used to comment on the comprehensibility of a situation as a whole or to describe the actor's activity as rather Comprehensible or Incomprehensible, which also gave names to the respective sub-values.

In my corpus, similarly to the corpus of Monika Bednarek, there are considerably more evaluators of the sub-value Incomprehensible (e.g. *unknown, unidentified, far from clear, mysteries*) than Comprehensible

(e.g. *apparent, clearer picture*). In addition to that, there is also one problematic expression—*clarify*. Although it might seem to belong to the Comprehensible sub-value, Bednarek (2006, 85–86) places it in the Incomprehensible sub-value, because while it makes things apparently clearer, it also suggests that originally the matter was unclear.

The use of expressions of the parameter of Comprehensibility may be connected with the dramatization of the described situation and with the aim to make the article more shocking or interesting for readers. Sometimes the expressions of Incomprehensible sub-value can co-occur with negative emotivity, which can be seen in the following examples:

(1) It is *far from clear* that a new deal would be any more enduring. (Guardian, 9 March)

(2) The sudden and *unexplained* illness will invite comparisons with the poisoning in 2006 of another Russian spy, Alexander Litvinenko, whose death sparked a major international incident. (Guardian, 5 March)

Both Example 1 and Example 2 show the use of expressions which belong to the parameter Comprehensibility: Incomprehensible. Their occurrence in the text is connected with negative happenings and therefore can trigger negative emotivity.

Bednarek (2006, 70) claims that "evaluating something as incomprehensible here appears to suggest that no rational reason or explanation can be given for the actions or states of affairs involved, and that they are therefore very much questionable indeed."

Overall, the occurrence of the parameter of Comprehensibility in my corpus is quite low, it represents only 0.9 per cent of all evaluations. In the broadsheets it creates 0.8 per cent of all broadsheet evaluations, while it is 1 per cent of all tabloid evaluations. In both sub-corpora, the evaluations of Incomprehensible sub-value are more frequent (84.2 per cent of all evaluations of Comprehensibility in broadsheets, 85.7 per cent in tabloids).

Journalists must produce news very quickly, which is even more apparent today in online newspapers. Their work is often published hastily without

knowing all the facts and details, just because they want to be the first to bring some information. That is why they rather publish an incomplete story which is edited later and they use the expressions connected with incomprehensibility.

The events which are clear also do not have to be stated as so and expressions of the sub-value Comprehensible are thus less frequent. People are also often more attracted to something that is mysterious, unknown and not clear. They can think about such matter and watch subsequent articles and development.

However, the occurrence of expressions which belong to the parameter of Comprehensibility is not frequent enough to make any general conclusions. As far as stylistic variety is concerned, there are 16 different evaluators in broadsheets (*was clear, aware, unexplained, secret, far from clear, unclear, mysterious, mystery, did not know, baffling, clarified, apparent, mystique, not clear, unknown, mysteries*) and 10 evaluators in tabloids (*clearer picture, understand, unnamed, not yet known, unknown, had not yet been identified, unidentified, have not yet revealed, no explanation, couldn´t comprehend*). Broadsheets, therefore, offer slightly greater variety.

5.3 Emotivity

The parameter of Emotivity is very important for the analysis of evaluative language, but it is also highly problematic. What someone sees as emotive can be influenced by a person's subjective point of view. Monika Bednarek (2006, 46–48) thus identifies six different clines which have to be taken into consideration while analysing this parameter.

The first cline appears between emotivity and non-emotivity. Ungerer (1997, 315) identifies a set of words describing negative events, happenings and things which he calls "disaster vocabulary." It involves such expressions as *kill, crime, death* or *poisoning*. These words could be seen as negative, because they describe negative concepts. However, we need some names even for negative things and sometimes there is no other possibility than to use these expressions. They are often necessary and justified when depicting negative events.

Also, different types of crimes describe legally and socially defined activities (e.g. *hate crime, assault, domestic violence*) and using their names in a text should not be considered as intentional use of evaluation of Emotivity.

Bednarek (2006, 46) claims that "such descriptions and labels are hence not strictly evaluative, although they may evoke an evaluative or emotional reaction of readers." Therefore, such expressions are excluded from my analysis. However, when "some marked degree of higher intensity or emotion is involved with such descriptive labels" (Bednarek 2006, 46) in some of these expressions (e.g. *murder, assassination*) or they are used inappropriately in a context (for example *feral gang* used to describe a group of women), they can be analysed as evaluators of Emotivity.

The second cline is between explicit and implicit emotivity. While explicit evaluative expressions have the emotivity inscribed in them (e.g. *nasty, severe, grievous*), implicit evaluative expressions are "highly subject to reader position–each reader will interpret a text's tokens of judgement according to their own cultural and ideological positioning" (White n.d.). Therefore, the context surrounding these implicit evaluative expressions matters a lot and they do not have to be interpreted evenly by different people, which is a problem for linguists.

According to Bednarek (2006, 47), the third cline is "regarding the difference of emotive evaluators in terms of intensity and force." In other words, there are different possible expressions which can be used for describing the same concept or incident (e.g. *death, killing, murder, assassination*). It depends on the author which expression he chooses and people can later argue about the appropriateness of its usage in a particular context.

It would be good to have the possibility to classify positive and negative evaluators on a scale rather than just to Positive/Negative sub-values, but "there is no scientifically valid method (yet) to enable an exact analysis of emotive evaluators" (Bednarek 2006, 47). Moreover, every person can feel differently about specific expressions. Therefore, linguists may argue about the right category where expressions should be placed.

The fourth cline focuses on "the amount of ideational and interpersonal meaning expressed in emotive evaluators" (Bednarek 2006, 47). Ideational meaning can be described as using the language to represent speaker's or writer's experience and it deals with "how we talk about actions, happenings, feelings, beliefs, situations, states, and so on, the people and things involved in them, and the relevant circumstances of time, place, manner" (Lock 1996, 9). Interpersonal

meaning, on the other hand, focuses mainly on the interactivity that language offers and concerns "the ways in which we act upon one another through language" (Muto-Humphrey n.d.). There are some purely interpersonal expressions (e.g. *worst, nice, not ideal*) and expressions with both ideational and interpersonal meaning (e.g. *aide, interference, traitor*).

The fifth cline deals with "the degree of speaker involvement of evaluations of Emotivity" (Bednarek 2006, 47). Evaluators can refer to something pleasant or unpleasant for the writer, which can be seen in Example 3, but some of them may also refer to states of affairs that influence someone else than the writer. In such a case, the writer is unaffected but still provides some evaluation, as Example 4 shows:

(3)   Professor Hawking leaves behind a *fascinating legacy* after defying the odds with every accomplishment. (Daily Mirror, 14 March)

(4)   Willy Lam, a political observer at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, warned that the vote could spell *trouble* for China in the future. (Times, 11 March)

The last cline concerns the "accessibility to intuition" (Bednarek 2006, 48). It focuses on the question of how far the native speakers can access emotive meanings. There are some "emotionally charged" (Löbner 2002, 34) terms which are easily recognizable by readers (e.g. *moron, love*), but there are also less easily identifiable emotive evaluations, including expressions like *assist* and *help* (Positive), *participate* (neutral) and *interfere* or *meddle* (Negative). It sometimes poses a problem because as Bednarek (2006, 48) observes, "subtle emotive meanings may not be captured in the analysis, precisely because they are not easily recognizable by the researcher."

As can be seen from the description of individual clines, it is quite problematic to work with the parameter of Emotivity. In my analysis, I followed Bednarek's approach, but even though I consulted my expressions with her analysis and various dictionaries, it was still really difficult to identify evaluative linguistic means. Sometimes I had to engage my own intuition and decide whether some expression can be considered as an evaluator

of Emotivity in a given context or not. There were many disputable cases which had to be resolved.

(5)   China´s powerful leader Xi Jingping will be allowed to remain a Chairman *Mao-style* "president for life" after a constitutional amendment was passed today. (Sun, 11 March)

(6)   Russia's then-president Dmitry Medvedev swapped Skripal for *spy-turned-model* Anna Chapman as part of a deal between Russia and the US. (Sun, 5 March)

In Example 5, Mao Zedong is described negatively in the article, as a dictator who was responsible for some 'bloody excesses' (Sun, 11 March) and that is why I decided to place the expression *Mao-style* to Emotivity: Negative. Example 6 offers a similar case. Anna Chapman and also other spies are described negatively in the text and because it suggested that the author is mocking the mentioned person, the expression *spy-turned-model* was also placed into the category Emotivity: Negative.

Negative sub-value is always more frequent than Positive sub-value (74.5 per cent in broadsheets, 67.2 per cent in tabloids). The examples from my corpus include *feral gang, forgotten man, ordeal* or *disaster*. It is connected with the news value of Negativity. Galtung and Ruge described twelve news values in 1965 and according to them, "bad news is more exciting than good news. . . . Bad news stories are more likely to be reported than good news because they are more likely to score high on other news values, such as threshold, unambiguity and meaningfulness" (Spencer-Thomas n.d.). Emotive expressions can be also considered to be persuasive and show the potential for the manipulation of the readership and also the potential for the reinforcement of already existing attitudes and prejudices in the society.

Overall, evaluators of Emotivity create 10.6 per cent of all evaluative expressions in my corpus. They are more frequent in tabloids with 12.4 per cent of all tabloid evaluations, while they create 8.9 per cent of all broadsheet evaluations. The stylistic variety is also higher in tabloids in this case.

My findings concerning the parameter of Emotivity thus agree with those of Monika Bednarek. Tabloids use more emotive expressions than broadsheets.

The reason she states is that "tabloids do not really aim for objectivity to the same extent, and want to attract their readers by explicitly appealing to a common value system" (Bednarek 2006, 76). Broadsheets, on the other hand, are more likely to try to be as objective as possible because this is what their readers usually expect.

5.4 Expectedness

As was mentioned before, the parameter of Expectedness evaluates the world according to the expectedness or unexpectedness of what happens. Overall this parameter creates 6.9 per cent of all evaluations in my corpus. The higher frequency appears in broadsheets with 7.2 per cent of all broadsheet evaluations, while it is only 6.7 per cent of all tabloid evaluations. It does not seem as a big difference, but when the individual sub-values are analysed, it shows important distinctions between broadsheets and tabloids.

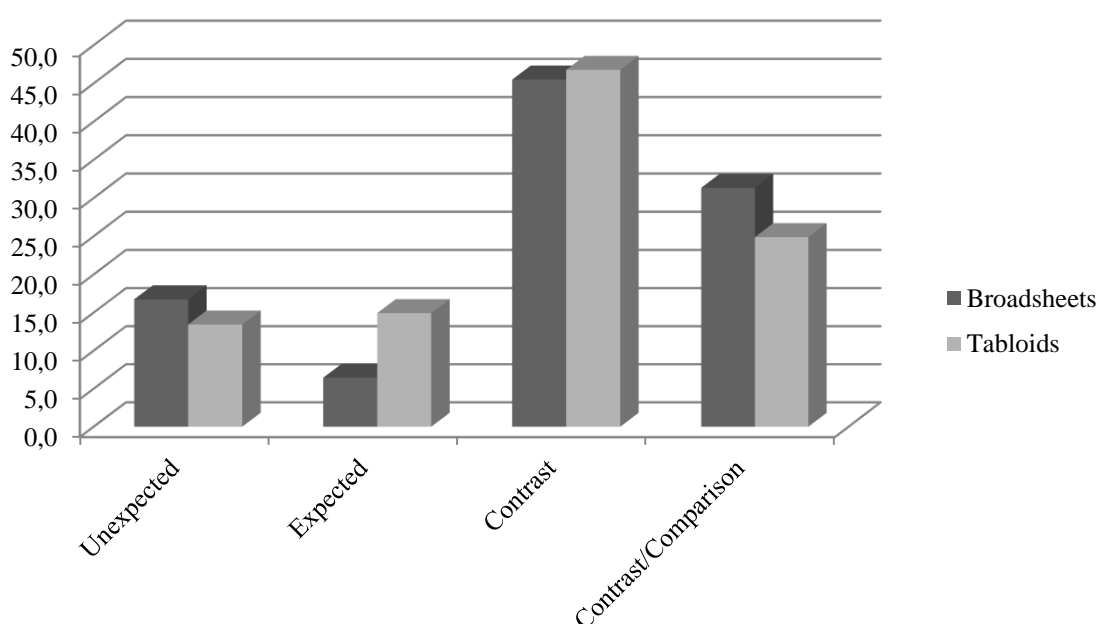**Table 6: Distribution of Sub-values of Expectedness**

From Table 6, it is apparent that broadsheets use more evaluators of sub-values Unexpected and Contrast/Comparison, while tabloids have a higher frequency of expressions which belong to sub-values Expected and Contrast. These sub-values will be subsequently described individually in more detail and also the information about their use in my corpus will be provided.

5.4.1 Unexpected

This sub-value contributes to the newsworthiness of the story. It is connected with shocking the audience and bringing them some information for which they could not be prepared. It often occurs in a context of positive or negative emotivity, showing something good or bad coming, as in the following examples:

(7)   Since taking office more than five years ago, Jinping has overseen a *radical shake-up* of the party, including taking down top leaders once thought untouchable as part of his popular war on deep-rooted corruption. (Sun, 11 March)

(8)   Donald Trump has *dramatically* agreed to meet Kim Jong-un face-to-face to discuss ending a nuclear stand-off as North Korea vowed to down its weapons. (Sun, 9 March)

However, it is neither exclusively connected with negative, nor with positive emotivity. Ortony (1988, 64) suggests that it could be associated with intensity because "unexpected positive things are evaluated more positively than expected ones, and unexpected negative things, more negatively than expected ones."

