News as a cultural product:
A cross-cultural study of language use in British and Norwegian online newspapers

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SUMMARY IN NORWEGIAN

Denne masteroppgaven i Engelsk tar for seg språkbruk i media; nærmere bestemt i norske og engelske nettaviser. De aktuelle hypotesene som undersøkes er for det første om det vil finnes forskjeller som kommer til uttrykk språklig i de ulike landenes aviser grunnet ulike kulturer. Den andre hypotesen har et motsatt fokus og ønsker å undersøke potensielle likheter mellom landenes språklige fremstilling. Grunntanken bak denne hypotesen er at språket vil være likt på grunn av globaliseringens påvirkning på nyhetsproduksjonsrutiner og verdier uavhengig av land. Den siste hypotesen angår om det er forskjeller mellom språkbruken i ulike typer aviser.

Det teoretiske grunnlaget er diskursanalyse, og da nærmere bestemt kritisk diskursanalyse, som de senere årene har oppnådd en hegemonisk status i forbindelse med mediestudier. Materialet består av 12 avisartikler fra nettavisene til henholdsvis *The Times*, the *Sun*, *Aftenposten* og *VG*.

Resultatene og den påfølgende diskusjonen i Kapittel 4 viste at det finnes språklige forskjeller mellom Norge og England som kommer til uttrykk på ord- og grammatisk nivå. Likhetene er derimot enda mer slående, og spesielt på grammatisk nivå. De største forskjellene ble uten tvil funnet mellom de ulike avistypene. Funnene gjort her kan danne grunnlag for utvikling av nye hypoteser og ikke minst for videre forskning, både kvalitativ og kvantitativ.

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1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis is devoted to the exploration of media and language use: more specifically, language use in Norwegian and British online newspapers. In this introduction I will present the aim and scope of this investigation, and comment briefly on the background, material, hypotheses and organisation of the thesis.

In an increasingly globalised world, the media has a huge impact on people's conception of reality. What is presented as news is also presented as truth. In this particular thesis, the aim is to investigate language use in selected Norwegian and British online newspapers. Allan Bell offers a valid reason for why media language should be studied when he says that: 'Media are dominating presenters of language in our society at large' (1991:1). Media studies is a multidisciplinary area, but the language is the focal point here, and this thesis attempts to make a contribution within the branch of media research which focuses on linguistic aspects and language use. I have opted for a primarily qualitative approach as this is best suited for the current objective. My aim is to reach an understanding of the particular linguistic choices the news makers in different cultures made, and to investigate *how* the respective accounts are similar or dissimilar.

One specific event is chosen as a backdrop for the linguistic analyses, namely the tsunami disaster which occurred in December 2004. All the news articles included in the material relate to this tragic event in one way or another. The tsunami disaster was chosen as a news event because it happened in South East Asia, that is, not in Norway or England or even in Europe. In that respect it was an incident that, at least hypothetically, could be expected to be presented quite similarly in the media of Norway and England because the natural disaster killed and hurt tourists from both countries. If, on the contrary, the Norwegian and British newspapers conveyed divergent accounts of the event, language and culture are likely to be factors of major impact in that respect. When the news event is identical, and the two countries chosen are relatively similar politically and socially, it should only be reasonable to expect fairly similar accounts of the matter. I believe that potential differences will be yet the more striking than if the chosen news event involved a more heated debate, for instance politically or religiously, between countries with clear diverging views on the matter.

In short, the aim and scope thus include achieving detailed insight on how the selected newspapers covered the event by examining the language and linguistic choices made in the news articles. The chosen articles will be analysed by means of an eclectic approach based mainly on Wenche Vagle's, and partly on Norman Fairclough's methodological frameworks, which both belong within the critical tradition of discourse analysis. Most available frameworks for analysing media texts do take a critical stance, and Critical discourse analysis (CDA): 'has arguably become the standard framework for studying media texts within European linguistics and discourse studies' (Bell & Garrett 1998:6). I will perform discourse analyses on all the selected texts, and Vagle's framework is followed rather closely. Her starting point is, as mentioned, a critical approach, inspired by Roger Fowler, Norman Fairclough and systemic-functional linguist M.A.K. Halliday.

A brief account of the chosen news event is in order. The world was completely shaken on 26 December 2004. The incident that led to the devastating flood wave was a giant earthquake that occurred in the morning near the northwest coast of Sumatra. The resulting devastation was widespread throughout Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand, causing a huge death toll and innumerable injuries among the people in Indonesia, India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Thailand. According to figures collected from the website Tsunami!, hosted by the Department of Earth and Space Sciences at the University of Washington, the tsunami wave killed: '300.000 people from nations in the regions and tourists from around the world' (www.ess.washington.edu). Altogether eighteen countries around the Indian Ocean were affected. Amongst the casualties were 84 Norwegians, mostly holidaymakers, and even more people were injured and damaged both physically and mentally (www.forskning.no). According to a news article on BBC's homepage from 2 June 2005, the tsunami death toll included 125 UK citizens with a further 20 still missing (http://news.bbc.co.uk). Times online estimates the toll as more than 140 Britons believed to have died (www.timesonline.co.uk). The disaster thus affected both Norway and the UK severely, with high numbers of both dead and missing people.

The material used in this investigation consists of 12 news articles, six from each country, with three from each of the two countries' broadsheet and tabloid online newspapers *Aftenposten*, *VG*, *The Times* and the *Sun*. All articles were selected by identical criteria, which will be elaborated in Chapter 3. Given the chosen material, comparisons will be made not only cross-culturally, but also between the two types of newspapers.

The hypotheses which are put to empirical test in the present investigation are adapted from discourse analyst Teun A. van Dijk and his case studies: *News Analysis. Case Studies of International and National News In the Press* from 1988. The first hypothesis predicts that cultural, historical, political etc differences must necessarily lead to differences in news discourse about identical events. The second one anticipates the opposite result, that news accounts are generally similar, due to influence of global news production routines. Finally, the last hypothesis implies that different results will be achieved for different types of newspapers.

The thesis is organised in the following manner: In Chapter 2, the theoretical background will be presented, with focus on the main scholars and branches within the field that are relevant for the present purposes. Similar previous studies will also be briefly introduced. Chapter 3 provides a full account of the material analysed, as well as a detailed description of the chosen methodological framework, and pragmatic choices made along the way. A short discussion of advantages and limitations of the material and method is also included. Furthermore, the results are presented and discussed, in that order in Chapter 4. The full set of data is rather extensive, and for that reason could not be included in detail in the results section. Consequently, an exhaustive overview of the results is included in the appendices. Finally, the conclusion summarises the most important results that have emerged from the investigation, and also provides suggestions for how the present thesis may motivate further studies within the field.

2 BACKGROUND AND THEORY

This chapter will provide the theoretical background which the methodology applied on the chosen material is founded on. I will introduce the academic theories and research field on which the present thesis is based.

2.1 Discourse analysis

The approach that seems most purposeful in relation to the aims of this project is discourse analysis, which is utilised within many different fields of research, and for multiple purposes. A common trait across disciplines is that discourse analysts are interested in looking at language at a higher level: 'Discourse analysis has moved the description of structure up a level, looking at actual stretches of connected text or transcript and providing descriptions of the structure of paragraphs, stories, and conversations' (Johnstone 2002:5). News articles, which form the material to be studied here, are indeed longer stretches of connected text, and discourse analysis therefore seems appropriate to utilise as a means of revealing different linguistic traits in the Norwegian and British news stories.

The theory is useful for the purposes of this investigation, as the goal is to investigate how language is used to portray reality, and to investigate texts from two different countries as well as from two different types of newspapers. In order to be able to find salient features in the news articles, the language needs to be investigated thoroughly. The term 'discourse analysis' is rather elusive, and one which tends to be defined differently by researchers within various fields of research, such as linguistics, social science studies, cultural studies etc. Given the broadness of the term, it may be a challenge to narrow down the exact method and to link it to theory in a fruitful manner. I will therefore attempt to make clear to which degree the present utilised framework is grounded in discourse analysis, and also critical discourse analysis, introduced in Section 2.2.

In the present thesis, discourse analysis is seen as a theoretical framework and as a practical methodological approach simultaneously. In *Discourse Analysis*, Barbara Johnstone stresses that discourse analysis should not be seen as a discipline, but: 'as a research method that can be (and is being) used by scholars with a variety of academic and non-academic affiliations, coming from a variety of disciplines, to answer a variety of questions' (2002:xi). The elusiveness

of the term makes it a widely applied label for studies within a great range of fields. In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 41 chapters by different contributing authors are included. The topics vary between intonation and discourse, language and medicine, and literary pragmatics, all which are given the same label of discourse analysis (Schiffrin, Tannen & Hamilton 2003). Common for most is that language is in focus. Johnstone provides a straightforward definition when she claims that: 'discourse analysis is the study of language, in the everyday sense in which most people use the term' (2002:2). Further she states that: 'Texts and their interpretations are shaped by the structural resources that are available and the structural choices text-builders make' (2002:12). As the aim here is to achieve insight on language use in newspaper articles and the linguistic choices made, it seemed appropriate to opt for a methodology based on discourse analysis.

The realm of which discourse analysis is applied in the present thesis is a multidisciplinary field on the boundaries of linguistics, media studies and cultural studies. To define discourse analysis within the realms which it will be used for the present purposes, a quote collected from *A Dictionary of Communication and Media Studies* from 1997 is appropriate. Here, discourse analysis is described as a:

> Form of MASS COMMUNICATION analysis which concentrates upon
> the *ways* in which the media convey information, focusing on the
> LANGUAGE of presentation – linguistic patterns, word and phrase
> selection (lexical choices), grammatical constructions and story coherence.
> In particular, discourse analysis sets out to account for the textual form in
> which the mass media present IDEOLOGY to readership or audience.
> (Watson & Hill 1997:67)

The latter point of ideology will be returned to, but as far as discourse analyses of media texts are concerned, the tendency is that researchers have a critical approach, where language is seen as a tool for expressing different overt or covert agendas. The present framework also builds on the work of critical linguists, and a brief presentation of what that entails is therefore in order. Roger Fowler is for many deemed as one of the first scholars to advocate this kind of critical perspective. He introduced the term in 1979, when he was co-author of *Language and Control*, which indulged to explore how language functions in social and political practice (1979:1). Fowler continued and further developed this tradition in his book *Language in the News. Discourse and Ideology in the Press* from 1991, where he claims to approach media studies by using a specific

linguistic model which he labels critical linguistics. According to Fowler: 'critical linguistics simply means an enquiry into the relations between signs, meanings and the social and historical conditions which govern the semiotic structure of discourse, using a particular kind of linguistic analysis' (1991:5). In other words, Fowler does not see language as innocent and neutral signs of communication; he assumes that: 'each particular form of linguistic expression in a text – wording, syntactic option, etc. – has its reason' (1991:4). He thus sees different ways of saying things as distinctive and not random. Fowler also adheres to M.A.K Halliday's systemic-functional approach to linguistics, which is specifically occupied with relating structure to communicative function (1991:5). Halliday's functional grammar will be presented later, as it has an important function in the current framework in the analyses at grammatical level.

The core of Fowler's perspective is that it is impossible for language to be value-free, and based on this he believes it to be: 'justifiable to practise a kind of linguistics directed towards understanding such values' (1991:5). In both *Language and Control* and *Language in the News. Discourse and Ideology in the Press*, he examines different texts where he looks at for instance the relationship between participants, and in general how the language conveys socially constructed values. At a later stage, the approach called Critical discourse analysis grew out of this critical tradition.

2.2 Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a subgenre or direction within discourse analysis. In *Approaches to Media Discourse* from 1998, the editors Allan Bell and Peter Garrett assert that: 'CDA holds a hegemonic position in the field of media discourse, such that other approaches tend to have to position and define themselves in relation to CDA' (1998:6). Although the present investigation does not aim for a typical CDA approach, the utilised methodological framework developed by Wenche Vagle is based on the work of critical linguists and critical discourse analysts such as Roger Fowler, Norman Fairclough and Teun van Dijk. A short introduction of the basic ideas behind the CDA approach is therefore appropriate.