The sub-value of Unexpected creates 15.2 per cent of all evaluators of Expectedness. It is 16.7 per cent in broadsheets and 13.4 per cent in tabloids. Examples from my corpus include expressions such as *surprise, sudden, even, dramatic, abruptly, extraordinary* or *unprecedented*. The stylistic variety is higher in broadsheets (25 different expressions) than in tabloids (16 different expressions).

5.4.2 Expected

Expressions which belong to this sub-value are not as frequent as those of the previous category. They are used to describe something that can be predicted and the reader could see it coming earlier. That is probably why they are not so frequent, because it is not necessary to state something obvious and expected.

Overall, expressions of the Expected sub-value create 10.4 per cent of all evaluations of Expectedness. However, there is an important difference between broadsheets and tabloids. While in broadsheets, these expressions create only 6.5 per cent of all broadsheet evaluations od Expectedness, the frequency in

tabloids is much higher with 14.9 per cent of all tabloid evaluations of Expectedness. Another striking fact is that it is even higher than the frequency of expressions of Unexpected sub-value. The stylistic variety here is also higher in tabloids. This can suggest the tendency to keep their language and writing style simple for their readers and stating even the obvious and expected facts.

Examples in my corpus are evaluators like *predictable, typical, routine* or *anticipated*. These expressions can also be connected with evoking positive or negative emotivity, which can be seen in Example 9, where the evaluator *predictable* evokes negative emotivity to the reader:

(9)   The slide towards one-man rule under Xi has fuelled concerns that Beijing is eroding efforts to guard against autocratic leadership and make economic regulation more stable and *predictable*. (Sun, 11 March)

5.4.3 Contrast

This sub-value includes evaluators which express the fact that something goes against expectations, something changed unexpectedly or is different from what we predicted. It can represent a contrast to some given norm. It is also connected to the news value of Unexpectedness similarly to the sub-value Unexpected. Bednarek (2006, 85) claims that the function of evaluators of Contrast is "to express implicit, subtle evaluations."

The sub-value of Contrast creates 46.1 per cent of all evaluations of Expectedness. The distinction between tabloids and broadsheets is small (45.5 per cent in broadsheets and 46.8 per cent in tabloids). The majority of evaluators of Contrast are conjunctions and subordinates. Examples from my corpus include *but, while, even though, despite, however* or *nevertheless*. The most frequent evaluator is *but*, both in my corpus and in corpus of Monika Bednarek (2006, 90), who dedicates several pages of her book only to the analysis of various possibilities of its usage and states all its discourse functions.

Table 7 shows the distribution of most frequent evaluators of Contrast in broadsheets and tabloids. It shows the preference for using *but* in tabloids, while *however* is more frequently used in broadsheets than tabloids. Other expressions do not show any considerable differences. The stylistic

variety is again higher in broadsheets with 12 different evaluators (*but, although, while, despite, however, whether, rather, nevertheless, even though, though, unless, instead*) than in tabloids with only 6 different evaluators (*while, but, whether, despite, however, although*).
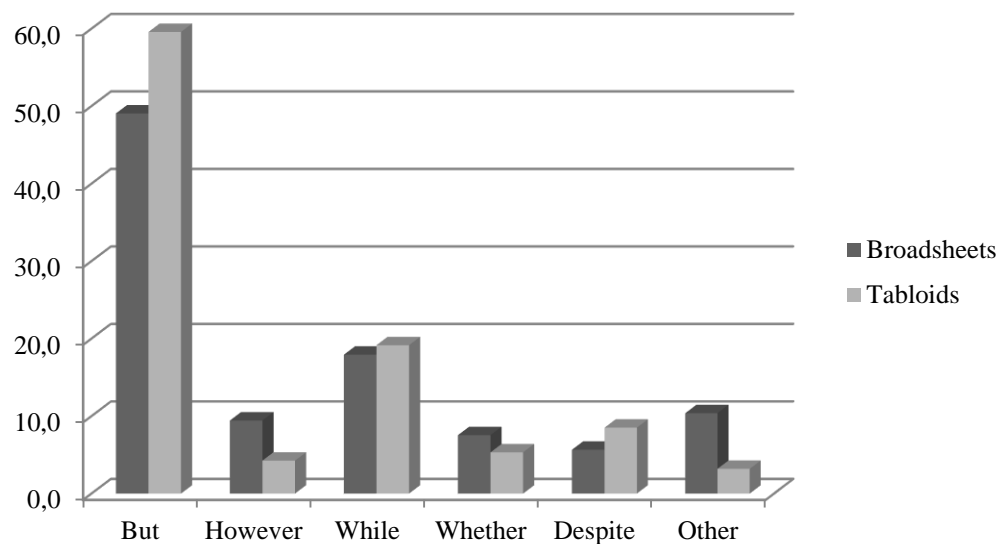
Table 7: Distribution of Individual Evaluative Words in Expectedness: Contrast

5.4.4 Contrast/Comparison

This sub-value includes mostly evaluators which express negation. Bednarek (2006, 49) claims that "negative statements are generally used to express something unusual, unexpected or unpredictable." Such expressions "contrast and compare propositions with what readers might want or expect to happen" (Bednarek 2006, 93). This category includes both expressions of overt negation using negative morphemes (e.g. *not, no, never*) but also expressions of covert negation (e.g. *hardly, only, just, without*), which "cannot be ascribed to a particular part of a word, but the word itself is negative in meaning" (Bednarek 2006, 91).

Similarly to Bednarek, I decided to exclude some expressions which could be incorporated in this sub-value, because I rather placed them in a more suitable category (e.g. *unable, inability, unprecedented*). In her book, Bednarek (2006, 92) mentions that her corpus included many examples of news actors refusing to comment on an event and many expressions included in Contrast/Comparison resulted from such situations. However, this was not an often case in my corpus.

Evaluators of Contrast/Comparison may trigger negative evaluation in a specific context which can be seen in Example 10:

(10) The newspaper quoted her father, Hatem Abdel Salam, saying that the family had received *no* support from the British authorities or police. (Guardian, 15 March)

This nevertheless depends crucially on the surrounding context and also on the opinion of readers. It has also the potential for making a statement of a particular news story more dramatic.

Expressions included in the sub-value Contrast/Comparison overall create 28.3 per cent of all evaluations of Expectedness. The frequency is higher in broadsheets where it is 31.3 per cent while in tabloids it is just 24.9 per cent. The greater stylistic variety can be seen in broadsheets again with 12 different evaluators (*no, only, just, all, no longer, sole, hardly, none, never, without, not, nothing*) while there are 9 different evaluators in tabloids (*no, without, just, alone, not, all, only, never, none*).

As far as the frequency of individual expressions is concerned, the most frequent evaluators are *no, not, only, just* and *never*. Their distribution in broadsheets and tabloids is shown in Table 8 below. It is apparent that while the combination of *no/not* is more frequent in broadsheets (and similar to that of *just/only*), tabloids prefer *just/only* over *no/not*.
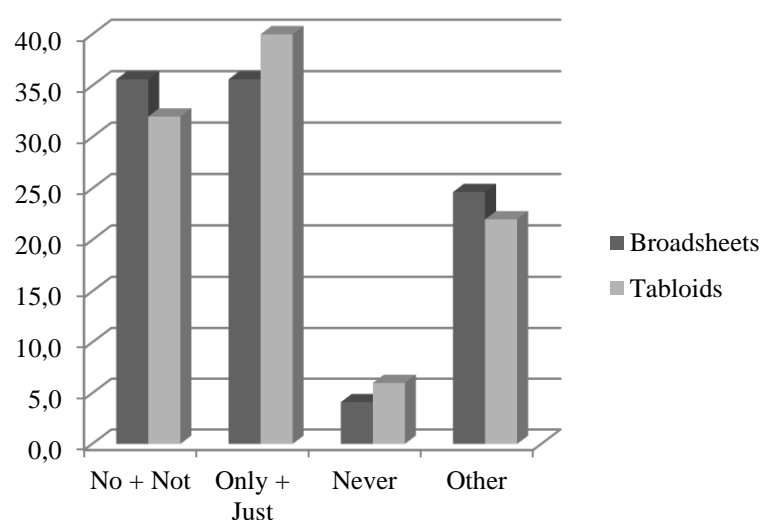

Table 8: Distribution of Indiviual Evaluative Words in Expectedness: Contrast/Comparison

5.5 Importance

The parameter of Importance evaluates various entities and events in the world as significant or not worth people's attention. Overall, it creates 10 per cent of all evaluations in my corpus. The frequency is much higher in tabloids (12.7 per cent) than in broadsheets (7.5 per cent).

Evaluations of the sub-value Unimportant are rare in my corpus, they are represented only by 4 different expressions (*neophyte, no significant, unnoticed, non-urgent*). On the other hand, evaluators of the sub-value Important are quite frequent in my corpus. According to Bednarek (2006, 103), those expressions contribute to news values of attribution, relevance and eliteness.

Expressions of the Important sub-value therefore often refer to the sources connected with some institutions or with a high prestige. Various experts in their fields and elite sources are often quoted or mentioned in the press (e.g. *senior, top, leading, star, oligarch*), because these sources seem to be reliable. There is also another category of words which lends reliability to propositions (e.g. *relevant, substantial*). Other expressions presented as Important point out to the general importance of something, also showing the relevance for the audience. This category includes expressions such as *landmark, historic, key, centre of global affairs* and many others.

The use of expressions of the Important sub-value can make the text more dramatic and also more appealing to the audience. That is probably why tabloids use it so much in their news stories, as can be seen in the following examples:

(11) Usually, *authority* begins to ebb from Chinese *leaders* as retirement nears. (Sun, 11 March)

(12) Tributes have poured in from *celebrities*, *politicians* and some of the *greatest minds* in modern science. (Sun, 14 March)

(13) A *champion* of the NHS, he commanded an audience with the *world's* most *powerful and influential figures*, including *royalty*, *presidents*, *popes* and *business tycoons*. (Daily Mirror, 14 March)

The stylistic variety is greater in tabloids (144 different expressions) than in broadsheets (104 different expressions). The most common evaluators are *leader* and *senior*.

5.6 Possibility/Necessity

By using evaluators of the parameter Possibility/Necessity the author expresses his opinion of either the possibility or necessity of the state of affairs. Overall, this parameter creates 3.9 per cent of all evaluations in my corpus. The frequency is higher in broadsheets with 4.5 per cent of all broadsheet evaluations, while it is only 3.2 per cent of all tabloid evaluations.

Expressions which belong to the parameter of Possibility/Necessity can be used to make predictions about future events which could possibly happen. It may also trigged emphasis, express writer's criticism or sympathy or even evoke positive or negative emotivity (Bednarek 2006, 109). This can be seen in examples below, where evaluators of the sub-value Possible trigger negative emotivity:

(14) He added it was *possible* the party had orchestrated the opposition to give the decision an appearance of democracy. (Times, 11 March)

(15) The development comes as the North has made some diplomatic moves in a *possible* attempt to thaw the acrimonious relations between both the South and the US. (Sun, 9 March)

Table 9 shows the distribution of individual sub-values of the Possibility/Necessity parameter. There are some apparent differences between broadsheets and tabloids. In both cases the Possible sub-value has the highest rate of occurrence. While broadsheets also show a large amount of expressions of the Necessary sub-value, tabloids dominate in the two remaining categories.
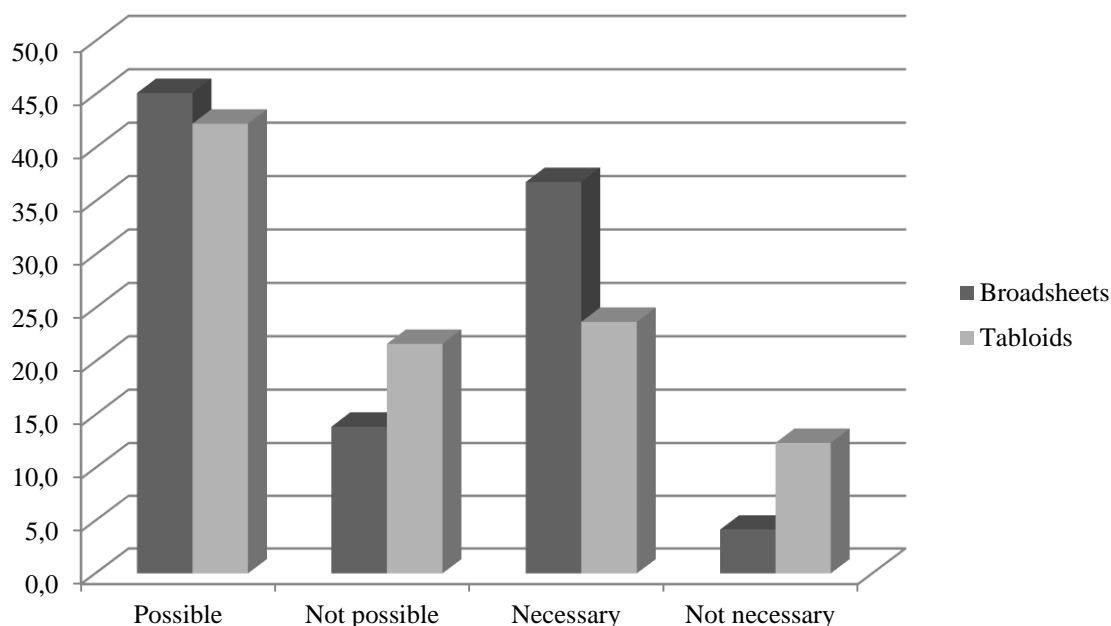
Table 9: Distribution of Sub-values of Possibility/Necessity

Although the number of expressions of Possibility/Necessity parameter is higher in broadsheets, the stylistic variety is similar. The most frequent expressions in this category are *possible* and *necessary*. The overall usage of evaluators of Possibility/Necessity is quite small. Bednarek (2006, 110) justifies it by saying that "even the tabloids seem to shy away from the use of modality in news stories. Apparently, its usage is simply not regarded as part of the genre of news story by journalists, and is restricted to other genres such as commentaries."