To quote Bell and Garrett:

CDA has an explicit socio-political agenda, a concern to discover and bear witness to unequal relations of power which underlie ways of talking in a society, and in particular to reveal the role of discourse in reproducing or challenging socio-political dominance. The media are a particular subject of CDA analysis because of their manifestly pivotal role as discourse-bearing institutions
(1998:6)

CDA can thus be said to take a clearer ideological stand in contrast to the more general term discourse analysis. Additionally, CDA can be seen as a more specialised variant within critical linguistics, given the explicit socio-political agenda. However: 'The terms *Critical Linguistics* (CL) and *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) are often used interchangeably'[1] (Wodak 2001:1). The theoretical background of CDA is, according to van Dijk, largely occupied with: 'the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society' (2003:353). In sum it is evident that CDA, as critical linguistics in general, does not view language as neutral. When investigating language use, the aims tend to involve revealing more or less hidden agendas of power and dominance expressed in different discourse types. Naturally, CDA would not have been chosen as a part of the theoretical capacity were it not for the fact that the method seems useful for performing a thorough language analysis. In addition, most methodologies within the field are influenced by CDA. Nevertheless, the approach will be used as a starting point, without explicitly endorsing the ideological basis that emphasises notions such as: '"power", "dominance", "hegemony", "ideology", "class"'[2] (van Dijk 2003:354).

Furthermore, a short introduction of critical discourse analyst Norman Fairclough's views on language and society follows. Vagle's methodological framework is, as mentioned, influenced by Fairclough and CDA. Moreover, a couple of Fairclough's linguistic variables that he sees as salient when examining the representation of social actors in texts are incorporated into the present methodology. More information about the variables is included in Chapter 3. Fairclough's variables are presented in *Analysing discourse. Textual analysis for social research* from 2003, where he devotes a chapter to the representations of social events. Here he introduces textual analysis issues that generally deal with aspects of the social world, and more specifically with how social events can be represented differently. The textual representation of social actors is the only point directly adopted from Fairclough in the present framework. The representation of social actors, or participants, is also covered at grammatical level in Vagle's framework, where she includes a Hallidayan systemic-functional approach for investigating participants at clause

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level. However, the portrayal of social actors is seen as significant and fruitful for revealing potential similarities or dissimilarities between the countries and newspapers, hence Fairclough's points were included to complement Vagle's model. His contribution is placed at the word level of the present analyses.

Fairclough sees society and language as inseparable units that should not be investigated independently from each other, and he views discourse analysis as: 'analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice' (2003:7). This could be translated into seeing the news articles from the two different countries as texts working within two different socio-cultural practices. According to Fairclough, his approach to discourse analysis is based upon: 'the assumption that language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language' (2003:2). In other words, Fairclough views it as vital to include the social context when studying language, and vice versa, he sees language as inseparable from social life. Both aspects are arguably covered in the present investigation. The social aspect because the methodology and overall analytic approach builds on critical linguistics and CDA, and the linguistic aspect is evidently covered through the analysis of linguistic features in the texts.

2.3 Media discourse

In *The Language of News Media* from 1991, Allan Bell approaches media language from a linguistic perspective. The study of media language is relevant within many disciplines, such as: 'linguistics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, semiotics, communication studies, sociology and social psychology' (Bell 1991:5). This thesis lies within the realms of at least the three first disciplines mentioned, as it will touch upon purely linguistic features of media language, and these features in context of society. According to Allan Bell: 'People in Western countries probably hear more language from the media than they do directly from the lips of their fellow humans in conversation' (1991:1). Research in media and language use is therefore justified almost solely through the degree of exposure. Also, it is available almost everywhere, whether we choose to watch TV, listen to the radio or read a newspaper. Bell offers several reasons for studying media language, and stresses how availability is an advantage for linguists because the material is easy to collect and is accessible in large quantities. In addition, Bell mentions two valid reasons for wanting to investigate media language: a general interest in what language

reveals about the media's structure and values, and that media language can function as a mirror of the wider society and culture (1991:3-4). Roger Silverstone also suggests why media studies are relevant as he claims that: 'The media now are part of the general texture of experience' (1999:2). He sees the media as central to our everyday lives, and that is one of the reasons for why they must be studied. Silverstone also talks about the power aspect, and how we study the media because we are concerned about their power: 'we fear it, we decry it, we adore it' (1999:143). There is little doubt as to the major influence of the media, and about its potential to affect people's worldviews. Investigating media in relation to power is absolutely a valid starting point for research, although the power aspect is not in focus in the current investigation.

A further distinction Bell draws is when he labels different news genres and generates four separate categories. He speaks of hard news, feature articles and special-topic news in addition to a miscellaneous category that covers headlines, crossheads, bylines etc. The more obvious examples of so called hard news are, according to Bell: 'reports of accidents, conflicts, crimes, announcements, discoveries and other events' (1991:14). The tsunami disaster is thus a type of incident that was likely to be covered primarily in the hard news genre. Bell distinguishes between 'hard' and 'soft' news, and describes the latter as not being as time-bound to immediacy as hard news. He singles out feature articles as prototypical examples. 'Soft' news articles are often longer, provide background history more thoroughly and are also sometimes coloured by the writer's personal opinions (1991:14). According to Bell's definitions of hard and soft news, the chosen news articles which constitute the analysed material here, would, with one exception, fall under the category of hard news. Bell claims that: 'Journalists and media researchers both recognize hard news as the core news product' and that 'Hard news is also the place where a distinctive news style will be found if anywhere' (1991:14). Both of these claims support the choice of opting for typical hard news articles as the newspaper genre to investigate and compare between the four selected newspapers in the present thesis.

Furthermore, Bell claims that media language can provide data relevant to questions of theoretical importance, and that news stories are, in fact, 'the common narrative of our time' (1991:6). News journalists strive for objectivity and aim to act as intermediaries for the public. Hard news articles therefore, at least ideally, aim to be objective, and probably are more objective than other newspaper or media genres such as the feature article, editorials, commentaries etc. Bell stresses that in addition to emphasising the concept of society when studying media

discourse, it is important to focus on the language: 'we can only hope to have a clear understanding of the nature of news content by close analysis of the news text' (Bell 1998:65). He explicitly criticises critical linguists for being too occupied with ideology, and that they are too superficial in their studies of linguistic patterns. However, he does make a claim about critical linguistics that: 'This research is at its strongest in the direct comparison of different media accounts of the same event, demonstrating how language is a vehicle of covert interpretation in supposedly neutral reporting' (1991:214). The latter point thus relates closely to the topic of the present thesis.

Journalistic language is the language of everyday life, and it should be understandable to all people who know how to read, regardless of factors such as education, social class etc. In his book *Newspaper Language*, Nicholas Bagnall discusses journalists' use of language. Throughout the book, Bagnall argues in favour of concreteness and brevity, but he also talks about how language changes depending on the purpose it is filling. For instance, the British popular press uses a different type of language than newspapers that are considered more serious; thus there is a distinction between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. One difference concerns how the more serious press wishes to present their readers with something new every day: 'if not new facts, (…) then at least new ideas' (1993:24). Bagnall argues for the view that tabloids are not as concerned with new information, and claims that the tabloids use a high quantity of clichés in their writing: 'the popular paper reporter wants a story that fits the readers' conception of the world, not one that will disturb it – and uses language to match' (1993:24). He exemplifies how expressions such as 'bravery', 'tiny', 'stunning', 'horrors', 'terror', 'massive', 'mysteries' are repetitiously used in tabloids to invoke interest from readers. Altogether there seem to be changes of directions concerning style and language usage in the two types of newspapers. One of the hypotheses is, as will be elaborated in Section 2.5, indeed occupied with whether different types of newspapers may provide different results. Bagnall's points will thus be returned to. First, some background on British and Norwegian newspapers is provided in sub sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2.

2.3.1 British newspapers in general

The features that will be accounted for here are among the most commonly used for distinguishing between different types of newspapers: ownership, format and readership. In *The Language of Newspapers* from 2004, Danuta Reah focuses on newspapers as cultural artefacts.

Here she presents ownership as an important aspect of the free press, as she believes that: 'The owner of a newspaper has the power to influence the content of the paper, its political stance and its editorial perspective' (2004:8). The tendency in Britain is that a few larger companies own several newspapers. For instance, Murdoch's News Corporation publishes four British newspapers, and had 20% of the market in May 2000 (Reah 2004:8). According to News Corporation's own homepage: 'News Corporation is the globe's leading publisher of English-language newspapers' (www.newscorp.com). In the United Kingdom, the corporation publishes four newspapers, which includes the *Sun* and *The Times* (www.newscorp.com). Jeremy Tunstall is the author of *Newspaper Power*, in which he expresses concerns about the British Press and its power. Tunstall claims that the British press is highly idiosyncratic and that it is: 'an extreme case within Europe in the extent to which it is dominated by national newspapers published in one city' (1996:2). He thus questions whether democracy benefits from the fact that so much power lies in the hands of so few. Whether these facts are problematic for democracy or not will not be dealt with in detail here, but it is interesting and thought-provoking to know that so few have the power to set the daily agenda for millions of people every day.

Format and readership seem to be factors that complement each other. Format first and foremost concerns the appearance of a paper. More specifically, the tabloids are smaller in format and usually have shorter stories and more pictures than the typical broadsheets. He distinguishes between national broadsheets and national tabloids, and then refers to the readership class segregation by splitting newspapers into three categories defined by social class: 'upmarket dailies', 'midmarket dailies' and 'downmarket dailies' (1996:9). The format distinction between broadsheets and tabloids thus seems to refer to social profile as well as the actual design, given the fact that all the upmarket dailies are indeed broadsheets, whereas the downmarket dailies category strictly consists of tabloids. However, lately for instance *The Times* has been published in a smaller format resembling the tabloid format, but still it is labelled a broadsheet. The labels could thus arguably be said to reflect value judgements to a strong degree indeed.

'Newspaper readership in the UK lies in the European middle band' according to Sparks & Yilmaz (2005:259). Furthermore, the fact that 'the newspaper market is sharply segmented on social class lines' (Tunstall 1996:7) is a distinct feature of the British press, and one that is probably quite hard to apply to Norwegian conditions for a comparison. Furthermore, Tunstall mentions how the three social class levels comply with the standard market research definition,

which gives fuzzy lines between middle and working class. In this fashion, the readership of British newspapers can be classified into socio-economic profiles. Still, Tunstall claims that: 'What is so unusual about this readership class segregation in Britain is not that it occurs at all, but that it is so heavily focused into national daily newspapers' (1996:8).

In *Newspaper Power*, Tunstall presents a table that shows striking tendencies concerning readership and social class linked to type of newspaper. The figures he uses were collected from the National Readership Survey (NRS) (www.nrs.co.uk) in 1995. Table 2.8 comprises Tunstall's variables, except that the figures presented here are more recent, dating from the latest 12 months the NRS has measured, which is the period July 2006 – June 2007.

Table 2.1: **British national dailies split by social class 2006-2007**

(Percentage of middle-class readers)

Upmarket dailies

Financial Times	93
The Times	89
Independent	89
Daily Telegraph	86
Guardian	92

Midmarket dailies

Daily Mail	65
Daily Express	60
Today	(Figures for 2006-2007 not available)

Downmarket dailies

Daily Mirror	42
Sun	37
Daily Star	34

All UK adults:	57

Source: National Readership Survey, July 2006 – June 2007 (www.nrs.co.uk).

Readership figures are available for around 260 titles for which the NRS publishes data on the webpage of the NRS, including newspapers, general magazines or women's magazines. The data is divided into seven categories: all adults, men, women, adults aged 15-44, adults aged 45+, adults in social grades ABC1, and adults in social grades C2DE. ABC1 and C2DE refer to middle class and working class readers respectively. Tunstall has chosen to include only percentages of middle-class readers in his table, as is the case for the table above. The values are obtainable as tables where they give the total amount in number and also in percentages within each category

mentioned above. In order to achieve the figures for the middle-class category only, as Tunstall does, the number of middle-class readers must be divided by the total amount of readers of that particular newspaper, and then divided by 100.

As can be deduced by the numbers in Table 2.1, the percentages of middle-class readers are undoubtedly highest for the 'upmarket dailies' and lowest for the 'downmarket dailies'. The newspapers that constitute the material are the most interesting to comment on, and we can see that the figure for *The Times* is a striking 89%, whereas the percentage of middle-class readers of the *Sun* is less than half with only 37%. Hirsch and Gordon claim that: 'a newspaper is not just selling its editorial product to its readers but is selling its readers' incomes to advertisers' (1975:40). Altogether, there can be no doubt that social class is still an important variable for categorising British newspapers.

Reah engages with the notion of audience, which seems almost identical to that of readership. She distinguishes between: 'the "real" audience, the readership, and the audience the paper appears to be writing for – the implied audience' (2004:35). In her opinion newspapers often write as though such a person as a '*Sun* reader' really exists, and that there is in fact: 'a homogenous group of people with shared beliefs and values whose defining feature is the newspaper that they read' (2004:36). Hence Reah believes that the "implied" audience is likely to have significance for the content of newspapers.

The reason for choosing newspapers as the object of study is much due to the highly polarised relationship between the broadsheets and the tabloids. Most interesting for my purposes are the distinctions between the British newspapers included here: *The Times* and the *Sun*. The former is a newspaper traditionally seen as serious, while the latter is more known for celebrity gossip than for lengthy and thorough news reports.

2.3.2 Norwegian newspapers in general

According to Ture Schwebs and Helge Østbye, few countries have as varied and strong a press as Norway. The variation is apparent through the large differences in circulation, resources and political orientations (1999:39). No country in the world sells as many newspapers per inhabitant as Norway, and although there are tendencies towards divides between social classes concerning which papers are read here as well, almost all groups read newspapers on a regular basis in Norway (Schwebs & Østbye 1999:39).

The situation in Norway regarding ownership, format and readership will be explicated here in the same manner the conditions in England were accounted for. Starting with ownership, it can be established that, as with the two British newspapers included in the investigation, the two Norwegian ones are also owned by the same company. The three biggest groups of companies that own the largest and best selling Norwegian newspapers are Schibsted, A-pressen and Orkla. Schibsted is the owner of *VG*, *Aftenposten* and *Aftenposten Aften*; in addition they are partly owners of several large regional papers. The English version of Schibsted's homepage informs us that: 'Schibsted is a Scandinavian media group (…). We have around 8500 employees and operations in 20 countries' (www.schibsted.com). The tendency thus resembles that in England, where a few larger companies tend to control the newspaper market.

Schwebs and Østbye present a table with sales statistics for Norwegian newspapers, and here *VG* is in the lead with *Aftenposten* in second place (1999:45). Schibsted is thus the publisher of the two top selling papers in Norway. In that respect the situation is comparable to that in England, as one company owns both papers that are to be examined, and also all four papers are published in the respective capitals of their countries.

Norwegian newspapers cannot be categorised in the same manner as the British. Sigurd Allern favours the view that the newspaper market in England is strongly affected by the sharp segmentation concerning social classes, which has impact on education as well as language (2001:27). Furthermore, Allern argues that the mentioned divides are not applicable to the press in other countries besides England, and that most Norwegian newspapers aim for and are read by a socially and culturally complex audience (2001:27). Newspapers in Norway are mostly classified by criteria such as readership figures, and by whether they are national, regional, local and so on. Investigations performed by Medienorge[3] focus on all the above (http://medienorge.uib.no). Figures from 2006 show that the daily version of *VG* is the most read newspaper in Norway; 32% of the people asked claim to read *VG*. If both morning and evening editions of *Aftenposten* are considered as one paper, they come in second with a joint figure of 29%. These numbers support the previously mentioned sale statistics presented by Schwebs and Østbye.

Among the statistics available on Medienorge's webpage, there are none that link social class with type of newspaper, or that draw such sharp divides as seem to be the rule rather than the exception when categorising British newspapers. However, 'age', 'sex' and 'education' are

all variables that are used, and 'education' is the one most similar to social class. Figures for 2006 show that among the highest educated group, regional and 'other Oslo newspapers' are read by 51% and 45%, whereas the tabloids *VG* and *Dagbladet* are read by 32%. The typical Norwegian tabloids are thus less read among the higher educated than other broadsheet papers. Among people with only the minimum obligatory amount of education, the figures are 56%, 9% and 26% respectively. Apparently then, education is a factor that matters when studying readership of Norwegian newspapers as well, although socio-economic factors do not appear to be commonly used by Norwegian media researchers. It therefore seems that the knowledge available on the background of British newspaper readers is more extensive than on the corresponding area in Norway. *Aftenposten* and *VG* were chosen as the Norwegian counterparts of *The Times* and the *Sun* in the present study, although as elaborated above, the two newspaper markets differ quite distinctly. Below, a brief introduction to M.A.K Halliday systemic-functional grammar is included in Section 2.4.

2.3.3 Online newspapers

Online versions of the newspapers were selected for this particular investigation due to availability and accessibility. The main difference between print and online newspapers concerns the two very different media types used. Also: 'Characteristic for online newspaper [sic] is that users determine the order in which different content items appear on the screen, by clicking hyperlinks' (van der Wurff & Lauf 2005:4). According to Sara Ilebekk, an online newspaper is not an old medium simply renewed technologically, but a genuinely new medium due to its own distinctive features (1998:6). Dominant characteristics are hypertextuality, multimediality and interactivity. Through these features, the Internet promotes two-way communication in a unique manner, and this leads to erasing of geographical distance on a whole new level (Ilebekk 1998:6). Users may also receive more detailed information in the form of hyperlinks to all stories written earlier on the one and same topic, and by the inclusion of hyperlinks that lead to external webpages with extended information on the matter.

Furthermore, Ilebekk promotes the idea of how this two-way communication creates a need for dialogue, and that journalists who write for online newspapers may even contemplate leaving behind the notion of rhetoric in favour of dialogue (1998:38). Ilebekk therefore claims that the profession of journalism is utilised in two radically different media. The aim in this thesis

is not to contrast print and online newspapers, though it is an interesting idea to investigate whether such differences do affect the language use.

A striking feature concerns the Internet's sharp demands for continuous updates, as one can literally follow events from minute to minute in a similar manner to TV and radio. Reading about the same event in a regular newspaper the next day may become less interesting in that respect. It is Ilebekk's claim that the huge information flow coming from numerous persons and organisations worldwide may contribute to lessening the importance of a journalist's role as a person with power to control public information (1998:8). In addition, she says that both increased commercialisation and technological development have changed the concept of journalism, in turning news into merchandise and thus weakening the power of journalists (1998:21). Again, these facts may contribute to affecting the language used in the two media. A thesis written by a student of media studies at Volda University College supports this theory. In her thesis, Marit Nygård concludes that the online version of the regional Norwegian newspaper *Adresseavisen*, is indeed more tabloid than its printed twin. She suggests different audiences and differing priorities as two possible factors that may have impact on the matter, thus suggesting that the online paper offers a slightly different version of the world than the print version (Nygård 2006:21).

In *Print and Online Newspapers in Europe*, Richard van der Wurff says about online news that: 'Users rather than journalists would decide what news users would receive, and users would become important originators of content, too' (2005:14). Thus, the audience, or the users, have the power to influence the content of newspapers. Also, it is the audience who tends to set the tone concerning how the sender, in this case the online editor and journalist, chooses to communicate. Hence, the audience may affect language usage implicitly. There are numerous reasons for why the language may vary between print and online news. For instance, online newspapers need to address and tempt their readers to click on each article to keep them on the page for as long as possible. One strategy could be to use more of the typical tabloid language, which tends to aim for attracting attention. In order for commercial companies, which advertise in newspapers, to become aware of which groups they communicate to, investigations of who their audience is become vital. British Market Research Bureau, (BMRB) (www.bmrb.co.uk) is a company which offers services such as proprietary research and consultancy. On their website they have published an article on online newspaper audiences which claims that figures collected

from 2004 show that a fifth of internet users visit the online version of a national daily newspaper at least once a week (www.bmrb.co.uk). BMRB focuses on analyses of audiences by market sector, as they claim that such analyses can: 'contribute greatly to the editorial decisions being taken by online publishers' (www.bmrb.co.uk). There are thus good reasons for believing that the audience actually has a great impact on how reality is portrayed through language. As aforementioned, Reah stated that assumptions about readership may very well impact how newspapers address their implied audience. In that respect it may be of relevance that print and Internet newspapers seem to appeal to different usage of a medium: 'We might say that whereas the offline newspaper addresses a reader, the online versions address a navigator' (Sparks & Yilmaz 2005:259). Based on Sparks and Yilmaz's claim that 'articles in print and online newspapers are written by the same type of authors'(2005:35), one could infer that if there are indeed differences in language use between print and online papers, the sender is not the decisive factor. Potential differences between language use in print and online papers will not be looked at here. However, it is still important to point out factors that may affect the choices journalists make as language users.

According to News Group Digital, (www.newsgroupdigital.com) which is a website owned by News Group Newspapers, the *Sun*'s online webpage had a daily average of 311,476 unique users in January 2006. An interesting tendency, according to Sparks & Yilmaz, is that: 'In contrast to the offline news market, the quality press are [sic] dominant in the online market' (2005:263). However, this fact may be yet another consequence of social class segmentation, as: 'It is much easier to access an online newspaper if you are [sic] white-collar worker sitting at [sic] desk with a computer than if you are [sic] manual worker' (Sparks & Yilmaz 2005:259).

2.4 M.A.K Halliday's systemic-functional grammar
As M.A.K Halliday's functional framework will play a significant part in the analyses at grammatical level, an outline of the basic ideas behind his approach to language needs to be included. Halliday became a pioneer within his field when he introduced his version of systemic-functional grammar. In *Handbook of Discourse Analysis, Volume 2, Dimensions of Discourse*, Halliday claims that: 'Systemic grammar is an analysis-synthesis grammar based on the paradigmatic notion of choice', and 'the grammar as a whole is motivated with respect to the semantics' (1985:30). Further he explains that: 'It is built on the work of Saussure, Malinowski

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and Firth, Hjelmslev, the Prague school, and the American anthropological linguists Boas, Sapir, and Whorf; the main inspiration being J. R. Firth' (1985:30). Halliday moved away from the notion of language as a formal system, and emphasises instead the functional aspect of how it creates and expresses meaning. Language is seen as functional in the sense that language users express themselves in specific manners for specific purposes, thus language has a social function that affects our linguistic choices: 'This means that the grammar has to interface with what goes on outside language: with the happenings and conditions of the world, and with the social processes we engage in' (2004:24).

Halliday's systemic-functional model has been widely adopted by discourse analysts because his classifications of different parts of clauses say something fundamental about the function, or even the purpose behind the organising of clauses and sentences. Halliday's systemic-functional theory is widely adopted by researchers investigating language from a critical perspective, who desire to gain insight on the choices of meaning makers and on how language functions socially. Wenche Vagle, whose methodological framework is adhered to in the present thesis, includes a Hallidayan approach to the text analysis at grammatical level. Fairclough and Fowler are others who opted for integrating functional grammar into their respective analyses of text.

Halliday's analyses are mostly concerned with the clause level of language, which ranks above morpheme, word and phrase/group level. Halliday claims that: 'The clause is the central processing unit in the lexicogrammar – (…) it is in the clause that meanings of different kinds are mapped into an integrated grammatical structure' (2004:10). Halliday sees the clause as a composite entity consisting of three dimensions of structure, or metafunctions. Here, the focus will be on the clause as representation, and the functions of Actor[4]. A further presentation of the two other structures of Theme and Subject is deemed redundant for the present purposes, since the following analyses will only incorporate the Actor structure. The core of this function has to do with how: 'A clause has meaning as a representation of some process in ongoing human experience; the Actor is the active participant in that process' (2004:59). 'Actor' is a functional label for the active participant in a specific process type, where it co-occurs with other functions within the same structure. Below, a brief introduction is devoted to each of these functions.

2.4.1 Processes

Halliday states that: 'Our most powerful impression of experience is that it consists of a flow of events, or "goings-on" (…) chunked into quanta of change by the grammar of the clause' (2004:170). This experience consists of processes, participants and circumstances, of which the different types are presented below.

Processes are typically realised by verbal groups. Halliday distinguishes between three main process types: material, mental and relational. However, he also recognises three additional process types, which are located at the borderlines of these three. First of all, he distinguishes between inner and outer experience: 'between what we experience as going on "out there", in the world around us, and what we experience as going on inside ourselves, in the world of consciousness' (2004:170). The material process clauses and mental process clauses represent outer and inner experience respectively. The third main process type is the relational process clauses which include those of identifying and classifying; when one fragment of experience is related to another. Halliday locates behavioural processes on the borderline between material and mental processes, and states that they: 'represent the outer manifestations of inner workings, the acting out of processes of consciousness (…) and physiological states' (2004:171). Further, the verbal processes are situated between mental and relational processes. These processes involve saying and meaning enacted in language. Finally, the so called existential process clauses are on the borderline of relational and material. They are concerned with existence or happening. Table 2.2 below is adapted from Halliday, and provides examples of the different process types.

Table 2.2: Process types

Process type	Example
Material	During the European scramble for Africa, Nigeria **fell** to the British.
Behavioural	People are **laughing.**
Mental	The Ibos **did not approve of** kings**.**
Verbal	**Can** you **tell** us about the political and cultural make-up of Nigeria?
Relational	Every fourth African **is** a Nigerian
Existential	Today there**'s** Christianity in the south

The stratification of these different process types in the news articles investigated in this thesis may help reveal which aspects of reality that receive emphasis in the different texts: 'Clauses of different process types thus make distinctive contributions to the construal of experience in text' (Halliday 2004:174). In *The Functional Analysis of English* from 2004, Bloor and Bloor provide an introduction to the Hallidayan systemic functional approach to language, and link the approach to language studies. They assert that: 'If a functional theory of language has any validity, it should (...) render insights into the way language works in social interaction' (2004:213). This latter claim says something about the aim of the present investigation as well, where the language of news discourse is studied.