5.7 Reliability

The parameter of Reliability can be divided into two different groups based on whether they are evaluations of propositions (Low, Median and High sub-values) or evaluations of entities (Genuine and Fake sub-values). On the whole, evaluations of Reliability create 4.1 per cent of all evaluations in my corpus. The number of occurrences in broadsheets is much higher with 5 per cent of all broadsheets evaluations, while it represents only 3.3 per cent of all tabloid evaluations.

The first group with Low, Median and High sub-values is used to comment on the reliability of speakers and their propositions. Evaluating Sayers as reliable can also signal writer's approval while evaluating him

as unreliable can signal writer's disapproval. It is also associated with a lot of predictions (e.g. *likely to, potential*) made by journalists in their news stories. These predictions should be based on evidence and information journalists found but it is often not possible to verify such statements because the source is not mentioned.

It can also potentially evoke positive or negative emotivity, but a wider context must always be taken into consideration. Example 16 shows the evaluator *potential* evoking negative emotivity:

> (16) Although Hicks maintained an unusually low profile over the past three years, she recently attracted more scrutiny in her role, as special counsel Robert Mueller escalated his investigation into *potential* collusion between the Trump campaign and Moscow. (Guardian, 1 March)

As far as the second group with Genuine and Fake sub-values is concerned, evaluators suggesting Genuine and Fake Reliability also often evoke emotivity. What is described as genuine seems to be good while what is described as fake seems to be bad. It appears that only these connections are possible. But it does not have to necessarily evoke emotivity; it can only refer to the genuineness of something involved in the news story.

There are not many examples of Genuine and Fake sub-values of Reliability in my corpus. In fact, only 3 examples of Fake (*false, had orchestrated, fake news*) and 2 examples of Genuine (*true, real*) can be found there. On the other hand, the sub-values of Low, Median and High are quite frequent. The comparison of these two different groups which belong to the parameter of Reliability can be seen in Table 10 below:
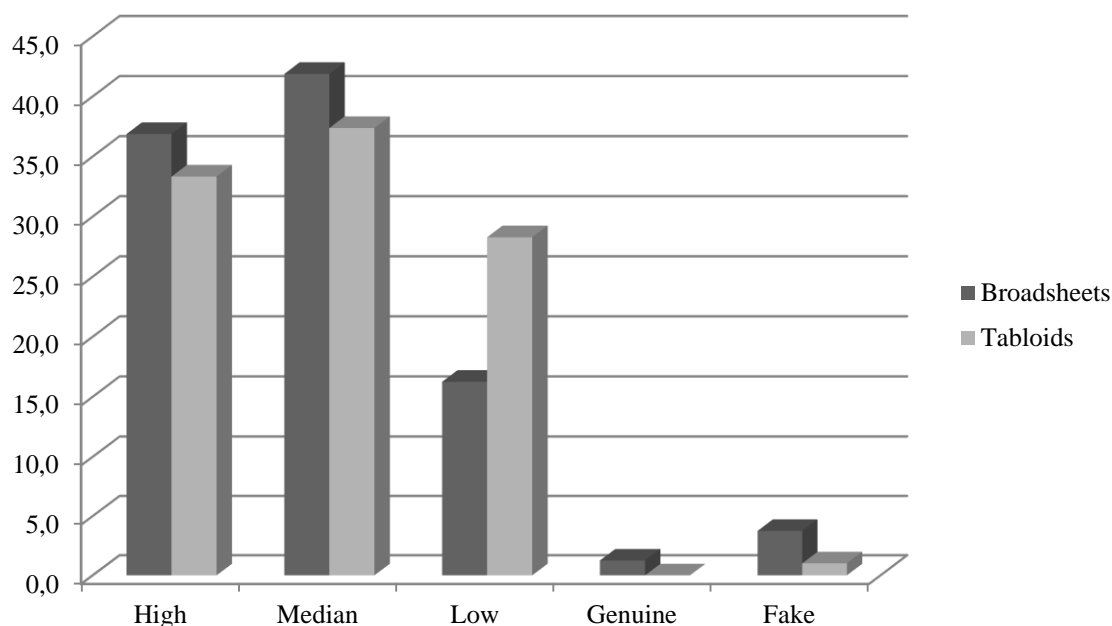
Table 10: Distribution of Sub-values of Reliability

As Table 10 shows, the preference of different evaluators for both broadsheets and tabloids goes Median > High > Low. This is quite different from Bednarek's results (2006, 116) where the preference was for High > Low > Median. While the number of occurrences of Low sub-value is considerably higher in tabloids, the degree of occurrence of High and Median sub-values is slightly higher in broadsheets. The stylistic variety is also greater in broadsheets with 22 different expressions, whereas tabloids contain only 9 different expressions. The most frequent evaluators are *will* (20.6 per cent in broadsheets and 18.2 per cent in tabloids) and *would* (30 per cent in broadsheets and 36.4 per cent in tabloids).

5.8 Evidentiality

Evidentiality is a peripheral evaluative parameter which is often combined with other parameters. Its individual sub-values create many important combinations but they do not occur alone. Bednarek, however, counts quotations as part of Evidentiality: Hearsay. She justifies this decision by the fact that "direct quotes may additionally be used to dramatize and highlight important elements in a narrative" (Bednarek 2006, 126).

Quotations are indeed very important for news stories. They give the article higher reliability and the writer is not responsible for what is said

in this part of his text. Therefore, he can publish even something largely shocking or emotive in the words of someone else. Bednarek connected the use of quotations with news values of Facticity and also with Personalization (Bednarek 2006, 126).

However, I disagree with counting quotations together with expressions of evaluative language. As was mentioned before, by using quotations the journalist simply states what someone else said and he does not add any evaluation to it. He should just directly transcribe what was said and not change anything. Sometimes quotations offer shocking and emotive words and that certainly adds to the attractiveness for the audience. The journalist can also choose quotations that are more interesting than others, but I would still not count them together with evaluative expressions. Quotations are rather considered to be the established tool used by journalists to be more objective and to contribute to the balance in news stories (McQuail 2010).

I counted quotations in my corpus independently of the expressions of evaluative language. They create 28.9 per cent of the whole corpus. Their frequency in broadsheets (29.3 per cent) and tabloids (28.5 per cent) is similar. Other evaluators of Evidentiality were counted only in connection with other parameters.

5.9   Mental State

The parameter of Mental State is created by seven different sub-values, but not all of them are equally significant and frequent in my corpus. It is important to mention here that evaluators which belong to this category do not concern attribution. Mental State, of course, can be connected with attribution, but such expressions then belong to the combination of Mental State and Evidentiality, which will be mentioned later.

Evaluators of Mental State create altogether 3.6 per cent of all evaluations in my corpus. The frequency is surprisingly higher in broadsheets (3.9 per cent of all broadsheet evaluations) than in tabloids (3.2 per cent of all tabloid evaluations). From the seven sub-values, Emotion, State-of-Mind and (Non)Volition seems to be the most frequent.

Emotion includes both expressions connected with positive, pleasant emotions (e.g. *happy, gratitude, pleased, rejoiced*) and also expressions connected with negative, unpleasant emotions (e.g. *fear, misery, desperation, concern, upset, frustrated, angry*). Negative emotions are more frequently used in news stories because of their connection with news values of Negativity and Personalization. Evaluators of the sub-value of Emotion often tend to appear in headlines, which can be seen in the following examples of several headlines taken from the analysed articles:

(17) Family releases harrowing footage of *terrified* Egyptian student being attacked by girl gang in Nottingham before she was left in a deadly coma. (Sun, 15 March)

(18) Saudi Prince meets PM and Queen on historic London visit - but not everyone is *happy* to see him (Daily Mirror, 7 March)

(19) Saudi prince Mohammed bin Salman can expect *angry* protest mob at Downing Street (Times, 7 March)

The expressions of Emotion have several functions in journalistic texts. They are used to attract the interest of the audience, appealing to people's interest in emotions of someone else (also connected with the news value of Personalization). It also tends to trigger emotional response in readers and positive or negative evaluations. Ungerer (1997, 309, 319) claims that "described emotions may invoke either related emotional reactions (e.g. fury, anger, etc.) or the opposite reaction (pity)." These expressions also have the persuasive potential.

Although (Non)Volition contains two different sub-groups, there is only one example of Volition in my corpus (*deliberately*). Evaluations of Non-Volition are much more frequent, similarly to Bednarek's analysis. She (2006, 175) distinguishes two types of Non-Volition including "unwilling acting" and "refused acting." Unwilling acting means that news actors have to do something which is against their will, but they still do it (e.g. *forced to, compelled, to impose*). These expressions evoke negativity of the act and they can also trigger the negative evaluation of the enforcers. Refused acting means that news actors refuse to do something and they really do not do it (e.g. *reluctance, refused,*

refusal). It has also a potential to trigger negative evaluations but there is no automatic correlation between expressing refusal and negative evaluation of something.

The sub-value of State-of-Mind includes various expressions which describe the current state of mind of some news actors. However, as Monika Bednarek (2006, 56) points out, "the category of state-of-mind is a bit of a catch-all" and that '"the boundaries between emotions and states-of-mind are far from clear" (Bednarek 2006, 56). It is thus sometimes quite difficult to distinguish between these two sub-values and some of the examples can be questionable. This sub-value includes different states of mind, which can be positive (e.g. *peacefully, ambitious, understanding*), neutral (e.g. *ready, convinced, undecided*) or negative (e.g. *impulsive, mad, hostility*).

Table 11 shows the distribution of the most frequent sub-values of Mental State. There is a considerable difference in usage between broadsheets and tabloids. While Emotion is the dominant sub-value in tabloids, State-of-Mind appears very often in broadsheets.
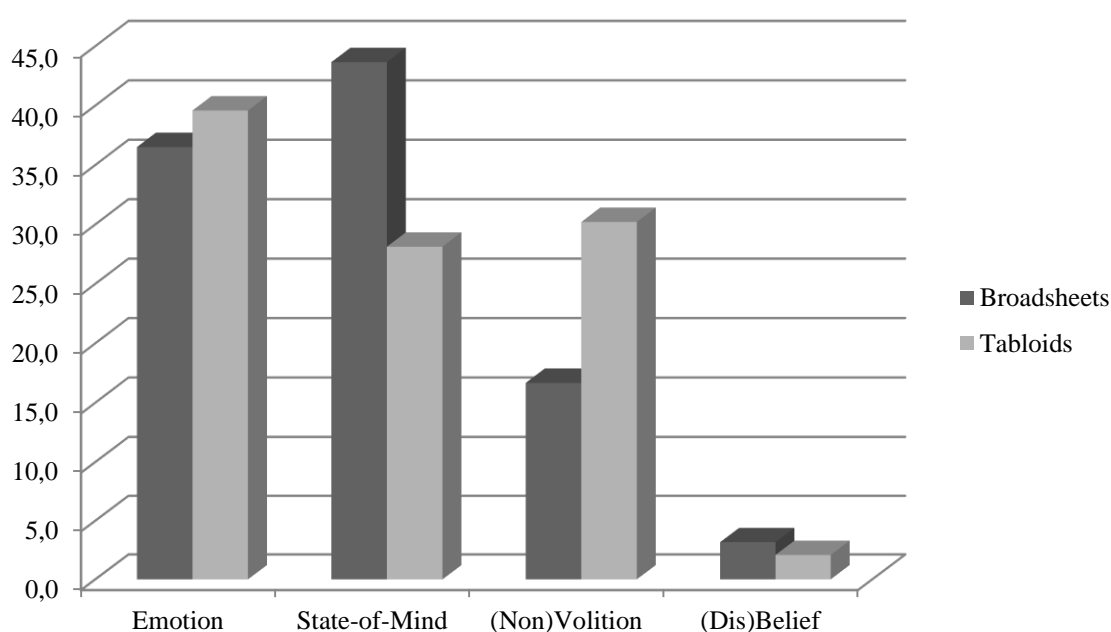

Table 11: Distribution of Sub-values of Mental State

The preference of individual sub-values in broadsheets is State-of-Mind > Emotion > (Non)Volition > (Dis)Belief, while tabloids prefer the order of Emotion > (Non)Volition > State-of-Mind > (Dis)Belief. I expected

that the sub-value of Emotion will play a crucial role in tabloids, but it is also very prominent in broadsheets. However, both of them show a preference for expressing negative emotions.