2.4.2 Participants

All these process types have accompanying participants which may or may not be present in the clauses. The different types will be briefly introduced below. Participants are usually realised by nominal groups. To begin with the participants in material processes, there are six different participant types in such process clauses. As mentioned, 'Actor' is the participant which 'brings about the unfolding of the process through time, leading to an outcome that is different from the initial phase of the unfolding' (Halliday 2004:180). When the act is extended to another participant, the outcome impacts the so called 'Goal'. Alternative participant types include the 'Scope', the 'Recipient', the 'Client' and the 'Attribute'. In contrast to the 'Goal': 'the Scope of a "material" clause is not in any way affected by the performance of a process' and it is: 'restricted to intransitive clauses' (2004:192). 'Recipient' and 'Client' both have a benefactive role: 'The Recipient is one that goods are given to; the Client is one that services are done for' (2004:191). Finally, there is the 'Attribute', which: 'may be used to construe the resultant qualitative state of the Actor or Goal after the process has been completed' (2004:195). In Table 2.3, examples of the different participant types from material processes are provided.

Table 2.3: Participants in material process clauses

Participant type	Example
Actor	**I** gave my love a ring that has no end.
Goal	I gave my love **a ring that has no end**.
Scope	They played **a game of tennis**.
Recipient	Did Kerry give **you** those files there?
Client	The last phrase he told me was that our fate is to build **for our children** an assuring future.
Attribute	They stripped her **clean** of every bit of jewellery.

Mental clauses are, as previously stated, occupied with our consciousness and inner world of experience. As a consequence they require a different functional labelling. There is always one human participant in mental clauses: 'this is the **Senser**, (…) the one that "senses" – feels, thinks, wants or perceives' (2004:201). The other participant is called 'Phenomenon' and it entails: 'that which is felt, thought, wanted or perceived' (2004:203). Examples of these two participants are included in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Participants in mental process clauses

Participant type	Example
Senser	**Mary** liked the gift.
Phenomenon	**The gift** pleased Mary.

To put it in simple terms, relational process clauses are clauses which: 'serve to characterize and to identify' (2004:210). The verb *be* is often used with the function of making a link between two participants, and Halliday claims that: 'they model this experience as "being" rather than as "doing" or "sensing"' (2004:211). There are two types of relational clauses: The so called attributive clauses, which construe class-membership by ascribing an attribute to some entity, and identifying clauses, which convey identity. Below, in Table 2.5, examples of these two types are included.

Table 2.5: Participants in relational process clauses

Participant type	Example
Attributive clauses: Carrier	**She**'s atrocious
Attributive clauses: Attribute	She's **atrocious**
Identifying clauses: Identified	**The one in the backrow** must be you
Identifying clauses: Identifier	The one in the backrow must be **you**
Identifying clauses: Token	**Henry** is the villain
Identifying clauses: Value	Henry is **the villain**

As is clear from the table, there are four participant types in identifying clauses. The 'Identifier' usually identifies the 'Identified', which means that: 'one entity is being used to identify another' (2004:227). When 'Token' and 'Value' are used, symbolic meaning is construed: 'the identity either decodes the Token by reference to the Value or it encodes the Value by reference to the Token' (2004:230). The distinction between these two sub types of participants is intricate. However, for the present purposes, I do not see it as necessary to go into specifics beyond explaining what is deemed necessary in order to be able to follow the coming presentation of results and the discussion section.

The participants in behavioural process clauses are the 'Behaver' and the 'Behaviour': 'The participant who is "behaving", labelled **Behaver**, is typically a conscious being, like the Senser' (2004:250). Halliday compares the 'Behaviour' participant with the 'Scope' in material clauses. In Table 2.6 below are examples of the two participants.

Table 2.6: Participants in behavioural process clauses

Participant type	Example
Behaver	**She** is laughing.
Behaviour	She is **laughing**.

Furthermore, there are two remaining sets of participant types. The first involves participants in the verbal process clauses. The 'Sayer' is in general confined to the speaker or writer, the 'Receiver' is the one to whom the saying is directed, the 'Verbiage' entails that which is said, while the 'Target' is the entity which something is said about (Halliday 2004:254f). Table 2.7 includes examples of each of these participants.

Table 2.7: Participants in verbal process clauses

Participant type	Example
Sayer	**I** say that sort of thing all the time
Receiver	**I** wasn't told the whole truth
Verbiage	Let me ask you **a question**
Target	He also accused **Krishan Kant**

Finally, Halliday introduces the participant in the existential process clauses. Existential clauses are not so frequent, but they are found for instance in narrative as a means of introducing different participants. In such clauses, only one participant is present: 'The entity or event which is being said to exist is labelled, simply, **Existent**' (2004:258). In Table 2.8 there is an example of the use of this participant.

Table 2.8: Participants in existential process clauses

Participant type	Example
Existent	There was **an old person of Dover**

2.4.3 Circumstances

Circumstances are normally realised by adverbial groups or prepositional phrases. They will only be briefly introduced, as the processes and participants are the functions which are focused on in the present analyses. The notion of circumstance is explained thus by Bloor and Bloor: 'Circumstance (…) is more peripheral than participants, being concerned with such matters as the settings, temporal and physical, the manner in which the process is implemented, and the people or other entities accompanying the process rather than directly engaged in it' (2004:131). The types of circumstances which Halliday include are: 'extent', 'location', 'manner', 'cause', 'contingency', 'accompaniment', 'role', 'matter' and 'angle'. Circumstances are not integrated in the result section as they were deemed as less fruitful than the processes and participants in terms of providing information on the language users' linguistic choices.

The outline of systemic-functional grammar above is naturally far from extensive, and it does not nearly cover all aspects of Halliday's complicated grammatical system. However, the above presentation suffices for the present purposes, where one of the aims is to map the functional choices in the different newspapers, and whether these are similar or dissimilar in their representation of processes and participants. Thus, when looking at the clause as a representation of human experience, the types of action and persons or things involved are given more weight than their surrounding circumstances.

2.5 Previous research

In this section are included previous studies which are deemed relevant in that they resemble or relate to the present investigation in different ways. First, studies within the field of cultural and media studies are presented in 2.5.1. Secondly, reports that more specifically deal with research on newspapers are presented in 2.5.2.

2.5.1 Van Dijk's study of news as discourse

A study which closely relates to the present is presented as one of several studies in van Dijk's *News Analysis. Case Studies of International and National News in the Press* from 1988. As a discourse analyst, van Dijk believes: 'that news reports (…) constitute a particular type of discourse' (1988:1) and he wishes to examine it as a specific type of language, and also sociocultural practice (1988:2). In the book mentioned above, van Dijk presents a study which

aims to explore newspapers from the Third and the First World, and their coverage of the assassination of president-elect Bechir Gemayel of Lebanon in 1982. This particular sequence was based largely on the same premises as the present examination, although the extent of van Dijk's study is considerably larger. Common for both is that they opt for one specific world event as grounds for measuring and comparing the press coverage in different countries. One of van Dijk's goals was to show that: 'a qualitative analysis, based on a theory of news discourse structures and processing, provides a more adequate approach to the study of news than classical content analysis' (1988:31). The present study is also mainly qualitative, although quantitative data are included as well.

Both in terms of aim and scope, the present thesis can be described as a less comprehensive version of van Dijk's research. In his study, a sample of 250 newspapers from 100 countries was narrowed down to more than 700 articles from 138 newspapers. Like in the present thesis, both quality newspapers and popular ones were included in the investigation. The goal was to perform analyses that could indicate whether and how press coverage of a prominent world event would diverge between countries: 'A comparative analysis of the accounts of the same event in newspapers from many different countries, regions, political systems, and cultures is crucial for the empirical justification and possible generalization of a theory of news' (van Dijk 1988:31f). To achieve knowledge on how culture and language could affect the portraying of world events and news in general was evidently an important objective in van Dijk's study, and is also crucial in the present investigation.

Van Dijk promotes several hypotheses, of which three are adapted and empirically tested also in the current thesis. The first hypothesis: 'predicts that cultural, historical, social, political, ideological, or institutional differences between different newspapers, countries, or regions must necessarily result in differences in news discourse about a given world event' (1988:32). In the second hypothesis van Dijk promotes the complete opposite view and thereby anticipates a: 'similarity of news accounts (…). This prediction would be based on an analysis of the influence of a globally shared or imposed set of news production routines and values' (1988:32). Thirdly, van Dijk presents several intermediary hypotheses, of which the one that predicts: 'different results depending on the type of newspaper' (1988:32) was opted for and incorporated into this investigation.

Van Dijk's case study focused on multiple quantitative issues such as, for instance, frequency and size of the coverage, number of photographs, type of article, content categories, sources etc. Furthermore, a detailed qualitative description of thematic structures, for example of style and rhetoric, followed. Based on the quantitative data, van Dijk found that: 'the overall differences between the First and Third World press are only minimal', and that: 'Variation is substantial only among regions, countries, and newspapers' (1988:72). As for the qualitative analyses of thematic structures, they supported the quantitative results, and the overall conclusion seems to be that: 'Most differences in thematic selection, size, ordering, or development, can be explained by the type of newspaper rather than by differences between countries, regions or ideologies' (1988:91). The hypothesis which anticipated similar and standardised news accounts was thus confirmed, in addition to the one that expected differences to occur between different types of newspapers.

The present study also combines quantitative and qualitative data. However, the applied methodology differs rather substantially in its inclusion of a perhaps clearer linguistic focus, where the material is analysed first at word level and then at grammatical level. However, it is evident that the aim and scope of the current thesis are limited due to considerations of time and space. Nevertheless, this study resembles van Dijk's case study, and it is interesting to learn whether his hypotheses are verified or not in the current presentation.

2.5.2 Other relevant studies

Several previous studies concern the language of newspapers, and especially different types of British newspapers. Below are included a few which relate to the present in different ways, namely studies by Allan Bell, Andreas H. Jucker, Monika Bednarak, Tony Trew and Hilary Hillier.

In Allan Bell's *The Language of News Media* from 1991, media language is thoroughly explored. Bell looked at the influence of the production process of news, the role of the audience, and the structure of news stories. More specifically, and relevant for the current subject, is his presentation of how 'popular' and 'quality' British newspapers differ in content and visual styles as well as in the language used. By examining the deletion of determiners in appositional naming expressions in seven British newspapers in 1980, Bell found that the presence of deletion corresponded to the social status of the newspapers' readership. He discovered that the 'quality'

newspapers *The Times*, the *Guardian* and *Daily Telegraph* deleted few determiners, whereas the 'popular' ones, the *Daily Mail*, the *Express*, the *Mirror* and the *Sun*, deleted determiners to a larger extent (Bell 1991:107f). The type of newspaper was thus discovered to be a determining factor which had impact on the usage of a specific linguistic trait.

According to Andreas H. Jucker: 'it is true to say that the British press not only reflects but actually exaggerates the differences in social class and education of the nation as a whole' (1992:51). In *Social Stylistics. Syntactic Variation in British Newspapers* from 1992, he investigates the stratification of the noun phrase as a style marker in British newspapers, and he anticipates that the different socio-economic profiles of the newspapers will result in differences in language use. Jucker thus correlated a linguistic feature with the non-linguistic factor of the socio-economic status of the targeted readership of the different papers. He found that: 'There are big differences between the broadsheet papers and the tabloid papers, and there are also considerable, albeit slightly smaller differences between the two categories of tabloids, the mid-markets and the down-markets' (1992:251). As regards the results for noun phrase modification, Jucker discovered that: 'Some premodifiers are highly significant style markers whereas postmodifiers are far less stylistically salient' (1992:253). As in the present investigation, Jucker thought it necessary to perform a close linguistic analysis in order to be able to draw more general conclusions about newspaper language.

Monika Bednarek's study of newspaper language was published in 2006 in *Evaluation in Media Discourse. Analysis of a Newspaper Corpus*. She wished to examine how news writers' opinions are manifested through language, and did this by identifying quantities of certain selected evaluative parameters present in the examined news texts. Specific issues Bednarek attended to include differences between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, and whether they differ in how they express opinion (2006:3). She found that: 'Overall the broadsheets (…) contain fewer evaluations than the tabloids' (2006:203). As for whether news writers for the tabloids evaluate more than the ones for the broadsheets, she concludes that: 'there are far fewer differences between the broadsheets and the tabloids than might be expected' (2006:216). Finally, Bednarek states that: 'much more systematic linguistic research is needed into the difference between tabloids and broadsheets' (2006:215). She thus inquiries about more large-scale comparisons that focuses on several linguistic aspects, and mentions explicitly that this may broaden the scope of research that have only focused on limited aspects, such as Jucker's study of

noun phrases (2006:215). The present investigation can hopefully be seen as a contribution in that respect, as it investigates newspaper language at word- and grammatical level.

Another previous study of news discourse was performed by Tony Trew, and published in *Language and Control*, a book he co-authored with Roger Fowler among others in 1991. One of Trew's contributions deals with linguistic variation and ideological differences in newspaper language, and he attempts to: 'develop more systematic ways of isolating ideology in discourse, to illustrate further aspects of the linguistic expression of the relations of newspaper and ideologies to social processes' (1979:118). He thus sees a determinate relation between ideology and language, and as Fowler, takes a critical stand in language research. In his study, Trew looked at different newspapers' coverage of the same event, with a particular focus on functional choices, inspired by Halliday's approach. One of his discoveries regarded the presentation of processes and participants in British broadsheet and tabloid papers. Trew found that the *Sun* used more active participants, where, for instance, the *Morning Star* tended to present the processes without participants: 'in particular those that were the occasion of the police action' (1979:148). Further, he discovered that: 'the reports vary widely in the way they categorize those in conflict with the police, and the processes they are involved in' (1979:150). Newspapers usually considered as broadsheet, such as the *Guardian*, *The Times* and *Financial Times* distinguish themselves by omitting active participants to a larger extent than is the case for tabloid papers such as the *Daily Mirror* or the *Sun*, where responsible participants are more present (1979:150f). Trew's results thus seem to indicate that different newspapers do indeed convey diverging linguistic representations of the same event.

Hilary Hillier introduces an additional study of the language of news reports in *Analysing Real Texts. Research Studies in Modern English Language* from 2004. One of the chapters investigates news extracts of the same incident as appearing in three British broadsheets and three British tabloids. The chosen event relates to the British coal industry and the miner's strike of 1984, which began a period of serious industrial and political conflict in Britain (2004:38). It is perhaps thus likely to expect different news accounts as the newspapers may express opposing political views and ideologies which may be manifested in the language. Hillier performed functional analyses to examine the way linguistic choices can impact on how different views of the same happening are represented, and examined voice, agency, processes and participants. The results according to Hillier, show: 'a notable tabloid versus broadsheet dichotomy: the three "most

biased" extracts (...) are all tabloids and the remainder (...) are all broadsheets' (2004:57). Altogether, her study is yet another which supports the notion that the language of different newspapers is indeed different. In the following chapter, the material and methodology will be presented.

NOTES

1. A summary of the history of CDA, including important concepts and developments are provided in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (Wodak 2001:1).

2. The other notions van Dijk presents as typical vocabulary for CDA scholars are: '"gender", "race", "discrimination", "interests", "reproduction", "institutions", "social structure", and "social" (van Dijk 2003:354).

3. Medienorge serves the purpose of informing the public about Norwegian mass media, and the organisation is connected to the Faculty of Social sciences at the University of Bergen. Their webpage provides media statistics of many sorts of Norwegian mass media, including readership figures for newspapers, both paper and online editions (http://medienorge.uib.no).

4. For a detailed presentation of the three metafunctions of Halliday's clause, see: (Halliday 2004:58f).

3 MATERIAL AND METHOD

In the present analyses, the focus is on text and language use. Some of the articles do include photographs to different extents; however these will only be described briefly. Nevertheless, it is vital to state that I am aware of the fact that many researchers of newspapers and media view photographs as essential for the conveyance of meaning, as they tend to interact with the language of the texts. Still, due to the complexity of the performed analyses, the photographs are only briefly mentioned in the results section 4.1. The present approach thus emphasises the language of the newspapers.

Below I will present the material and argue for the choices related to the selection of data used in this investigation. I will also discuss the applied methodology, and finally address advantages and limitations of both material and method including problems that occurred along the way. All references to and examples collected from the articles in the Norwegian newspapers are translated into English.

3.1 Material

The Times

According to the table given in section 2.3.1, *The Times* is an upmarket serious broadsheet newspaper, with a predominantly middle-class readership. The British webpage British Papers (www.britishpapers.co.uk) includes information on British newspapers, and presents links to newspapers from all over the country: national, regional and local. British Papers also divides British newspapers into three categories: 'heavyweights', 'mid-markets' and 'red-tops'. *The Times* is, according to British Papers, a so called 'heavyweight', and it is the oldest British national daily. *The Times* was founded in 1785, and: 'it's been regarded as the United Kingdom's primary newspaper of record' (www.britishpapers.co.uk). Politically it leans to the conservative faction, although the newspaper supported the Blair government in the 2001 and 2005 general elections.

Table 2.1 revealed that among the readers of *The Times*, 89% belong to the middle-class. The NRS defines the British middle-class by: 'the occupation of the Chief Income Earner (CIE) in each household' (www.nrs.co.uk). A person from the middle aspect of the middle-class is typically an intermediate managerial, administrative or professional, whilst the average working

class person is someone who is a semi- or unskilled manual worker (www.nrs.co.uk). The people who read *The Times* are thus likely to be better educated and to earn more money than the average British person. *The Times* can in that manner be considered a prestigious newspaper, as the main readership is likely to occupy the higher levels of the social hierarchy.

The *Sun*

In Table 2.1, the *Sun* is included in the downmarket category with other typical tabloid newspapers. British Papers (www.britishpapers.co.uk) also categorises the *Sun* within the downmarket category and places the paper amongst the national 'red-tops' which are: 'The mass-market end of the British press, with little hard news but plenty of celebrity gossip, sensational crime reporting and loads of sport and entertainment coverage' (www.britishpapers.co.uk). The 'red-top' label is explained by the mastheads the paper carries, with white letters on a bright red background. The webpage also reports that the *Sun* was founded in 1964, and is infamous for its sensational headlines and its Page Three pictures of topless girls (www.britishpapers.co.uk).

Rupert Murdoch procured the *Sun* in 1969 and quickly transformed the paper into a tabloid. Actually, Tunstall says that: 'The full plunge into tabloid journalism did not begin until Rupert Murdoch acquired the *Sun*' (1996:31). The *Sun* became conservative during the 1970s and is seen as supporting the political right, although it has supported the Labour party in the last few elections (www.britishpapers.co.uk). The gap between *The Times* and the *Sun* seems huge, as they routinely end up on opposite sides of the scale when compared.

Aftenposten

Aftenposten is really the name of two newspapers; one larger morning edition that is printed seven days a week, and one evening edition that is only available on week days, from Monday through Friday. The first is aimed primarily at readers in eastern parts of Norway, while the latter is first and foremost for people in Oslo and Akershus counties (Atekst: www.retriever-info.com). The former can thus be said to be a regional paper, whereas the latter is more a local newspaper. *Aftenposten* is mainly a subscription paper, which entails that it depends more on advertising revenues than on sales. According to *Aftenposten*'s own homepage, (www.aftenposten.no), *Christiania Adresseblad*, which the early version of *Aftenposten* was called, was founded in 1860.

Aftenposten is categorised as a conservative newspaper with sympathies towards the political right on NorgesLexi's webpage[1] (www.norgeslexi.com).

As mentioned previously, *Aftenposten* is the second best selling newspaper in Norway, and almost every fifth Norwegian over the age of 13 reads *Aftenposten* on a daily basis (www.aftenposten.no). *Aftenposten* was chosen as an example of a serious Norwegian broadsheet newspaper; however, the paper actually altered its format in 2005 to a tabloid format (www.schibsted.com). Nevertheless, the change supposedly only affected the format and not the content.

VG

VG is the most popular tabloid newspaper in Norway, and according to the newspaper's website, *VG* is now read by 1.3 million people every day, and has been the biggest national paper since 1981 (http://vginfo.vg.no). The newspaper was first published in the post-war days of 1945 based on the idea of creating a free and independent national daily paper, (http://vginfo.vg.no) and is thus politically independent. Schibsted describes *VG* as: 'Norway's leading media house and one of the media business's strongest brands' (www.schibsted.com). *VG* is a single-copy sales newspaper and thus earns from sales rather than subscription.

3.1.1 Selection of articles

The reliability of every choice made in the present investigation needs to be ensured. Severin and Tankard use the terms 'external' and 'internal' reliability. The former concerns: 'the ability of a measure to provide the same results time after time (…) if applied to the phenomena under the same conditions', and the latter refers to: 'whether various subparts of a test provide comparable data' (2001:42). In other words, it is vital that research satisfies certain standards regarding reliability and replicability, in addition the data involved need to be comparable in order for the research work to be valid. A detailed account of decisions relating to these points in the current study is therefore included here.

First and foremost, a decision concerning which newspapers to look at had to be made, and the conclusion was to concentrate on online editions. These decisions are justified in the sections above. Furthermore, the question of how to use the search engines on the online websites purposefully had to be settled, including how to best take advantage of the results, and the way to

go about to further refine the material. I opted for 'tsunami' as search string, since it is certain to provide hits regardless of whether the language of the newspaper is Norwegian or English. Another essential decision to make concerns the time span. The data had to be delimited somehow, and considering issues of time, capacity and scope of the thesis, I decided to focus on the first two weeks of the event, namely from the day it happened, which was 26 December 26 2004 until 8 January 2005. The disaster was far-reaching and extensive, as was the media coverage. The next step was to perform searches. The different newspapers have different layouts and thus differed in their ways of displaying and sorting hits.

On *The Times'* webpage, a search on 'tsunami' returned all articles from the last seven days containing the key word. It is possible to refine the results further, by selecting date ranges. First I selected '2004'; the results could then be sorted by three criteria: 'relevancy', 'oldest' or 'newest'. Ten results per page were displayed. 'Relevancy' entails that the articles that contain the highest frequency of the key word searched for are listed first. However, I opted for 'oldest', and then the relevant months, which are December and January. On page 12 of the search results, the hits from December started showing, thus the counting and selecting could begin.

The *Sun*'s website offers a search box in the top right corner of the page. The hits were displayed as articles listed by either relevance or date. I opted for refining the results by selecting 'year' and then '2004', and found the articles listed by month. The next step was to click on the month of December. All articles published in the *Sun* online in December were then displayed, and the relevant time span could be found. The same procedure was performed consecutively with year 2005 and month January to cover the whole time period.

As for *Aftenposten*'s homepage, the hits that appeared were sorted automatically by date. 'Relevance' is another criterion available which entails sorting after number of occurrences of the key word in the articles. The newest articles are displayed first, so in order to reach the relevant time span, the result pages need to be examined. Twenty articles are displayed on one page. Since the articles appear in descending order, the latest part of the time period that is to be investigated starts to appear on page 16, and so continues onto page 17.

To perform the searches on *VG's* site, I used the search box in the top right page corner. A search for 'tsunami' gives the newest articles that include the key word. The options are to sort hits by either date or relevance here as well. Year 2004 was selected in order to find the correct

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time, and all articles that include 'tsunami' in them were displayed. The same procedure was then repeated for year 2005, where the relevant dates started showing on page seven and onwards.

The next issue concerned the quantity of articles on which to perform discourse analyses. The choice of how many to focus on was vital, as a decision had to be made to either concentrate on a huge quantity more superficially, or a smaller quantity described in larger detail. The original amount of material available after submitting the searches is presented in the table below.

Table 3.1: Number of articles that include the word 'tsunami' in the time period 26 Dec. 2004 – 8 Jan. 2005

Newspaper	Number of articles
The Times	374
The *Sun*	173
Aftenposten	34 (7 written in English)
VG	39
Total	**620**

The table above shows the frequencies of articles containing the word 'tsunami' in the four chosen newspapers over a period of two weeks. As is obvious from the figures, the British corpus contains a considerable higher number of articles than the Norwegian one. Naturally, all of the articles could not be analysed during the rather short period of time available for the study. The articles that will be analysed more thoroughly were thus selected from this preliminary sample. Eventually, I settled on one article from each newspaper from three days within the two week-period. Altogether that makes 12 articles, which ended up as the total data material. The first and the last day of the period, namely 26 December and 8 January, seemed essential to include, in terms of underlining the limits of the selected interval of time. One additional day approximately in the middle of the period was also included: 30 December.

The material consists of four newspapers, and as a result four articles must be selected for every date chosen to look at. The analyses cover numerous features at word- and grammatical level, and since the material will be investigated in depth, 12 articles were deemed sufficient, and a fortnight seemed a reasonable period of time to concentrate on. Nevertheless, the three corpora are not identical in size, as the length of the different articles varied from between 111 words in

the shortest piece to 1252 words in the longest article. Two of the articles from *Aftenposten* were the two containing most words of the lot. Tables 3.2 and 3.3 below indicate the sizes of each corpus. Table 3.2 provides the number of words from each country.