5.10 Style + Evidentiality

As was mentioned before, the parameter of Style never occurs by itself but only in combination with Evidentiality: Hearsay. This combination appears whenever attributing expressions are used in news stories and the used expressions can show journalist's comment on the chosen utterance.

The combination of Style and Evidentiality has five different sub-values including Neutral, Illocutionary, Declarative, Discourse signalling and Paralinguistic. Evaluators of the Neutral sub-value are very frequent. They mark the proposition as attributed to a person, but they do not offer any writer's opinion towards this proposition. They only signal the act of writing or saying. It is therefore questionable whether such expressions should be counted together with other evaluations. Examples from my corpus include expressions like *say, tell, write, announce, tweeted*.

Discourse signalling sub-value also comprises of neutral expressions, but they additionally signal the development of discourse. These evaluators are not as frequent as Neutral expressions, in fact, they create only a minority of the Style parameter. There are not many examples in my corpus, this sub-value includes expressions like *added, continued, concluded*.

The least frequent sub-value of Style is Paralinguistic. Evaluators of this category are used to indicate prosodic aspects of the utterance and they may also illustrate the emotional state of the speaker (Bednarek 2006, 58). Examples from my corpus are *shouted, chanted* or *stormed*.

Declarative expressions reflect the connection of individual attributions with people holding special positions or with institutional power. They describe linguistic acts that are typical for some cultural-institutional setting. There are constrains as who can be the Sayer of those propositions (Bednarek 2006, 57–58). While Illocutionary expressions can be pronounced by anyone, it is not the case here. Evaluators of Declarative sub-value also show some social importance.

Examples include expressions such as *was baptised, was knighted, was convicted, was honoured*.

The last sub-value is called Illocutionary and it comprises of evaluators which are "highly interpretive" (Bednarek 2006, 136). They name the speech situation and also show the speaker's purpose in using them. They may say something about the target of illocutionary force (e.g. *accuse, blame, approve*), which can be seen in Example 20, or undesirability of something that is about to happen (e.g. *warn, threaten, vow*), which can be seen in Example 21:

(20) According to one recent count, since taking power in 2012 Xi has used an anti-corruption campaign to bring down a succession of heavyweight rivals including more than 100 generals and admirals and six top party figures who *were accused* of plotting a coup. (Guardian, 11 March)

(21) Fuming MPs *warned* against letting him back in - at the risk of making the party seem soft on anti-Semitism. (Sun, 2 March)

Overall, the combination of Style and Evidentiality creates 29.9 per cent of all evaluations in my corpus. It is slightly higher in broadsheets with 31.5 per cent than in tabloids with 28.1 per cent. These high numbers reflect the fact that news stories are based on embedded talk.

The distribution of individual sub-values can be seen in Table 12 below. Although we could expect quite big differences in the use of these sub-values in tabloids and broadsheets, it is not so distinct. The only considerable difference is in the higher use of Declarative expressions in tabloids. Otherwise, both kinds of online newspapers are dominated by Neutral and Illocutionary evaluators and both of them contain only a small number of Discourse signalling and Paralinguistic expressions.
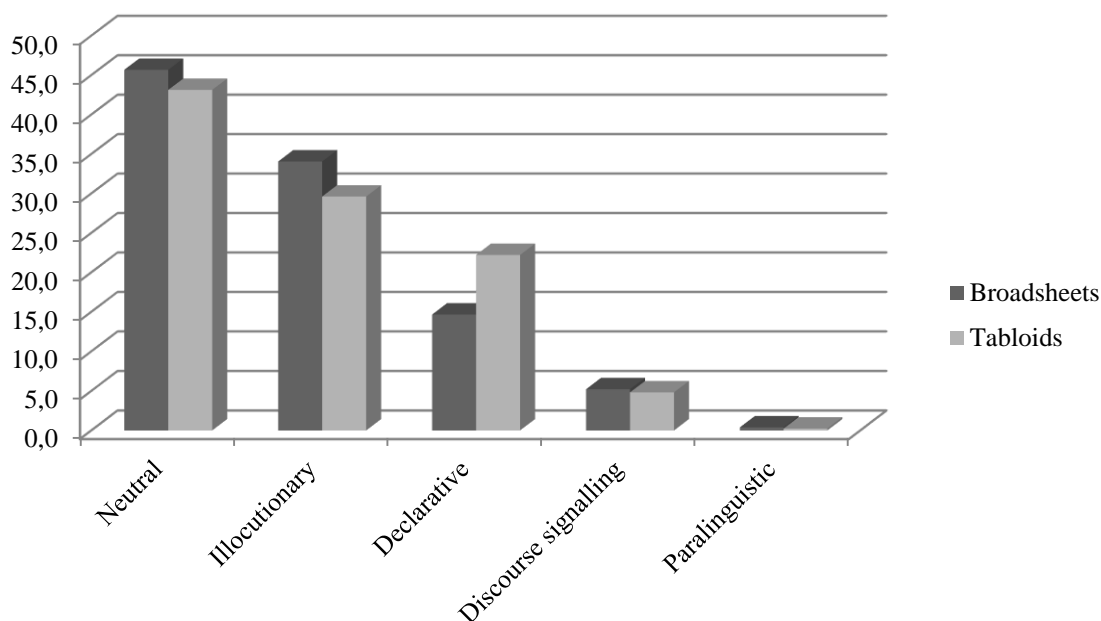
Table 12: Distribution of Sub-values of Style

It is apparent that journalists use a large amount of Illocutionary evaluators. Some of them may trigger positive or negative evaluations and people might argue that these evaluators express strongly the newspaper's opinion. But using only Neutral expressions would mean that articles would be monotonous and that is exactly what journalists try to avoid. The repetition of only *say, tell* or *write* would also be boring for the consumers of news stories. And because the audience and the money coming from their attention is very important, newspapers have to write mostly what their readers want. As Geis (1987, 93) says, "given that news business is a business, it would hardly be surprising were journalists not to try to make their reports as interesting as possible." Sometimes the news story would not be accurate without using a specific Illocutionary expression.

5.11 Intensity

I established the new parameter of Intensity regardless of Monika Bednarek's claims (2006, 44) that it is only a modulator of other evaluative parameters. In my view, Intensity expressions are very important in news stories. They can be used for dramatization or emphasis and they are also connected with the news value of Superlativeness which says that "the bigger, the faster, the more destructive, the more violent, the more X the better" (Bednarek 2006, 17).

This justifies why the High sub-value is the most frequent, which can be seen in Table 13 below.
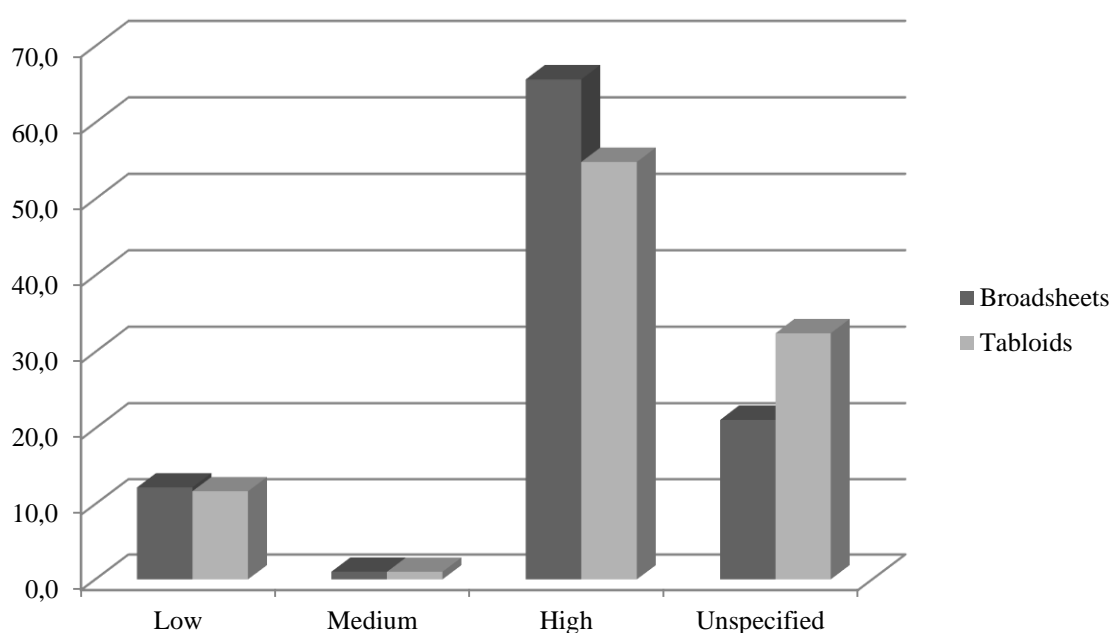
Table 13: Distribution of Sub-values of Intensity

The High sub-value dominates both in broadsheets (65.6 per cent of all broadsheet evaluations of Intensity) and tabloids (54.8 per cent of all tabloid evaluations of Intensity). While the frequency of Low and Medium sub-values is similarly low in both kinds of newspaper, the Unspecified sub-value shows some difference. There are considerably more occurrences of this sub-value in tabloids (creating 32.4 per cent of all tabloid evaluations of Intensity) than in broadsheets (creating 21.1 per cent of all broadsheets valuations of Intensity).

Overall, Intensity is a very important parameter. It creates 11.1 per cent of all evaluations in my corpus. It can be also observed that it is even more prominent in broadsheets (12.2 per cent) than in tabloids (9.9 per cent). The Low sub-value is represented by expressions like *small, less, shortly, short-lived, a few, little*. There are only 3 different expressions of the Medium sub-value (*halfway mark, half, half-way*). The High sub-value contains evaluators like *the highest, thousands, extremely, most, hundreds, more than*. The Unspecified sub-value includes for example *some, quite a lot, indefinitely, further, almost*.

5.12 Combinations of Individual Parameters

In this section, I will discuss the possible combinations of parameters which were mentioned earlier and I will also provide examples which can be found in my corpus. Monika Bednarek established a set of these combinations, but in my analysis not all of them are as prominent as in her work and some of them even do not appear at all. Therefore, I will comment on their usage and function and explain which of them are incorporated in my analysis and which of them are left out.

5.12.1 Comprehensibility + Reliability

When the writer uses the combination of Comprehensibility and Reliability, there are two different possibilities of what he wants to express. He either marks the expression as both Comprehensible and with High Reliability or as Incomprehensible with Low Reliability.

In my corpus, this combination is not very prominent. On the whole, evaluations of Comprehensibility + Reliability represents only 0.06 per cent of all evaluations in the corpus. I identified only 4 expressions which belong to this category including the words *misleading, clearly, exact* and *exactly*. All of them appear once and only in broadsheets. However, there are not enough occurrences to make any generalizations about their distribution in the two sub-corpora and their function.

5.12.2 Emotivity + Importance

The combination of parameters of Emotivity and Importance includes expressions which suggest that something can be evaluated both as Positive/Negative and Important/Unimportant. In my analysis, I found only evaluators which belong either to the group of Important + Positive expressions or to the group of Important + Negative expressions. They describe something that is very influential with positive or negative features or effects. Other connections do not appear in my corpus. It is probably because such expressions are not very newsworthy.

There is a predominance of the connection of Important + Negative; it creates 52 per cent of all evaluators of the Emotivity + Importance combination.

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Expressions which belong to this category can classify negative events and express their different intensity (e.g. *scandal, critical, disaster, crisis, chaos*). The connection of Important + Positive creates 48 per cent of this combination's expressions. It includes mostly evaluators celebrating important personalities and their deeds (e.g. *global fame, legend, marvel, smash hit*).

The combination of parameters of Emotivity and Importance overall creates 2.6 per cent of all evaluators in my corpus. The frequency is a lot higher in tabloids with 3.5 per cent than in broadsheets with 1.7 per cent. These expressions contribute to the dramatization of news stories and also to their newsworthiness.

5.12.3 Expectedness + Emotivity

Monika Bednarek identifies several evaluators which express both Expectedness and Emotivity. They usually evaluate things as both Unexpected and Negative and they are thus connected with news values of Negativity and Unexpectedness. Such expressions often describe a sudden change for the worse or something unexpected which turned out to be unpleasant. However, there can be also evaluators of different connections of sub-values.

No occurrences were recorded in broadsheets and only one expression appeared in tabloids (*was written in the stars*, Expected + Positive) in my corpus. It is thus not a representative sample and it is not possible to make any general conclusions about this combination of parameters.

5.12.4 Reliability + Emotivity

The combination of parameters of Reliability and Emotivity is also negligible in my analysis. There are only 3 evaluators which can be included in this category (*white lies, to highlight, valid*). All these examples appear in broadsheets, but they are not frequent enough to make generalizations or a hypothesis about the stylistic variety in broadsheets and tabloids.

5.12.5 Evidentiality + Reliability

The combination of parameters of Evidentiality and Reliability is quite comprehensive. There is a correlation between the chosen type of evidence and its certainty and reliability. With evidentials "speakers may indicate that they

do not take full responsibility for the truth of their statements" (Bednarek 2006, 127). There are various possible combinations of sub-values which occur quite often in the press.

The connection of sub-values of Unspecified and High Reliability contains expressions which can be used to show that there is some kind of evidence, but this evidence is not mentioned explicitly in the text. These evaluators express a high degree of Reliability that the proposition is true. Examples include expressions like *emerge, it means* or *meaning*.