Table 3.2: Total number of words in Norwegian and English

Newspapers	Number of words
Norwegian	
Aftenposten	2114
VG	1106
Total	**3220**
British	
The Times	1271
The *Sun*	882
Total	**2153**

As shown in the table, the Norwegian corpus surpasses the British one in size. The magnitude of the divergence is 1067 words. The two rather lengthy articles in *Aftenposten*, where one is more of a soft news feature article, certainly add to the size of the Norwegian corpus. Table 3.3 shows the respective sizes of the corpora, when juxtaposing the data by type of newspaper. The number of words in the two broadsheet papers is hence contrasted to the total number of words in the tabloids.

Table 3.3: Number of words in type of newspaper

Newspapers	Number of words
Broadsheet	
Aftenposten	2114
The Times	1271
Total	**3385**
Tabloid	
VG	1106
The *Sun*	882
Total	**1988**

It is perhaps not so surprising that there are more words in the broadsheet articles than in the tabloids: 3385 compared to 1988. This supports the general idea that tabloids tend to produce fairly short articles compared to those in the so called quality press.

Most days there were more and often many more than one article, especially in the two British papers. The process of selecting the article to analyse from such days was done by opting for the one that occurred first; thus time of publishing was the criterion emphasised. This choice was based on the assumption that articles that occur first or early in newspapers tend to be the ones that adhere clearest to the news genre, which is the genre preferred in the current investigation. Thus the articles that focused on the 'whats', 'wheres' and 'whos' were prioritised over commentaries and opinion pieces. Time as a criterion thus allows for genre continuity since ensuring that all articles belong within the same genre is important to secure the best possible conditions for comparisons between the corpora. To choose time of publishing as a selection criterion can undoubtedly be discussed. Perhaps the articles that are favoured in this manner are amongst the less representative according to other criteria, such as for instance newsworthiness, length etc. However, it seems appropriate to focus on time of publishing as a deciding factor. Still, there are a few instances where the first articles had to be rejected for numerous reasons. The first articles to occur in the Norwegian papers were all accepted and judged to fulfil the current requirements. Nevertheless, a problem presented itself in the selection process of the British articles. It became evident that the order in which the articles were displayed on the page was random, and that even when selecting 'date' as a sorting option, the order of both *The Times* and the *Sun* articles varied from day to day. The solution to this problem was to choose one specific day, and to state that on this particular day, the selected articles were indeed the ones that occurred first, or at least the first to adhere to the news genre. The date on which the British article material was collected was 5 March 2008.

For 8 January, the two first articles to appear on *The Times*' webpage did not adhere to the news genre, thus the selected article was in fact the third one. Among the stories available from the *Sun*'s webpage, the first article on 8 January had to be rejected because it was an opinion piece and not a news article, and thus did not adhere to the preferred genre. The second one, however, was found acceptable and was the one chosen in the end.

3.2 Method

The issue of reliability has already been addressed. Another vital concept in empirical research is that of validity. According to Østbye et al, validity concerns the degree to which design and operationalisation of the method provide relevant insight into the overall area of the study, and whether one really addresses the topical issues (Østbye et als. 2007:118). Below a detailed description of method and methodologies used in this thesis is included, as well as the reasons behind each choice.

3.2.1 Quantitative and qualitative methods

The method employed to study the selected material can be described as mainly qualitative. However, quantitative data are included as well. Thus the present approach seeks to take advantage of both methods, which should not be seen as mutually exclusive, but rather as two approaches that complement one another. In quantitative research, the aim is to: 'classify features, count them and even construct more complex statistical models in an attempt to explain what is observed' (McEnery & Wilson 1996:76). The advantages of quantitative research are that results can be compared to others in the same manner as all scientific investigations that are based on data samples (McEnery & Wilson 1996:75). In this fashion it is possible to obtain statistically significant results and to draw broad conclusions. This particular study includes limited quantitative aspects utilised mainly in order for the results to be comparable between the different sub corpora. Thus the present thesis does not aim to conduct hypothesis testing through statistical methods.

Instead of emphasising classification and counting: 'in qualitative research the data are used only as a basis for identifying and describing aspects of usage in the language and to provide "real-life" examples of particular phenomena (McEnery & Wilson 1996:76). Also, McEnery and Wilson state that: 'Qualitative forms of analysis offer a rich and detailed perspective on the data' (1996:76). The aim of the study is to look at news articles in detail, and to inquire into the coverage of a specific event, rather than to make general claims based on frequencies and classifications; a qualitative approach therefore seems most fruitful. Klaus Bruhn Jensen speaks of a so-called qualitative turn in mass communication research, and he claims that the interdisciplinary fields of humanistic and social-scientific approaches to mass communication are converging around the qualitative turn (1991:3). He also mentions that: 'One important

methodological contribution of the humanities has been the development of discourse analysis, which offers a systematic, qualitative alternative to formal content analysis' (1991:9). The reasonable alternative thus seems to point itself out, since discourse analysis is indeed the approach utilised here. Although counting and comparisons based on frequencies are conducted, the goal is to provide detailed insight on potential similarities or dissimilarities between Norwegian and British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. The method applied is therefore first and foremost qualitative.

Van Dijk also favours thorough qualitative studies: 'such analyses are necessary to establish not only what but also how the world press covers events in different countries' (1988:35). The qualitative approach is seen as satisfying also here, and the present study relates to van Dijk's study of press coverage of a world event, considering the similarities in aim and scope, further outlined in Chapter 2. This study attempts to examine the articles beneath a surface level to look for underlying meaning and textual representation of social reality. The method should mirror these aims, and in that respect I find a qualitative approach by means of discourse analysis to be a highly appropriate and adequate method.

3.2.2 Discourse analysis as method

As previously discussed briefly, discourse analysis can be viewed as both theory and method. For the present purposes, the methodological aspect seems suitable to apply here, especially considering the initial hypotheses regarding culture as a factor which can affect language and representations of reality. Discourse analysis is thus the analytical strategy I will make use of to retract features from the articles that will hopefully relate to and address these introductory theories.

Barbara Johnstone describes discourse analysis as: 'a methodology that can be used in answering many kinds of questions' (2002:4). Furthermore, she points out how discourse analysis over the past few years has been used increasingly in the service of critical goals, which entails being: 'critical of the possibility of producing a single, coherent, scientifically valid description' (2002:26). Being critical of the social status quo is another distinguishing feature for critical researchers (Johnstone 2002:26). The critical tradition, further outlined in Chapter 2, is that which will be followed here. I have opted for an eclectically based approach which relies primarily on Wenche Vagle's analytical model, but which also incorporates a few points adapted

from Norman Fairclough, whose contribution concerns representation of social actors. Halliday's systemic-functional linguistics is then again incorporated into Vagle's framework. I have formed a synthesis of the approaches which together constitute the exact recipe for how the texts will be analysed in the present thesis. By utilising parts of two frameworks, instead of adhering consequently to one, a wider perspective is offered. The content of the two approaches is accounted for in detail below.

Vagle's analytical model
The main parts of the model applied in this investigation are adapted from researcher Wenche Vagle's analytical model. She is the author of the chapter Critical text analysis in *Tilnærminger til tekst. Modeller for språklig tekstanalyse* [*Approaches to text. Models for linguistic text analysis*] from 2005. The book presents different approaches to text, and Vagle's contribution builds on the critical tradition. Her chapter revolves around an actual analysis of a text used in a public campaign fronted by the Directorate for Health and Social Affairs in Norway. Her analysis is inspired by the works of theorists and discourse analysts such as critical linguists Roger Fowler and Norman Fariclough and discourse analyst Teun A. van Dijk. M.A.K Halliday is another important linguist whose systemic-functional grammar is incorporated into the analysis (Vagle 2005:231).

Vagle labels her work almost consistently as text analysis, which may be explained by the textual and linguistic focus of her analysis. Vagle's approach seems appropriate as concerns the objectives of the present investigation. She claims that the point of critical text analysis is to illustrate how different experiential backgrounds result in different portrayals of reality, and how all textual contributions present reality from a partial perspective. For this thesis, potential cultural divergence portrayed through language is the main area of interest, thus the analysis will focus on journalism as a form of discourse, and journalists as producers of text and portrayers of reality.

Vagle divides her work into four parts: 1. preliminary understanding of the context, 2. text description, 3. text interpretation and 4. text explanation. She describes the four parts in the following manner: She sees the preliminary understanding of the context as including 'outer' and 'inner' available resources. The 'outer' consist of distinguishing features of the physical situation, the participants and the whole textual context, while the 'inner' are experientially based

representations which we carry with us, for instance institutional behavioural patterns. The text description part deals with the retrieving of linguistic traits that make the text what it is, and looking at why the text means what it means. Text interpretation involves the communicative functions the text performs in social contexts, and finally there is the text explanation part, which focuses on the larger social context (Vagle 2005:134f). I will argue that the current thesis covers all of the parts above. The preliminary understanding of the context is covered in section 3.1, with description of the material and also the senders, who are the readership of the newspapers. Newspaper language, which is part of the textual context, is also discussed in Chapter 2. Text description is addressed through the analyses and the presentation of results in Chapter 4. Furthermore, the text interpretation and text explanation parts are also incorporated into Chapter 4, in the section which includes a discussion of the results. Vagle performs a detailed analysis, and all her points of interest will not be addressed, as they may not be relevant to the texts here, or they are perhaps not interesting in relation to the aims of this particular investigation.

Text description is perhaps the most time consuming task for a researcher and also the most complicated, since it involves recovering the distinctive character of the texts. Three levels constitute the text description part in Vagle's model: word level, grammatical level and textual level. The textual level will be left out here due to limitations of time and space; moreover, the word- and grammatical levels were judged to provide more relevant results related to the aim here. Vagle has chosen to look at three language functions; the referential, the interpersonal and the expressive functions, and she investigates them on the three levels mentioned above. She explains that the referential function expresses the content of the text, what is going on. The interpersonal function relates to the social relationship of the communicating participants, and finally the expressive function deals with subjectivity, and expresses the sender's personal evaluation (Vagle 2005:126).

Table 3.4: Language functions and language levels included in the present analyses

Language function / Language level	Referential	Interpersonal	Expressive
Word level	Referential function at word level	Interpersonal function at word level	Expressive function at word level
Grammatical level	Referential function at grammatical level	Interpersonal function at grammatical level	Expressive function at grammatical level

Table 3.4 is adapted from Vagle (2005:137), and shows how language functions and levels interact, and this marked dividing of levels contributes to making the analyses easily comprehensible. Furthermore, the text description part is the most important in the present investigation. The results obtained from the analyses of the 12 articles will be presented in Chapter 4.

A pilot study of a few articles quickly revealed that the most fruitful results were found within the referential language function, both at word level and grammatical level. In fact, many points belonging under the interpersonal and expressive language functions did not provide any results whatsoever. This could be a consequence of how news as a genre ideally is most concerned with what is going on rather than expressing the relationship between participants or the views of the participants. On account of this, the referential function became the most dominant, since it was the one which gave results. However, certain elements belonging under the interpersonal and expressive language functions were included as they were considered to add breadth to the overall image.

Fairclough's textual analysis for social research

Fairclough's points, which are incorporated in these analyses, relate to Halliday's systemic-functional grammar and the grammar of the clause, which has also been accounted for in Chapter

2 and which is embedded into Vagle's framework. The focus here is on participants and Fairclough says that: 'Social actors are usually Participants in clauses' (2003:145). He offers an overview of different choices available for representing social actors in the form of several variables[2]. The ones that are included here are the binaries pronoun/noun and named/classified. These address whether a social actor is realised as a pronoun ('I', 'he', 'we', 'you', etc.) or as a noun, and whether they are represented by name (e.g. 'Fred Smith') or in terms of class or category (e.g. 'the doctor') (Fairclough 2003:145f). His variable 'activated'/'passivated' is covered at grammatical level in Vagle's framework when discussing use of passive constructions and concealed agents.