The combination of Proof and High Reliability sub-values includes expressions stating that there is some proof which enables the reader to consider the proposition to be true. Such proposition is thus connected with High Reliability. This combination includes expressions such as *evidence, found, was discovered*.

The opposite situation appears when the sub-values of Lack of Proof and Low Reliability are combined. When journalists are lacking proof for some statement and they admit this fact, their claims are not very reliable. It has much lower frequency than expressions of the previous category. There is only one example in my corpus (*no evidence*).

Expressions describing sensory evidence are usually evaluated as Reliable. They are included in the combination of Perception and High Reliability sub-values. Bednarek (2006, 131) claims that such evaluators can be used "as mitigation devices, modulating the assertive force of utterances in order to avoid making absolute statements." They can also comment on mental state of the Senser and "by mentioning sensory evidence for the existence of the respective mental state in Sensor's mind, the newspapers justify their report of them" (Bednarek 2006, 132). There are examples like *see, have spotted* and *hearing* in my corpus.

The sub-value of Perception can be also connected with Median Reliability sub-value, where the Reliability of the proposition is not evaluated as High but as Median. Examples including *appear, seem, apparently* belong to this category. They are also usually connected with evaluating mental states.

Bednarek mentions the combination of General Knowledge and High Reliability sub-values, but it does not appear in my corpus and therefore I will not describe it in more detail.

Overall, the combination of Evidentiality and Reliability creates 4.5 per cent of all evaluators in my corpus. It is higher in tabloids with 4.7 per cent of all tabloid evaluations than in broadsheets with 4.3 per cent of all broadsheet evaluations. Table 14 shows the distribution of individual combinations of sub-values in Reliability and Evidentiality parameters.
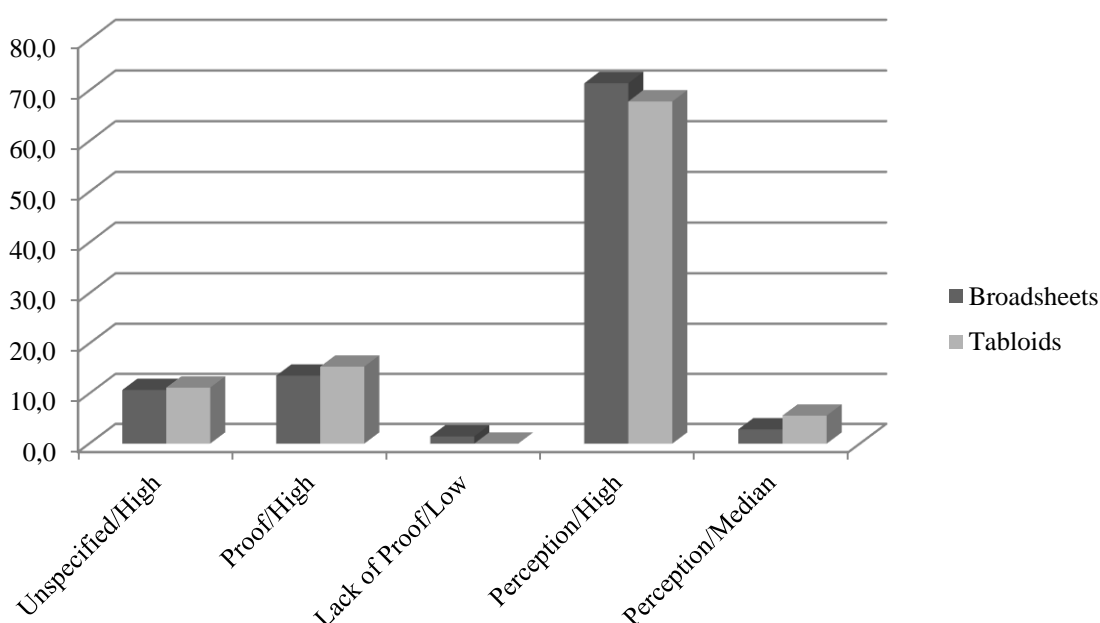
Table 14: Distribution of Sub-values of Evidentiality + Reliability

It is apparent that the combination of Perception and High Reliability is the most prominent both in broadsheets and tabloids. There are not as striking differences as in analysis presented by Bednarek. The order of frequencies of individual combinations is the same in both sub-corpora: Perception/High > Proof/High > Unspecified/High > Perception/Median > Lack of Proof/Low.

5.12.6 Evidentiality + Style + Comprehensibility

Some attributing expressions are used also in connection with the parameter of Comprehensibility. Those evaluators "may imply a stronger certainty on the part of the speaker that the event referred to in the attributed proposition will take place" (Bednarek 2006, 142).

It includes expressions such as *explain, hinted, explore, were unearthed, become clear*. One of the most frequent evaluators in this combination is *explain*. According to Bednarek (2006, 143), "it evaluates something as necessitating and explanation." Something that needs to be explained can be seen as Incomprehensible at the beginning, but by the very fact of explaining, it is made Comprehensible.

The combination of Evidentiality, Style and Comprehensibility altogether creates only 0.6 per cent of all evaluations in my corpus. It is higher in tabloids with 0.8 per cent of all tabloid evaluations. In broadsheets, it is only 0.3 per centof all broadsheet evaluations. The stylistic variety is slightly higher in tabloids (5 different expressions— *were unearthed, explained, had been misinterpreted, to pin down, become clear*) than in broadsheets (4 different expressions— *explained, hint, explanation, explored*). It could suggest that journalists in tabloids want to make things as plain and easy as possible for their readers and therefore use expressions like *explain* more often.

5.12.7 Evidentiality + Style + Emotivity

This category connects attributing expressions and Positive or Negative Emotivity. Expressions which belong to the combination of Evidentiality, Style and Emotivity name illocutionary acts and additionally provide evaluations of the Sayer and the proposition. It can be also seen as newspapers expressing their stance towards actors in various news.

This category contains expressions like *trading insults, was verbally assaulted, swaying, to eulogise, misrepresented* or *lied*. Overall, it creates 2.1 per cent of all evaluations in my corpus. Tabloids have slightly higher number of occurrences (2.4 per cent of all tabloid evaluations) than broadsheets (1.9 per cent of all broadsheet evaluations). This could mean that broadsheets try more to preserve the seemingly objective status, while tabloids use the parameter of Emotivity and all of its combinations quite often.

5.12.8 Evidentiality + Style + Reliability

The combination of parameters of Evidentiality, Style and Reliability includes attributive expressions which also contain the evaluation of the reliability

of propositions. It is a device used to express the newspaper's evaluations of news actors. Some expressions imply writer's doubt about the reliability of propositions (e.g. *claim, allegations, suspicion, reportedly, rumours, speculation*) and other expressions may imply writer's belief to the truth of proposition and its reliability (e.g. *revealed, confirm, according to, proving to be, evidently*).

Sometimes the expressions as *alleged, reportedly* or *apparently* are used as a protection against possible accusations of libel. Journalists use such expressions to avoid responsibility for what they write. They do not have to mention the source, which can be seen in examples below:

(22) Disgraced Ken Livingstone has been kicked out of the Labour party "indefinitely" after his *alleged* anti-Semitic slurs. (Sun, 2 March)

(23) As an ex-Russian spy who became an MI6 secret agent has been left fighting for his life in hospital after *reportedly* being poisoned. (Sun, 5 March)

(24) The marriage lasted 11 years, during which Cambridgeshire police investigated a series of *alleged* assaults on Hawking. (Guardian, 14 March)

Some evaluators of this category can also enhance the newsworthiness of propositions (e.g. *reveal, unearthed*). It implies that they bring some new, interesting and reliable information which was not expected by the reader.

The combination of Evidentiality, Style and Reliability creates 2.6 per cent of all evaluations in my corpus (2.8 per cent in broadsheets, 2.3 per cent in tabloids). There is a difference between the distribution of evaluators expressing High Reliability and evaluators expressing Low Reliability, which can be seen in Table 15. From all the evaluators of this combination, 41.1 per cent express High Reliability, while 58.9 per cent express Low Reliability.
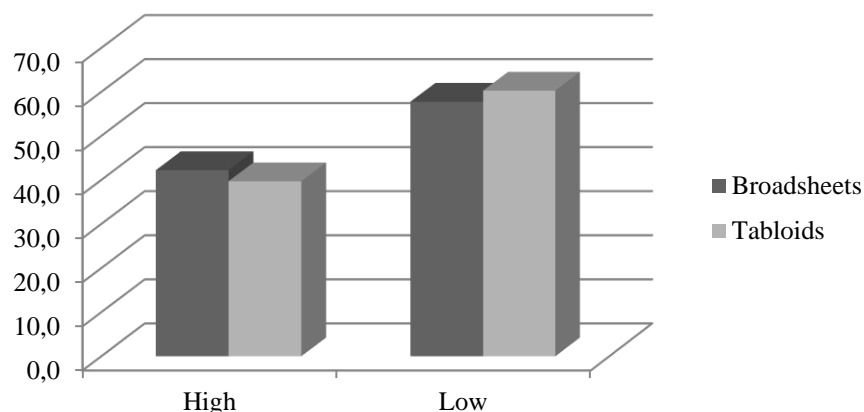
Table 15: Distribution of Sub-values of High/Low Reliability in Evidentiality + Style + Reliability

As can be seen in Table 15, both in broadsheets and tabloids, evaluators of the combination of Evidentiality, Style and Reliability parameters express predominantly Low Reliability. It differs from the results of Monika Bednarek, where expressions of High Reliability were dominant in tabloids (Bednarek 2006, 149). The stylistic variety is greater in broadsheets (20 different expressions) than in tabloids (17 different expressions).

5.12.9 Evidentiality + Style + Emotivity + Reliability

This category is the only combination of four parameters identified by Monika Bednarek in her analysis. It includes expressions like *admit, acknowledge* or *concede*. All of these expressions seem to be somehow connected with negative emotivity, but it highly depends on the context (what a given person admits, acknowledges or concedes). Some reluctance on the part of the Sayer can be visible in Example 25 below:

> (25) Hope Hicks *admitted* her job sometimes requires telling "white lies" for her boss as she was questioned during private testimony before the House Intelligence Committee (Daily Mirror, 1 March)

Bednarek (2006, 152) claims that "the evaluators in this combination are thus apparently used to introduce (and evaluate) attributed propositions that themselves contain evaluations on the part of the Sayer (rather than the reporter)."

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Overall, this combination of four parameters creates only 0.2 per cent in my corpus. There is the same amount of different expressions in broadsheets and tabloids. However, this combination is not very important and frequent enough in my corpus to make any generalizations about its use.

5.12.10 Evidentiality + Mental State

As was mentioned before, evaluators which belong to the parameter of Mental State are not attributing, while this combination with Evidentiality focuses particularly on the use of attributing expressions which refer to mental activity of news actors. Expressions of perception are excluded in this category. However, it is questionable how far the journalist can be sure of the genuineness of his statements about the mental state of news actors, because "only a speaker is a competent judge of such an event; the hearer cannot verify it" (Hill 1958, 207).

Evaluators which belong to this category can potentially trigger emotions, evoke evaluation or distance the writer from the attributed proposition (Bednarek 2006, 155). Several individual categories of Mental State appear in combination with Evidentiality: Mindsay. The most frequent ones are (Dis)Belief, Emotion and Volition.

Examples of evaluators connected with the sub-value of (Dis)Belief are *did not believe, thought, believing, notice*. Evaluators of Emotion appear quite often in headlines and in other prominent positions in the text. They can also trigger positive or negative evaluation. Examples of these expressions are *hope, fascinated* or *inspired*. Evaluators of Volition express wishes and intentions of people, they include expressions like *had dreamed of, aimed at, focus, intended, had planned to*.

The combination of parameters of Evidentiality and Mental State is quite frequent, it creates 3.7 per cent of all evaluations in my corpus. Their distribution is similar in broadsheets (3.9 per cent) and in tabloids (3.4 per cent).

5.12.11 Evidentiality + Mental State + Reliability

This category is represented by a combination of three parameters including Evidentiality, Mental State and Reliability. It includes expressions presupposing the truth of the attributed proposition and also commenting on the mental state

of the news actor. Examples of such evaluators can be *discover, had been widely assumed* or *was said to be*. Unlike some other combinations, this category includes also passivization and thus attributing propositions to unknown Sensers (e.g. *believed to, understood to*). It does not state explicitly who are the people believing to something or understanding something. Such expressions may thus evoke lower reliability, but newspapers use them quite often because they do not want to be responsible for some statements. By using these evaluators, journalists can make statements which cannot be verified by their readership.

Bednarek (2006, 166) also claims that "such expressions mitigate the information in the attributed proposition and make the statement less assertive." Mitigated reports also enable bias. However, they do not have to always trigger positive or negative evaluation, but the mitigated proposition "may simply be one for which there is not enough evidence" (Bednarek 2006, 167).

On the whole, expressions which belong to the combination of Evidentiality, Mental State and Reliability parameters create 2.1 per cent of all evaluations in my corpus. It is slightly higher in broadsheets with 2.6 per cent of all broadsheet evaluations, while it is only 1.7 per cent of all tabloid evaluations.

5.12.12   Reliability + Style

This combination focuses on certain kinds of hedges, which are "metalinguistic devices that comment on the word-to-world fit of language" (Bednarek 2006, 180). These hedges can function as evaluations of the combination of Reliability and Style. However, there are no occurrences in my corpus and it is therefore impossible to make any conclusions about their use.

5.12.13   Reliability + Style + Evidentiality

This category is created by the combination of three different parameters, namely Reliability, Style and Evidentiality. It includes a different type of hedges than the previous combination. Monika Bednarek (2006, 182) calls them "hearsay hedges" because they are "expressing writer commitment towards lexical items" (Bednarek 2006, 182).

Examples from my corpus include *what X described* and *so-called*. These expressions can be used to express the distance, scepticism or disapproval

and they often indicate the detachment. Journalists use them also to deny the responsibility for the proposition.

Overall, this combination creates only 0.3 per cent of all evaluations in my corpus. They appear more frequently in broadsheets (0.5 per cent of all broadsheets evaluations) than in tabloids (0.1 per cent of all tabloid evaluations).

5.12.14   Other Combinations

Monika Bednarek mentions also additional combinations of individual evaluative parameters. It is for example the connection of Expectedness and Importance, the combination of Mental State and Comprehensibility, Reliability connected with Importance or the combination of Reliability, Mental State and Emotivity. However, similarly to her analysis, these combinations occur very infrequently or not at all in my corpus. Therefore, I decided not to include their further description, because they are negligible for my analysis.

5.13 Headlines

When analysing all the 60 articles from broadsheets and tabloids, I also decided to take a look at their headlines and evaluation expressed in them. Crystal and Davy (1969, 174) describe the main function of headlines:

> Headlines have to contain a clear, succinct and if possible intriguing message, to kindle a spark of interest in the potential reader, who, on average, is a person whose eye moves swiftly down a page and stops when something catches his attention. (Crystal and Davy 1969, 174)

That is why I thought that it would be interesting to see, whether headlines offer a lot of evaluative expressions and also whether they are more evaluative in broadsheets or tabloids.

I therefore counted all the words creating headlines in my chosen news stories and the difference was striking. The number of words in headlines of broadsheets is only 322 while tabloids contain 575 words in their headlines, which is almost two times more. It is probably because tabloids focus more on attracting the audience and journalists try to add as many expressions which could catch the interest of readers as possible.

However, when I counted the number of evaluative expressions in individual newspapers and the percentage of their occurrence, it was again a surprise. As can be seen from Table 16, the numbers for broadsheets and tabloids are quite similar with 14.3 per cent in the Times, 15 per cent in the Guardian, 14.7 per cent in the Daily Mirror and 13.9 per cent in the Sun.
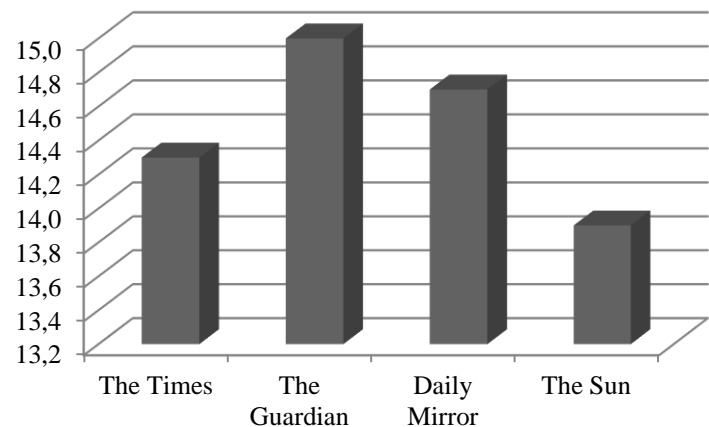
Table 16: Distribution of Evaluative Expressions in Headlines

There is nevertheless one thing which must be mentioned here. Although the Sun appears to have the lowest number of evaluators included in its headlines, there are also catchphrases used in its articles even above headlines, which were not counted together with evaluative expressions. There are several examples mentioned below:

(26) HOPE-LESS (Sun, 1 March)

(27) THINGS CAN ONLY GET WETTER (Sun, 3 March)

(28) NOT MODEL BEHAVIOUR (Sun, 6 March)

(29) KIM TOGETHER (Sun, 9 March)

(30) TATTY BYE (Sun, 12 March)

I believe that these catchphrases cannot be efficiently divided into individual parameters. They are based on some facts from their accompanying news stories and they use metaphors, puns or they are simply mocking some person or content from the articles. Sometimes it seems to be highly evaluative. This can be appealing for the audience, because it brings something different than other newspaper websites which are analysed here.

6 Evaluation in Broadsheets and Tabloids

The individual results of all the parameters and their combinations were summarized in the particular sections of the previous chapter. However, I want to provide also a complete comparison of analysed elements. This chapter is therefore dedicated to the overall results of my analysis and generalizations based on my findings. There are also comments on the similarities and differences between online versions of British broadsheets and tabloids.

6.1 Evaluative parameters and their combinations

Firstly, I created a table which shows all the parameters and their combinations which are included in my analysis. I have ordered them in terms of their significance based on the number of occurrences in the analysed news stories.

POSITION	PARAMETER OR COMBINATION	% OF ALL EVALUATIONS
1.	Style + Evidentiality	29.9
2.	Intensity	11.1
3.	Emotivity	10.6
4.	Importance	10
5.	Expectedness	6.9
6.	Evidentiality + Reliability	4.5
7.	Reliability	4.1
8.	Possibility/Necessity	3.9
9.	Evidentiality + Mental State	3.7
10.	Mental State	3.6
11.	Evidentiality + Style + Reliability	2.6
12.	Emotivity + Importance	2.6
13.	Evidentiality + Mental State + Reliability	2.1
14.	Evidentiality + Style + Emotivity	2.1
15.	Comprehensibility	0.9
16.	Evidentiality + Style + Comprehensibility	0.6
17.	Reliability + Style + Evidentiality	0.3
18.	Evidentiality + Style + Emotivity + Reliability	0.2
19.	Expectedness + Emotivity	0.1
20.	Reliability + Emotivity	0.1
21.	Comprehensibility + Reliability	0.1
22.	Evidentiality + Reliability + Emotivity	0.01
23.	Expectedness + Importance	0.01
24.	Evidentiality	0
25.	Reliability + Style	0

Table 17: Distribution of Parameters and Combinations in the Corpus

Table 17 clearly shows that not only individual parameters themselves are very important, but some combinations also appear in high positions. On the other hand, there are combinations which are very infrequent and some of them are not even represented by a single word in my corpus. These parameters and combinations are negligible and as far as news reporting is concerned, it is not possible to make any general conclusions about them, because there are simply not enough occurrences.

Therefore, I chose 15 parameters and their combinations which are the most frequent in my corpus and I decided to base my comparison of broadsheets and tabloids on them. Table 18 shows their overall occurrence and the percentage of all the evaluative expressions found in my corpus:
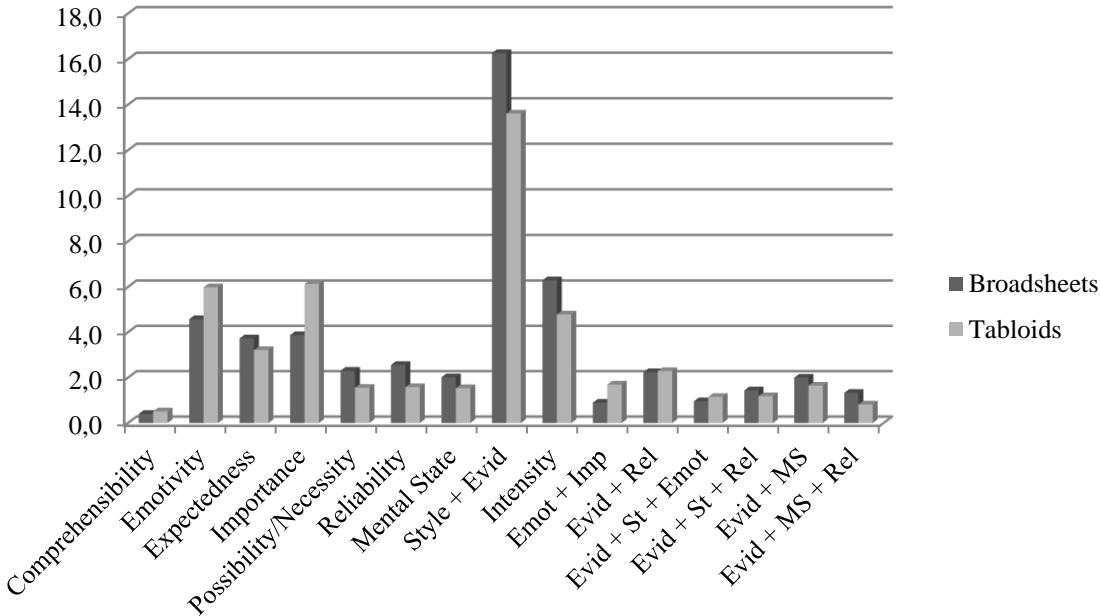
Table 18: Representative Evaluative Parameters in the Corpus

It is apparent that there are both similarities and differences between broadsheets and tabloids. I agree with Monika Bednarek that it is probably caused by the fact that they belong to the same genre and operate in the same sphere, but their aims and readership differ. Concerning the difference between broadsheets and tabloids based on their internal order of the frequency of 15 chosen parameters and combinations in the two sub-corpora, it can be seen in Table 19, where numbers in brackets are used to refer to the percentage of the evaluations in the respective sub-corpora:

	BROADSHEETS		TABLOIDS
1.	Style + Evid (31.5 %)	**1.**	Style + Evid (28.1 %)
2.	Intensity (12.2 %)	**2.**	Importance (12.7 %)
3.	Emotivity (8.9 %)	**3.**	Emotivity (12.4 %)
4.	Importance (7.5 %)	**4.**	Intensity (9.9 %)
5.	Expectedness (7.2 %)	**5.**	Expectedness (6.7 %)
6.	Reliability (5 %)	**6.**	Evid + Rel (4.7 %)
7.	Possibility/Necessity (4.5 %)	**7.**	Emot + Imp (3.5 %)
8.	Evid + Rel (4.3 %)	**8.**	Evid + MS (3.4 %)
9.	Mental State (3.9 %)	**9.**	Reliability (3.3 %)
10.	Evid + MS (3.9 %)	**10.**	Possibility/Necessity (3.2 %)
11.	Evid + St + Rel (2.8 %)	**11.**	Mental State (3.2 %)
12.	Evid + MS + Rel (2.6 %)	**12.**	Evid + St + Rel (2.5 %)
13.	Evid + St + Emot (1.9 %)	**13.**	Evid + St + Emot (2.4 %)
14.	Emot + Imp (1.7 %)	**14.**	Evid + MS + Rel (1.7 %)
15.	Comprehensibility (0.8 %)	**15.**	Comprehensibility (1 %)

Table 19: Distribution of Representative Parameters and Combinations in Sub-corpora

My analysis shows greater differences between broadsheets and tabloids than the results of Monika Bednarek. While her internal order of frequency of parameters and combinations is quite similar in the two-sub-corpora (Bednarek 2006, 191), my analysis shows the difference even in the high positions of this list. It can be caused for example by the different field which was analysed (online media), by the different aims and readership of these two kinds of newspapers or by the approach of writers of the texts.

As the Table 19 suggests, the most important parameter both in broadsheets and tabloids is the combination of Style and Evidentiality. It reflects the fact that news reports represent embedded speech. That is also why quotations are so important, but as was mentioned before, they are not counted here as a part of the evaluative language.

The subsequent positions are different. In broadsheets, the second place is occupied by the parameter of Importance and the third place belongs to the parameter of Emotivity. It was expected at the beginning that these parameters will be at the top of the list in tabloids, because they often refer to important people, events and institutions in order to appear more credible. They are also said

to be more emotive and express opinions because they want to shock their readers and attract the audience.

In broadsheets, the parameter of Intensity occupies the second place, while it is only fourth in tabloids. This parameter, which was not included in Bednarek's analysis, turned out to be very important in both sub-corpora. Although broadsheets are considered to be more objective, the parameters of Emotivity and Importance still occur third and fourth respectively, which is relatively high.

Because news stories are connected with the news value of Unexpectedness and journalists try to bring articles which are shocking for the audience, the parameter of Expectedness occurs very high on the lists. In fact, it occupies the fifth position in both sub-corpora.

Other important parameters and combinations which appear in the higher places are Reliability (used for making predictions and also mitigating assertions), the connection of Evidentiality and Reliability, the parameter of Possibility/Necessity and evaluations of Mental State. In tabloids, also the combination of Emotivity and Importance appears quite high (the seventh place), while this combination is not very important in broadsheets, where it occupies only the fourteenth position.

The last position belongs to expressions of Comprehensibility both in broadsheets and tabloids, because they are not very frequent in any of the two sub-corpora, similarly to Bednarek's results (2006, 189–190).

Overall, broadsheet newspapers have a higher tendency for using evaluators of Intensity, Reliability and Mental State. Tabloid newspapers, on the other hand, use higher amount of expressions of Emotivity and Importance and they have a general preference for explicitness and dramatization.

I would like to comment some more on the usage of the parameter of Emotivity. The influence of the topic on the appearance of either the Positive or the Negative sub-value is very important. While the parameter of Importance appears in all the topics, the sub-values of Emotivity differ with respect to the content of the news story.

In my corpus, the Positive sub-value appears mostly in stories about the death of important personalities (12 March—Ken Dodd, 14 March—Stephen Hawking) and also in the news story describing the International Women's Day

and appearance of the engaged royal couple and mainly Meghan Markle (8 March).