Fairclough believes that the manner in which social participants are represented can be of social significance. About pronouns he says that: 'Pronouns are usually worth attending to in texts. (…) The first person plural pronoun, *we*, is important in terms of Identificational meanings (…) how texts represent and construct groups and communities' (2003:149). Moreover he refers to the personal pronouns *we* and *you* and how they can be used inclusively and exclusively, however, this point is covered at the grammatical level in Vagle's model. The focal point here regards simply whether and to what extent the newspapers portray official and civilian participants mostly by use of pronouns or nouns. It is not specified in the present investigation which specific personal pronouns that were found in the texts, but merely the collected sum. All personal pronouns, both singular and plural have been included in the count. The focus is rather on whether the social participants are personalised through use of pronouns or depicted collectively as a mass through nouns. This also links up to how concrete or abstract the language of the newspapers is. However, it is interesting that Fairclough also touches upon Vagle's point about specific use of *we* and *you* and who they refer to. Naming and classification are seen as extensions of the previous point, in terms of how these variables can reveal to which degree participants are being personalised by use of personal name, or if they have opted primarily for classifications or categorisations which heightens the level of abstraction. The features of pronouns and naming are easy to identify. Nouns and classifications, however, are features that overlap. An example of a word that is found in the same article as the examples in Table 3.5, and that is categorised both as a noun and a classification, is 'Norwegian insurance companies'. Examples of words that are merely seen as nouns and not classifications are 'many' and 'people that were affected'. Words judged to be classifications are: 'Norwegian insurance companies' and

'companies', because they are social participants that are referred to in terms of class or category, a type of company. It is unavoidable that most classifications, if not all, are simultaneously nouns, while nouns are not necessarily always classifications, thus the features overlap.

Table 3.5 provides a full overview of the points that are included in the analyses at word level and grammatical level. All examples included in the table are collected from the *Aftenposten* article from 30 December 2004. All linguistic features presented will be briefly introduced based on Wenche Vagle's descriptions of what they entail, including additional remarks regarding the present usage of the features. Fairclough's contribution is accounted for above.

Table 3.5: An overview of the steps followed on all levels

Language function	Referential	Interpersonal	Expressive
Language level			
WORD LEVEL Vagle	**What is the text about?** **Referent chains (3+):** 1. **Places** a) *Country, place*: N/A 2. **Participants** a) *Officials*: 'The companies'- 'most insurance companies' – 'the companies' – 'the insurance companies' b) *Civilians*: 'The people who were affected' – 'many' – 'those who were affected by the disaster' c) *Nature*: N/A		**Are there any eva- luative words?** 'A **quick** and **efficient** settlement'
Fairclough	**Are the social participants realised as a pronoun or a noun?** **Pronoun** Officials: 1 Civilians: 1 **Noun** Officials: 6		

	Civilians: 2	
	Are the social participants named or classified?	
	Named Officials: 3 Civilians: 0	
	Classified Officials: 6 Civilians: 0	
Vagle	**Is there any de-lexicalisation in the text?** N/A	
	Is there any over-lexicalisation in the text? Officials: 'Insurance company'/ 'company' Other: 'Insurance' in all combinations. 'Disaster'	**Who/what does the text show solidarity with?** Financial focus. Article aimed at Norwegian victims, thus soli-darity is implicitly present for Norwegians.
	What kinds of meaning relations are established between words in the text? *Synonyms*: 'Quick' – 'efficient' *Antonyms*: N/A *Hyponyms*: *Other*:	

	'Insurance': 'travel insurance', 'debt in-surance', 'life- or pension insurance', 'accident insurance' **Are there any meta-phors in the text?** N/A

GRAMMATICAL LEVEL
Vagle
	What is going on?
	
	Which processes dominate?
	 10 material
	  4 verbal
	  3 mental
	  2 relational
	  0 behavioural
	  0 existential
	
	Which participants dominate?
	In the material processes:
	7 Goals
	
	In the relational:
	1 Carrier
	1 Attribute
	1 Identified
	1 Identifier
	
	In the verbal:
	4 Sayers
	4 Verbiages
	
	In the mental:
	3 Sensers
	3 Phenomena
	
	Are there nominalisations?
	5 nominalisations

	Are the sentences active or passive? 3 passive sentences	Who do the pronouns *we* and *you* refer to? N/A	How does the sender commit to the truth or probability of the referential content of the statements? There are a few instances of modal verbs: *will* and *could*. Otherwise no uncertainty about the referential content of the statements is expressed.

Word level

Referential function

What is the text about?

Referent chains

The first point at word level concerns finding the subject or content of the text by studying what Vagle calls content words. These are nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, in contrast to grammatical words which reveal little about the core of the text (Vagle 2005:138). These so called content words usually form referent chains throughout the text, and these long or central

referent chains will often reveal the main content. Vagle describes referent chains as the most important mechanisms for creating coherence in a text, and they consist of links between for instance persons, objects, and ideas etc (2005:141). I opted for interpreting central referent chains as being those which include three or more elements, thus referent chains with fewer elements were ignored. This decision was based on the assumption that the longer the referent chains are, the more likely it is that they are substantive for the text's main topic. After performing pilot studies on a small data sample, it became evident that the longest referent chains included places and different types of participants. Due to this, the analyses were limited to referent chains that fit into these specific categories. These particular categories can also arguably be said to cover two important questions addressed in news articles, namely 'where' and 'who' are included when representing the world. The 'what' is partly covered by using 'tsunami' as the search string. The referent chains selected from the articles were thus those concerning 'places', subdivided into 'country'/'place' and also 'participants', which was subdivided into 'officials', 'civilians' and 'nature'. Naturally, some central referent chains did not adhere to any of the mentioned categories; however, these were the ones that turned out to be most fruitful. The central referent chains obtained from the analyses are presented quantitatively in tables, and based on these frequencies it is possible to deduce what the different newspapers chose to focus on among the given categories.

Which words are chosen to describe reality?

De-lexicalisation

Vagle uses the term de-lexicalisation to refer to words that have stronger connotations than other variants or synonyms which, in most cases, would be preferred or referred to as the more neutral variant. Vagle refers specifically to words that create distance or alienation to standard social norms (2005:143). I interpret the term rather loosely and apply it to words which in my opinion seem biased in some way in the context of the article where it occurs. All points from de-lexicalisation to metaphors at word level have been analysed qualitatively and will be presented with merely a few examples in the main body of the text in Chapter 4.

Over-lexicalisation

As the name of the term reveals, over-lexicalisation occurs when many words, synonyms or near synonyms, are used about the same phenomenon (Vagle 2005:144). This feature tends to overlap somewhat with central referent chains, and the instances of over-lexicalisation tend to form tight referent chains. In the current thesis, over-lexicalisation is judged to be present if an article includes three or more occurrences of a word. Thus central referent chains and over-lexicalisations are delimited identically. Instances of over-lexicalisation are not limited by being divided into set categories, as is the case for the central referent chains and in this way they provide additional information about the content of the texts.

What kinds of meaning relations are established between words in the text?

This point concerns how meaning relations are created by the speaker or writer through use of synonyms, antonyms or hyponyms. Synonyms are words with corresponding meaning, antonyms are words which have opposite meaning. Finally hyponymy occurs when words have meanings which are instances of a general word. For example, spruce and maple are both different types of trees (Vagle 2005:145). The point of interest here regards what meaning relations are created between which words.

Metaphors

Vagle speaks of how using metaphors is a way to re-categorise reality and a means to represent one type of experience through words connected to another experience area (2005:150f). Metaphors are interesting linguistic tools that are included in the present analyses due to their ability to connect concepts that are normally quite distinct from one another. Metaphors are thus also a way of establishing meaning relations between words.

Interpersonal function

Who/what does the text show solidarity with?

Vagle sees this point as involving the sender's presentation of reality, and how some texts represent reality in a certain way that it is taken for granted that readers or listeners share (Vagle 2005:160f). This feature tends to overlap with the expressive function and use of evaluative words, as the sender may presume that potential recipients evaluate the subject matter in a more

or less identical manner. In the analyses, I have emphasised where, or more specifically, who, receives attention and focus, and also if solidarity is expressed explicitly or implicitly.

Expressive function

Are there any evaluative words?

Here, Vagle includes interjections, evaluative adjectives, verbs and nouns (2005:161). Further she states that personal evaluations are often linked to the sender's perspective and her way of categorising reality categorisation (2005:161). The next point may then be to ask: Who is the sender? News articles, and especially hard news articles, tend to include a variety of sources and there is often a fine line between where the journalist's voice and the voice of external sources. The problem occurs to a large extent when sources are quoted indirectly. However, as the journalist chooses to include evaluations presented by sources, she becomes implicitly responsible for the content, and the sender role becomes indistinct. I have used quotation marks in Chapter 4 as well as in the appendices to single out all sentences that are clearly direct speech from external sources.

Grammatical level

Referential function

What is going on?

Under the referential function at grammatical level, Vagle focuses on Halliday's systemic-functional grammar and more specifically on processes and participants and which types that dominate the texts. By finding the most frequent process type it is possible to ascertain to which degree the different texts focus on, as Vagle puts it, inner or outer experience and whether the processes require human consciousness or not (2005:165). The use of participants can also provide information on how the process is realised, especially considering whether the participants are the ones performing the action or the ones affected by the action. This can also be linked to the next points regarding presence or absence of agents. Vagle stresses that cause, purpose and responsibility are important factors when analysing a text's portrayal of reality. In the present thesis, the processes and participants will be counted and compared by relative percentage frequencies. As for nominalisations and passive constructions, which are also

considered tools utilised to conceal active agents, they will be counted and calculated into number of occurrences per 1000 words.

Interpersonal function

Who do the pronouns *we* and *you* refer to?

Vagle claims that *we* can be used both to exclude and to include, and when the sender means to include, potential recipients may ask themselves whether or not they want to be included in the intended group of recipients (Vagle 2005:180f). Furthermore, *you* often marks proximity, and whether this proximity is real or constructed for certain purposes is also a point of interest.

Expressive function

How does the sender commit to the truth or probability of the referential content of the statements?

This point is again linked to the sender's opinions and how they are expressed. Vagle writes that a sender can commit to the truth of the content of the statements to different degrees by using or avoiding modal forms and adverbials. Modal verb forms such as *must*, *may*, *can* and *could* all express degrees of certainty, same as adverbials such as *probably*, *usually* etc. Vagle specifically mentions that the news genre tends to rapport events as though they are all categorical truths and pure facts without marking any modality. As mentioned in relation to evaluative words at word level, the expressive function deals with the sender and her opinions, thus the same issue concerning whether the sender is the journalist or a source, will arise. I have therefore repeated the above procedure and have marked all direct quotes with quotation marks.

As a general note I would like to add that all linguistic traits belonging under the interpersonal and expressive language functions will be analysed qualitatively. Comprehensive results are available in the appendices.

3.3 Advantages and limitations of the material and method

I have opted for an eclectic approach that takes advantage of the elements considered most adequate in Vagle's model, combined with two points from Fairclough in hope of retracting salient features from the news articles as regards language use. To use this particular model

appeared sensible for my purposes, as it emphasises going beyond surface level to obtain a thorough sense of what is going on in a text.

It is essential that the investigation performed is replicable and also vital that the method is accounted for in a way which is possible to trace and replicate step by step. In that manner, the study can achieve validity. As pointed out above, I believe that external and internal reliability has been achieved in the sense that all choices are presented and justified.

The material selected can naturally be discussed. The British newspapers are both owned by the same company, and the same situation applies to the Norwegian ones. Some could claim that in reality only two voices are represented, instead of four. Still, these specific newspapers were selected because they are known to be very different in many ways. Especially the British ones seem to be examples of two extremes regarding readership, profile, format etc, all features which are mentioned earlier. As far as *Aftenposten* and *VG* are concerned, I have not succeeded in recovering any previous investigations or surveys that link readership regarding social class or socio-economic features to type of newspaper read. Nevertheless, these were chosen as representatives of Norwegian broadsheets and tabloids as they are the most popular in Norway by means of readership figures. A larger selection of material would perhaps have given more representative results, or at least a wider perspective, but within the given time frame, it was considered sufficient to settle for the chosen material.

Also, there are many more newspaper articles that contain the word 'tsunami' in the British newspapers than what is the case for the Norwegian ones, still I opted for investigating the same amount of articles from each paper. This may increase the chances of obtaining a skewed result, and decrease the representativeness; however the aim is not to carry out statistical analyses, and so I settled for an equal number of articles and not an equal number of words.

As for the method, although discourse analysis appears to be the most profitable methodology in the present study, weaknesses exist. For instance, as stated in Chapter 2, the term discourse analysis is excessively broad, and the terminology is at times rather abstract and theoretical. Also, it tends to diverge largely between researchers and projects. Accordingly, a great challenge is to choose how to practically execute analyses, and which features to emphasise in the operational realisation. I opted for combining a quantitative and qualitative approach. The qualitative data are mainly provided to broaden the overall picture, and to add nuance.