On the other hand, the Negative sub-value appears mainly in articles describing resignations and firing of important personalities (1 March—Hope Hicks, 6 March—Munroe Bergdorf, 13 March—Rex Tillerson) and also in news stories focusing on various attacks and assaults (5 March—Sergei Skripal, 10 March—Salisbury, 15 March—Egyptian teenager).

6.2 Evaluation and News Content

This section focuses on the connection between evaluation and the content of the news stories. When individual articles are observed, it is apparent that some of them express more evaluations than others. Table 20 shows the overall number of words in individual news stories of broadsheets and tabloids and also the number of evaluations per 1,000 words.

Topic	Broadsheets		Tabloids	
	Word count	Evaluations per 1,000 words	Word count	Evaluations per 1,000 words
Trump's adviser	1,438	159.9	698	186.2
Ken Livingstone	981	147.8	907	192.9
Storm	1,183	136.9	1,809	115.5
Sir Roger Bannister	3,082	105.1	2,140	110.3
Russian spy	1,902	100.9	2,162	97.6
LGBT adviser	1,231	143	1,386	127
Saudi prince	1,601	148	1,135	147.1
Women's Day	1,207	115	603	132.7
North Korea meeting	1,610	147.8	1,190	203.4
Salisbury	2,660	136.8	1,808	137.7
China	1,219	155.9	805	269.6
Ken Dodd	1,487	80	2,127	87.9
Rex Tillerson	1,690	168.6	1,393	145
Stephen Hawking	2,780	242.9	2,903	157.4
Egyptian teenager	1,276	116.8	942	101.9

Table 20: Distribution of Evaluation according to News Story

I also established another table (Table 21) with the internal order of the stories in terms of the number of evaluations they contain. The differences are therefore more apparent.

	BROADSHEETS		TABLOIDS
1.	Stephen Hawking	1.	China
2.	Rex Tillerson	2.	North Korea meeting
3.	Trump's adviser	3.	Ken Livingstone
4.	China	4.	Trump's adviser
5.	Saudi prince	5.	Stephen Hawking
6.	Ken Livingstone	6.	Saudi prince
7.	North Korea meeting	7.	Rex Tillerson
8.	LGBT adviser	8.	Salisbury
9.	Storm	9.	Women's Day
10.	Salisbury	10.	LGBT adviser
11.	Egyptian teenager	11.	Storm
12.	Women's Day	12.	Sir Roger Bannister
13.	Sir Roger Bannister	13.	Egyptian teenager
14.	Russian spy	14.	Russian spy
15.	Ken Dodd	15.	Ken Dodd

Table 21: Order of News—Number of Evaluations per 1,000 Words

While similar comparison in Bednarek's analysis did not show any big difference in the distribution of evaluators in news stories which occupy the leading positions, my analysis brought different results. In broadsheets, the largest amount of evaluators per 1,000 words appears in the article from March 14, which tells about the death of a famous scientist Stephen Hawking. This article, however, occupies only the fifth place in tabloids.

The article with the largest amount of evaluators per 1,000 words in tabloids is the story from March 11 about the abolition of term limits on the Chinese leader. This article is fourth in broadsheets. Although these positions are not so far away from each other, it is a significant difference. It can be connected with the preference of Negative Emotivity in tabloids (and also the news value of Negativity), while the most evaluative article in broadsheets is connected more with the Positive Emotivity, because it pays tribute to a celebrity.

Overall, the first positions in both broadsheets and tabloids are occupied by 'political stories'. The article from March 1 which tells about the resignation of Trump's adviser Hope Hicks appears in the third place in broadsheets and

fourth place in tabloids. The article from March 7 about the visit of Saudi prince in the United Kingdom also occupies similar positions.

The largest similarity can be seen at the end of the list where articles with the smallest amount of evaluators per 1,000 words appear. The article from March 4 which tells about the death of Sir Roger Bannister occupies the thirteenth position in broadsheets and twelfth position in tabloids. The last two positions are occupied by the same articles, the fourteenth place contains the story from March 5 about the poisoning of a former Russian spy Sergei Skripal and the last position belongs to the news story from March 12 about the death of a comedian Ken Dodd.

It is quite interesting that two articles about the death of a famous personality appear at the complete end of the list, while the article about the death of Stephen Hawking is so high. It is probably because of the degree of newsworthiness of a particular story. While all three of them were famous personalities, Stephen Hawking was probably the biggest 'star', because except for his scientific successes, he published a book which became a bestseller and he recently appeared in famous TV shows. His life was also popularized by the Oscar-winning film.

All of these results suggest that evaluation is highly dependent on the topic, but also on the different approach of journalists in individual newspapers.

6.3   Evaluation and Newspaper Style

Based on her results, Bednarek (2006, 202) claims that "the individual newspapers differ quite considerably in terms of the numbers of evaluations that they contain." However, this is not entirely true in my analysis.

When I counted the number of evaluators per 1,000 words in the individual newspapers, there were some differences, but not as striking as someone could expect. Overall, tabloids contain more evaluations (an average of 137.3 per 1,000 words) than broadsheets (an average of 127.1 per 1,000 words).

The Guardian seems to be the least evaluative of them all with an average of 123.9 per 1,000 words, while the Daily Mirror is the most evaluative with

the average of 142.5 per 1,000 words. But it is the number of evaluations of the last two newspapers—the Times as a broadsheet and the Sun as a tabloid—which is really interesting, because it is the same, the average of 131.6 per 1,000 words. It shows that there is not such a big difference between broadsheets and tabloids and that the phenomenon of tabloidization really influences British press.

7   Conclusion

The main aim of the present thesis was to compare the evaluative language in online versions of British broadsheets and tabloids based on the approach of a discourse analyst Monika Bednarek (2006). Because of the enormous changes in the fields of mass media and journalism in the last decades, linguists became interested in tabloidization of the quality press. Based on my observation of British broadsheets and tabloids, my hypothesis was that British online quality press is nowadays highly influenced by this phenomenon and its language becomes similar to the language of tabloids, which is more evaluative.

The theoretical part provided the description of a present-day journalism, new trends which appeared in connection with the appearance of the Internet and also the situation in Britain, where both tabloids and broadsheets decided to establish their online versions in order to attract more readers. It also introduced the phenomenon of tabloidization in the press and its possible effects on the newspapers. Another important section presented the concepts of objectivity and evaluative language and it provided a description of the parameter-based approach of Monika Bednarek, which was later used for my own analysis of evaluative language in British online broadsheets and tabloids.

Finally, the practical part presented the results of this analysis of evaluative language. The two sub-corpora in my analysis exhibit quite a different evaluative style where each of them shows preferences for distinct parameters. While broadsheets show a higher preference for evaluators of Intensity, Reliability and Mental State, tabloids dominate in parameters of Emotivity and Importance. Overall, broadsheets (the average of 127.1 per 1,000 words) use less evaluative language than tabloids (the average of 137.3 per 1,000 words) but it is still much more than could be expected from newspapers which present themselves as rather objective. Furthermore, when focusing on individual analysed newspapers, the frequency of evaluative expressions per 1,000 words is very similar and even the same in the Sun and the Times (the average of 131.6 per 1,000 words).

It is apparent that even hard news contain a large number of evaluations both in broadsheets and tabloids. The results also show that the phenomenon of tabloidization is visible in the present-day online journalism and the language

of broadsheets is thus more and more similar to the language of tabloids. On the other hand, tabloids often use more explicitly expressive and emotive words which more or less successfully attract the attention of the audience. There is also a difference of the stylistic variety in the two sub-corpora, because broadsheets usually offer greater amount of different expressions. This can be seen for example in parameters of Comprehensibility, Expectedness or Importance. Previous chapters also show that quality and popular press have a preference for different evaluators within the individual parameters and their combinations.

The appearance of evaluation is related with the desire to influence a particular audience. Newspapers construe their texts in order to attract readers and therefore they create news stories in such a way that they appear to be close to their reader's opinions, attitudes, values and feelings. It is called the "audience design" (Bell 1991, 51) and it means that journalists try to adapt to their readership and write what they are expecting to get. This happens both in broadsheets and tabloids and it highly influences the process of news writing and the language used.

My results also show that evaluations are often used to make the story more attractive and newsworthy and they are often connected with particular news values. There is an apparent tendency for dramatization or personalization in particular articles.

The difference between the use of evaluators in quality and popular press can reflect the distinction in the financing of those newspapers. It was mentioned before that tabloids rely mostly on the sales revenue and therefore they need to attract as many readers as possible, while broadsheets are financed by advertising and they need to be attractive mainly for their advertisers. Bednarek (2006, 204) summarizes it well in her own analysis:

> The broadsheet newsmakers adopt a less explicit, subtle, mitigated and stylistically varied evaluative style in order to attract the educated and affluent readers that make up their target audience, whereas the tabloid newspapers adopt a more explicit, 'intense', emotional and stylistically simpler evaluative style in order to attract a larger, less educated and less affluent audience. (Bednarek 2006, 204)

Not only newspapers and their online versions, but also other kinds of mass media, have a potential to manipulate the audience. Evaluations in quality and popular press can contribute to establishing values of their audience. However, it mainly depends on the readers and whether they approach news stories passively and absorb everything that is said as facts or whether they are active and think critically about the presented content and possible evaluative language involved there. It is also questionable, whether evaluations are used with the intent to influence the audience or rather subconsciously only with the desire to attract the attention of readers. The whole concept of manipulation in the press is problematic and there are many different studies dedicated to it.

Although I attempted to describe the concept of evaluative language in online broadsheets and tabloids, there is still much to be done in the research of evaluation. Several different analyses of evaluative language exist, but none of them seems to be able to cover the whole phenomenon.

The results presented in this thesis are not wholly representative of British online newspapers, but they rather point out to some trends and tendencies which appear in the field of online journalism in the United Kingdom. The analysis also contains some disputable expressions and it is possible that other linguists would interpret some of the examples differently.

The ground of evaluative language analysis is still open for new suggestions and possible extension of existing theories. There is no corpus which would focus only on the evaluative language and which would offer a guidance to those who decided to analyse language of news stories and texts from the point of view of the possible presence or absence of evaluation. There is also no list of expressions which could help with a computerized large-scale analysis. Although it is impossible to make a full list of evaluative expressions, because evaluation is often context-dependent, it would be helpful to have at least some inventory of possible linguistic means for each parameter or feature and some samples of analysed journalistic texts.

Because I considered the approach of Monika Bednarek to be incomplete, I presented a new parameter of Intensity in my analysis. However, I believe that this parameter connected with emphasizing particular concepts would deserve

more space and it could be analysed in connection with the parameter of Importance.

In my analysis, I focused mostly on the analysis of individual news stories and evaluators contained in them, but I also tried to describe some tendencies in their headlines. This could be a good area for an independent analysis, because headlines are very important in both quality and popular press and the reader often decides whether he will read the whole article based primarily on its more or less catching headline.

The online journalism is also connected with the use of photographs, videos, various charts, tables and infographics. Each newspaper website works with such material differently, some of them choose to present predominantly almost plain text, while others supply their readers with infinite amount of additional visual information. These things are nowadays nearly equally important as news stories themselves and their analysis and comparison of their distribution in broadsheets and tabloids would certainly be beneficial.

Overall, there is still a great potential in the field of evaluation and many areas which remain unexplored for now. However, my analysis shows that the language of broadsheets is more and more susceptible to the phenomenon of tabloidization and that the amount of evaluative expressions in analysed broadsheets (the Times, the Guardian) and tabloids (the Daily Mirror, the Sun) is very similar, even though they show a distinctive evaluative style. Tabloids use many emotive and evaluative expressions, which was expected at the beginning, but broadsheets also cannot be described as objective. Nowadays, the language of evaluation thus plays a crucial role both in broadsheets and tabloids.

8   Resumé

Koncept objektivity a používání hodnotícího jazyka v žurnalistice je předmětem diskusí již dlouhou dobu. Mnohé publikace se soustředí na to, do jaké míry je možné být objektivní při vytváření článků a dalšího mediálního obsahu. Seriózní média se na veřejnosti prezentují jako ta, která přinášejí svým čtenářům objektivní a kvalitní obsah. Bulvární tisk je na druhou stranu společností považován za více subjektivní, evaluativní a zaměřující se na hluboké lidské příběhy raději než na seriózní zprávy.

V posledních desetiletích se ovšem mluví o novém fenoménu s názvem tabloidizace, kdy se novinářská praxe bulvárních médií přenáší na ta seriózní, která čím dál více ve svých článcích používají hodnotící jazyk. Tato diplomová práce se zabývá procesem tabloidizace a výskytem hodnotících slov v online verzích čtyř britských významných deníků, mezi které patří dva zástupci seriózního tisku (The Guardian, The Times) a dva zástupci bulvárního tisku (The Daily Mirror, The Sun).

Teoretická část práce se soustředí na současnou situaci v žurnalistice. Představuje jednotlivé trendy moderní doby, kam patří již zmíněná tabloidizace, ale především také velký rozmach internetových edicí téměř všech nejvýznamnějších novin. Následuje stručný popis rozvoje žurnalistiky ve Velké Británii doplněný o charakteristiku vybraných deníků. Dalším tématem je samotný hodnotící jazyk, který představuje poměrně problematický koncept, protože ho jednotliví lingvisté popisují různými způsoby. Existuje také mnoho různých metod, jak hodnotící jazyk zkoumat, například koncept postoje Bibera a Finegana nebo teorie hodnocení, kterou představili Martin a White. Pro tuto diplomovou práci byl ale zvolen přístup Moniky Bednarek, který pracuje s rozdělováním hodnotících slov do individuálních parametrů a jejich kombinací.

Praktická část představuje samotnou analýzu hodnotících slov v online verzích britských seriózních a bulvárních deníků. Na základě analýzy patnácti článků pro každé noviny popisuje jednotlivé parametry, kombinace, které se v korpusu objevují a příklady výrazů, které spadají do těchto kategorií. Celkové zhodnocení poté přináší informace o počtu hodnotících slov v jednotlivých článcích, seřazení parametrů dle důležitosti v dílčích korpusech a také porovnání

tematického zaměření článků, které má často vliv na množství hodnotících slov v jednotlivých zprávách.

Závěrečná část shrnuje výsledky, které vyplývají z předchozí analýzy hodnotících slov a jejich zařazení do jednotlivých parametrů a kombinací. Z nich je zřejmé, že fenomén tabloidizace je v britském online tisku opravdu patrný, jelikož jazyk seriózních deníků se počtem evaluativních slov přibližuje jazyku bulvárních médií. Zároveň je ale vidět rozdíl ve významnosti jednotlivých využívaných parametrů, kdy v seriózním tisku dominuje intenzita, spolehlivost a duševní stav, zatímco bulvární noviny preferují emotivitu a vyjádření důležitosti.

9 Abstract

Author: Bc. Barbora Košňarová

Faculty and department: Faculty of Arts, Department of English
                                 and American Studies

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                                 Tabloids

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                                 objectivity, parameter

This diploma thesis focuses on the evaluation in media discourse. Although the objectivity is considered to be the main feature of news, the language of evaluation is present both in broadsheets and tabloids. The theoretical part introduces both the concept of objectivity connected with the Westerstahl's objectivity criteria and the language of evaluation as the expression of writer´s opinion and construction of the relations between the writer and the reader. The main focus is the following analysis of the evaluative language in English broadsheets and tabloids. It is based on the approach of Monika Bednarek who concentrates on the analysis of newspaper corpus and evaluation in media discourse.

10 Anotace

Autor:	Bc. Barbora Košňarová
Název fakulty a katedry:	Filozofická fakulta, Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky
Název práce:	Hodnotící slova v seriózním a bulvárním tisku
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Tato diplomová práce se zabývá hodnotícím jazykem v mediálním diskursu. Ačkoli je objektivita považována za jednu z nejdůležitějších vlastností zpravodajství, hodnotící slova se objevují jak v seriózním tak v bulvárním tisku. Teoretická část práce se soustředí na představení konceptu objektivity ve zpravodajství a jeho různé definice, mezi které patří například Westerstahlova kritéria objektivity. Dále se zaměřuje také na hodnotící slova, která vyjadřují autorovy názory a pomáhají vytvářet vztah mezi producentem a recipientem zpráv. Hlavní část práce je tvořena analýzou hodnotícího jazyka v anglickém seriózním a bulvárním tisku. Tato analýza je založena na přístupu Moniky Bednarek, která se ve své práci soustředí především na hodnotící slova v novinách a v mediálním diskurzu.

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12 Appendix

This Appendix includes two analysed articles (the first one for broadsheets, the second one for tabloids), where all the evaluative expressions are highlighted. The grey colour represents quotations, darker blue represents evaluative expressions and lighter blue stands for special catchphrases used by the Sun.

12.1 The Times—Trump's Adviser (1 March 2018)

President Trump's press chief Hope Hicks quits after admitting 'white lies'

Hope Hicks, one of President Trump's closest advisers, resigned as the White House communications director last night.

Her departure came a day after she admitted telling "white lies" on behalf of Mr Trump but denied to congressional investigators that she had ever made false statements on matters related to Russia's meddling in the 2016 election. Ms Hicks, 29, is the fourth White House communications director to quit in the 13 months Mr Trump has been in office.

The former model had been at Mr Trump's side since he announced his candidacy for the White House in 2015 and was perhaps his most trusted political confidante. She leaves an administration that has set records for the rate of churn of senior staff.

Ms Hicks's departure follows those of Sean Spicer, Mike Dubke and Anthony Scaramucci — who served ten days — who all successively held the same role since Mr Trump took office in January 2017.

Some insiders had portrayed her as one of the few people capable of swaying Mr Trump; others said that her reluctance to confront him sanctioned impulsive behaviour. Among other aides to the president she gained a reputation for ruthlessness.

A political neophyte, she had previously worked in public relations for his daughter Ivanka Trump's clothing line.

Ms Hicks, whose reluctance to speak to the press had lent her a certain mystique, said that she had "no words" to express her gratitude to Mr Trump. "I wish the president and his administration the very best as he continues to lead our country," she said.

On the campaign trail her jobs had included steaming his trousers — while he was still wearing them — on board his private jet. She rose to become one of the most consequential figures in Washington.

Mr Trump said: "Hope is outstanding and has done great work for the last three years. She is as smart and thoughtful as they come, a truly great person. I will miss having her by my side but when she approached me about pursuing other opportunities I totally understood. I am sure we will work together again in the future."

Sarah Sanders, the White House press secretary, wrote on Twitter: "There is no one that can fill the void Hope Hicks will leave behind. She is in a league of her own and no one can replace her. Far and away one of the most talented and skilled people I've ever met and coming to work won't be the same without her."

Friends said that Ms Hicks was ready to explore other areas after three gruelling years during which Mr Trump ricocheted between controversies, many of his own making. It was not clear last night exactly what day would be her last at the White House.

John Kelly, the White House chief of staff, said: "I quickly realised what so many have learned about Hope — she is strategic, poised and wise beyond her years."

On Capitol Hill this week Ms Hicks had faced nine hours of questioning from the House intelligence committee, which is investigating Russian meddling in the 2016 US election.

She refused to answer questions about events that occurred after Mr Trump was sworn in, including allegations that she argued in favour of a cover-up when details emerged of a meeting between Donald Trump Jr and Natalia Veselnitskaya, a Russian lawyer who claimed to have incriminating information on Hillary Clinton.

Ms Hicks had found herself at the centre of another scandal last month when it emerged that she was romantically involved with Rob Porter, the former White House staff secretary.

Mr Porter was forced to resign after allegations that he abused two former wives were made public. He had been working for months on a temporary security pass even though the FBI had completed a background check on him last year. That gave rise to suspicions that other senior advisers had tried to cover up the allegations of violence made against Mr Porter to allow him to keep his job. He has denied any wrongdoing.

The White House has lurched again into turbulence after Mr Kelly downgraded the security clearance of Jared Kushner, the president's son-in-law.

Evidence of another rift appeared when Mr Trump attacked Jeff Sessions, the attorney-general, for ordering an internal government watchdog to investigate whether the FBI had spied unlawfully on Trump campaign advisers. This would "take for ever" and could be politically biased, Mr Trump complained on Twitter. "Why not use Justice Department lawyers? DISGRACEFUL!"

Mr Sessions responded: "As long as I am the attorney-general, I will continue to discharge my duties with integrity and honour."

Parameter	Sub-value	Expressions
Comprehensibility	Comprehensible	
	Incomprehensible	*mystique, not clear*
Emotivity	Positive	*trusted, confidante, aides, gratitude*
	Negative	*quits, meddling, to quit, rate of churn, gained a reputation, ruthlessness, gruelling, controversies, meddling, cover-up, incriminating, cover up, wrongdoing, had spied unlawfully*
Expectedness	Expected	
	Unexpected	
	Contrast	*but, while, even though, whether*
	Contrast/ Comparison	
Importance	Important	*closest, model, senior, insiders, consequential figure, senior, watchdog*
	Unimportant	*neophyte*
Possibility/ Necessity	Possible	*capable, allow, could be*
	Not possible	
	Necessary	

	Not necessary	
Reliability	Genuine	
	Fake	*false*
	High	
	Medium	*would be, would*
	Low	*perhaps*
Evidentiality	Hearsay	*"quotations"*
	Mindsay	
	Perception	
	General Knowledge	
	Proof/Evidence	
	Unspecified	
Mental state	Belief/Disbelief	
	Emotion	
	Expectation	

	Knowledge	
	State-of-Mind	*impulsive*
	Process	
	Volition/Non-volition	*reluctance, reluctance, refused, forced to*
Style (in combination with Evidentiality: Hearsay)	Neutral	*telling, had made statements, announced, said, to speak, said, said, said, wrote, said, said, were made public*
	Illocutionary	*denied, to confront, to express, argued, has denied, complained*
	Declarative	*resigned, sanctioned, questioning, is investigating, was sworn in, resign, downgraded, to investigate*
	Discourse signalling	*to answer, responded*
	Paralinguistic	
Intensity	Low	*few*
	Medium	
	High	*most, most, many*
	Unspecified	*another*

Parameters	Expressions
Comprehensibility + Reliability	*exactly*
Emotivity + Importance	*scandal, turbulence, rift*
Expectedness + Emotivity	
Reliability + Emotivity	
Evidentiality + Reliability	*had portrayed, appeared, evidence, emerged, it emerged that, gave rise*
Evidentiality + Style + Comprehensibility	
Evidentiality + Style + Emotivity	*swaying, attacked*
Evidentiality + Style + Reliability	*allegations, claimed, allegations, suspicions, allegations*
Evidentiality + Style + Emotivity + Reliability	*admitting, admitted*
Evidentiality + Mental State	
Evidentiality + Mental State + Reliability	*had found*
Reliability + Style	
Reliability + Style + Evidentiality	
Evidentiality + Reliability + Emotivity	
Expectedness + Importance	
Mental State + Comprehensibility	
Reliability + Importance	
Reliability + Mental State + Emotivity	

12.2 The Sun—Trump's Adviser (1 March 2018)

HOPE-LESS

Donald Trump aide Hope Hicks resigns from the White House the day after she's grilled over Russia

The 29-year-old said she wanted to leave to explore new opportunities outside Washington

WHITE House Communications chief Hope Hicks known to be one of President Donald Trump's most loyal aides has quit.

News of Hicks' departure broke one day after she testified before the House intelligence committee as part of the investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election.

"There are no words to adequately express my gratitude to President Trump," Hicks said in a statement.

"I wish the President and his administration the very best as he continues to lead our country."

Hicks had served as the press secretary for Trump's insurgent presidential campaign before taking on similar duties in the White House.

She previously worked at the Trump Organization and was promoted to comms director in September 2017 after the short-lived tenure of Anthony Scaramucci.

"Hope is outstanding and has done great work for the last three years," Trump said in a statement.

"She is as smart and thoughtful as they come, a truly great person. I will miss having her by my side but when she approached me about pursuing other opportunities, I totally understood. I am sure we will work together again in the future."

Hicks was interviewed for nine hours by the panel investigating Russia interference in the 2016 election and contact between Trump's campaign and Russia.

She acknowledged to a House intelligence panel that she has occasionally told "white lies" for Trump.

But she said she had not lied about anything relevant to the Russia investigation.

While the investigation focused on Russian interference during the campaign, House investigators also had questions about her time in the White House.

White House Press Secretary Sarah Sanders said no timeline had been set for Hicks' departure, and denied any link between her decision and her questioning on Tuesday.

Parameter	Sub-value	Expressions
Comprehensibility	Comprehensible	
	Incomprehensible	
Emotivity	Positive	*aide, loyal, aides*
	Negative	*has quit, interference, insurgent, interference, interference*
Expectedness	Expected	
	Unexpected	
	Contrast	*but, while*
	Contrast/Comparison	*no*
Importance	Important	*known, relevant*
	Unimportant	
Possibility/ Necessity	Possible	*opportunities*
	Not possible	
	Necessary	*duties*
	Not necessary	

Reliability	Genuine	
	Fake	
	High	
	Medium	
	Low	
Evidentiality	Hearsay	*"quotations"*
	Mindsay	
	Perception	
	General Knowledge	
	Proof/Evidence	
	Unspecified	
Mental state	Belief/Disbelief	
	Emotion	
	Expectation	
	Knowledge	

	State-of-Mind	
	Process	
	Volition/Non-volition	
Style (in combination with Evidentiality: Hearsay)	Neutral	*said, said, said, has told, said, said*
	Illocutionary	*had questions, denied*
	Declarative	*resigns, testified, was promoted, was interviewed, investigating, questioning*
	Discourse signalling	
	Paralinguistic	
Intensity	Low	*short-lived*
	Medium	
	High	*most*
	Unspecified	*occasionally*

Parameters	Expressions
Comprehensibility + Reliability	
Emotivity + Importance	
Expectedness + Emotivity	
Reliability + Emotivity	
Evidentiality + Reliability	
Evidentiality + Style + Comprehensibility	
Evidentiality + Style + Emotivity	*is grilled, broke, had not lied*
Evidentiality + Style + Reliability	
Evidentiality + Style + Emotivity + Reliability	*acknowledged*
Evidentiality + Mental State	*decision*
Evidentiality + Mental State + Reliability	
Reliability + Style	
Reliability + Style + Evidentiality	
Evidentiality + Reliability + Emotivity	
Expectedness + Importance	
Mental State + Comprehensibility	
Reliability + Importance	
Reliability + Mental State + Emotivity	