The goal of the analyses performed in this thesis is to achieve insight into a rather limited area of discourse, and it is not seen as desirable in itself to draw broad and general conclusions about all media discourse. The specific use of discourse analysis varies from researcher to researcher and from discourse to discourse. This makes the methodology unique in the sense that it can be adapted to best fit the given material and aims of the researcher. Critics may however also use this as an argument of lacking objectivity in claiming that the researcher becomes too important, and that the investigation may be impacted too greatly by his or her personal views or agendas. A weakness with Vagle's framework is that it is somewhat general. For instance when applying the model to news articles, as in this instance, pilot studies revealed that results under the interpersonal and expressive language functions were scarce and hardly very interesting. As a consequence, the referential function is emphasised in the present investigation. Type of text, genre etc is therefore an important factor in terms of which points should be included; a factor which Vagle does not seem to take into account. Nevertheless, the thoroughness of her framework is impressive, as she covers minor linguistic features at word level, as well as including aspects of the complicated systemic-functional grammar at grammatical level. Fairclough's variables regarding the representation of social actors may be criticised for anticipating a too strong link between ideology and language. However, his points were included as an alternative source for the providing of data on participants. Since Vagle's framework was mainly inspired by critical linguists, including Fairclough, it seemed purposeful.

The method may give indications regarding the coverage of the tsunami disaster as a specific event. However, a drawback is that this investigation only allows for drawing conclusions about the portrayal of this specific event. General conclusions on the overall news contributions on other events cannot be made. However, the conclusions drawn on the basis of this study still allow for generating improved and grounded hypotheses which can lead to further research within the field, which is also a valuable contribution.

Another problem concerns whether ideal grounds for comparing between languages and newspapers are present or not. Some might see it as problematic to compare equivalent forms in the two languages, and that identical models are applied on texts from both languages. I should emphasise that the analyses were carried out on texts on the original languages, and only for the purpose of presentation in Chapter 4, were text from the Norwegian articles translated, in order for the results to be understandable. In sum, all decisions concerning the material and method

were made to fit this particular investigation in the best possible manner, and the final choices should all be accounted for.

NOTES

1. NorgesLexi is a project that aims to develop an encyclopaedia of Norwegian politics and it is supported by the University of Bergen (www.norgeslexi.com).

2. Fairclough uses these variables to chart the choices available in the representation of social actors: inclusion/exclusion, pronoun/noun, grammatical role, 'activated'/'passivated', personal/impersonal, named/classified, specific/generic (Fairclough 2003:145f)

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Results

In this chapter I will present the results from the analyses. The results will be presented subsequently by the selected points from Vagle's analytical model, presented in Table 3.6 in Chapter 3. The points belonging under the referential, interpersonal and expressive language functions respectively will be accounted for, first at word level and then at grammatical level. It was mentioned briefly in Chapter 3 that the referential function turned out to be the most fruitful. As a consequence, the referential function is where the main focus is when presenting the results, as well as in the following discussion.

First, the cross-cultural aspect will be emphasised by addressing the findings in the two Norwegian newspapers, and comparing them with the data obtained from the British papers. Second, the data will be compared on the basis of whether they were collected from a broadsheet or tabloid newspaper. Third, the results will be contrasted and summarised briefly to procure a good overview of the data. In this manner the hypotheses presented in the introduction and further elaborated in Chapter 2 are addressed directly. Finally, the results will be discussed in Section 4.2.

4.1.1 Norwegian newspapers

The six Norwegian newspaper articles all approach the tsunami disaster and the interconnected events from different angles. The two articles from 26 December 2004, which is the very day of the disaster, concentrate on hard facts and cover basic questions concerning 'what', 'where', 'who' etc. They are both quite general thematically in that they attempt to notify new readers about a news event. Facts are backed up through use of outside sources such as local population, local authorities, civil servants and scientists with expertise about the natural phenomenon of tsunamis. The two articles from 30 December 2004 are more specific as far as subjects go. *Aftenposten* is occupied with insurance payments in the aftermath of the disaster, and can be said to emphasise a financial aspect. *VG*, on the other hand, is concerned with the tsunami as a natural phenomenon, and uses photographs to show readers how the tsunami evolved. Both use outside sources and direct quotes from people, many of whom may be seen to fill the function of experts within their respective fields. On 8 January 2005, two weeks after the tsunami struck, *VG* focuses

on aid work, and how the increased number of visits from international officials may lead to delays in the aid work. *Aftenposten* presents a rather long feature article, which falls under the genre of soft news, mentioned briefly in Chapter 2. The article is about the Indonesian province of Aceh, its history and hope for freedom. The tsunami is barely mentioned per se.

As far as use of pictures in the news articles is concerned, *Aftenposten* made use of quite a few in the article from 26 December 2004, seven to be specific. Four of them include people, and especially the first ones are dramatic. The first one is of an injured tourist who is being taken to the hospital. The next shows dead victims of the disaster lying on the floor of a morgue in Madras. Picture number three is of the tsunami as seen from above, and numbers four and five display the outdoor devastations of the tsunami. Finally, the two last pictures are both taken in Colombo, Sri Lanka. One shows people working to get rid of some of the sea water, and the last one is of a crowd of people crying for help on the beach. To summarise, the only *Aftenposten* article with photographs is from the same day as the disaster happened. In that respect, it is only natural that the writer wishes to show us the consequences of the catastrophe. The visual as well as textual focus is thus on the 'what', 'where' and 'who'.

VG included pictures in two articles. On 30 December 2004, three pictures of the development of the tsunami are placed strategically below the lead, and both the headline and the lead refer directly to the pictures. The article is, as mentioned above, concerned about the tsunami as a natural phenomenon. The pictures are clearly present to visualise the force of the tsunami, and the text beneath the picture starts with the characterisation *Violent force* put in capital letters. On 8 January, two pictures are used to illustrate the described events. The first picture is rather large, and positioned right below the lead of the story. The photograph shows civilians in Banda Aceh who are trying to get into an American helicopter filled with supplies. A person who is possibly an aid worker, or at least a member of the flight crew, appears to be trying to prevent people from getting into the helicopter, perhaps because the aid workers prefer to hand out the supplies themselves. The text under the picture says that *Desperate people are fighting for supplies*. This text and the photograph itself could be said to enhance the implicit solidarity expressed on behalf of the civilians in the headline, lead and basically in the article as a whole. The other picture occurs towards the end of the story, and it shows India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh exiting an airplane. The photograph relates to the juxtaposed text which

addresses local aid workers who worry that more time is spent on preparing Singh's visit than on aid work.

Below the results are presented in three tables, two that contain the results on word level, and one for grammatical level results. The referent chains on word level are introduced initially in a separate table. Furthermore, the analysis of social participants as is portrayed using pronouns or nouns, or as named or classified, follows in Table 4.2. The qualitative analyses at word level will mainly be addressed in the main body of text with illustrating examples. However, as space considerations do not allow for exhaustive examples, a complete overview of the qualitative results on both word level and grammatical level is collected in four appendices, one for each newspaper. Table 4.3 includes the results from the quantitative analyses at grammatical level. Only qualitative results are presented for the interpersonal and expressive language functions, and the data is included in full in the mentioned appendices, in addition to examples in the main text. The most striking results will then be discussed in further detail in Section 4.2. Vagle's framework, including working definitions of the terms, is elaborated in Chapters 2 and 3.

4.1.1.1 Word level

Referential function

Table 4.1 introduces the results on word level, showing the frequencies for central referent chains in *Aftenposten* and *VG*.

Table 4.1: Word level. Central referent chains – referential function

WORD LEVEL **Referential function**	*Aftenposten*	N	%	VG	N	%
What is the text about? **Referent chains (3+)**	**Places** Country, place **Participants** Officials Civilians Nature	7 5 8 3	30 22 35 13	**Places** Country, place **Participants** Officials Civilians Nature	4 5 3 4	25 31 19 25
Total		**23**	**100**		**16**	**100**

Based on the numbers in the table, it is viable to state that there are indeed differences between how the newspapers choose to direct their attention. As for the category of 'places', this is where the figures for the two newspapers are the most similar with 30% in *Aftenposten* and 25% in *VG*. Moreover, *VG* has more long referent chains that include 'officials' and 'nature' as participants, with 31% and 25% respectively. The equivalent figures in Aftenposten are 22% and 13%. The greatest distinction between the two papers concerns civilian participants. In *Aftenposten,* 35% of the central referent chains include civilians, while the percentage for *VG* is only 19%.   By studying long referent chains it is possible to form an opinion of what the newspapers attend to in their articles, and what they choose to emphasise as concerns places and participants. The examples below show some of the longer referent chains in *Aftenposten*'s articles. I have translated all the examples that are taken from *Aftenposten* and *VG*, since these articles are only available in Norwegian.

[1] the Indonesian province Aceh - Aceh – the dominated Aceh – Aceh – Aceh – Aceh – Aceh – Aceh – the obstinate province – Aceh – Aceh – the province – Aceh – Aceh – Aceh – Aceh – Aceh – the province

[2] the companies – most insurance companies – the companies – the insurance companies

[3] 10,000 – people – many - over 8600 people – many thousands – at least 300 – 700 – fishermen – tourists – small children – many poor villagers – dead family members – body – body - 400 fishermen – 200 Hindus – 279 people – several thousand Norwegians – other Scandinavians – a Dane - five other Danes – 600 tourists – locals – many – 70 divers - two people - 10.000 lives – thousands of European tourists – the deceased – missing – South – Africans – Dutch people - Britons

[4] tsunami – the tsunami – the tsunami

The long referent chain in example 1 establishes that the Indonesian province 'Aceh' or near synonyms such as 'the province' are mentioned as many as 18 times altogether. Thus there can be no doubt that in this specific article; 'Aceh' is a central point. Example 3 includes all words in the given article that refer the victims, thus both '10,000' and 'other Scandinavians' are examples of elements belonging to the very same referent chain. Listed below are all the superordinate themes

of all the central referent chains found in the *Aftenposten* articles. The involved places and participants that the elements in the referent chains refer to were:

[5] Places: Sri Lanka, Thailand, the beaches, Aceh, Banda Aceh, Indonesia, Java

[6] Participants, officials: Preben Sandborg Røe from The Norwegian Financial Services Association, insurance companies, the government in Jakarta, the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), president Megawati

[7] Participants, civilians: death tolls/victims, foreigners/tourists, local population, the local inhabitant Ravichandran, Norwegians, people affected by the disaster, the Acehnese people, muslims

[8] Participant, nature: wave, water, tsunami

The list above forms an answer to the question of what the selected *Aftenposten* articles are about. Below are a few examples of central referent chains found in *VG*'s news stories:

[9] southeast of Banda Aceh – in Banda Aceh – Banda Aceh – Banda Aceh

[10] experts *VG* has been in contact with – geologist and flood wave expert Stein Bondevik from the University of Tromsø – Stein Bondevik – Bondevik – the scientists – Stein Bondevik – the flood wave expert

[11] one tourist – tourists – four foreigners – hundred thousands of tourists

[12] the flood wave – the flood wave – the first death wave - wave – the flood wave – a wave – a new wave – the tsunami waves - the wave - a very fast tide wave –   wave – wave

These long referent chains are each examples of words that received much attention in the selected *VG* articles. The central referent chains found in this newspaper refer to these superordinate elements:

[13] Places: Phuket, Banda Aceh, the airport (in Banda Aceh), the Andaman islands

[14] Participants, officials: wave scientist Carl Harbitz, flood wave expert Stein

Bondevik, aid workers, spokesperson for the American   embassy in

Jakarta Tim Gerhardson, delegates

[15] Participants, civilians: victims, tourists, victims

[16] Participants, nature: flood wave, earth quake, wave, water/water masses

The words mentioned most frequently in *VG* are those which constitute the referent chains above. Thus they help convey the main content of the articles. In Table 4.2 below follow the rest of the quantitative results at word level that have a referential function. Table 4.2 shows to what extent social participants are referred to by the use of pronouns or nouns and to which degree the newspapers choose naming or classification.

Table 4.2: Word level. Social participants - referential function

WORD LEVEL Referential function	Aftenposten	N	%	VG	N	%
Pronoun	Officials	11	7	Officials	5	7
	Civilians	20	13	Civilians	1	1
	Total	**31**	**20**	**Total**	**6**	**8**
Noun	Officials	50	32	Officials	43	58
	Civilians	76	48	Civilians	25	34
	Total	**126**	**80**	**Total**	**68**	**92**
	Sum	**157**	**100**	**Sum**	**74**	**100**
Named	Officials	11	11	Officials	9	18
	Civilians	1	1	Civilians	0	0
	Total	**12**	**12**	**Total**	**9**	**18**
Classified	Officials	23	23	Officials	24	47
	Civilians	64	65	Civilians	18	35
	Total	**87**	**88**	**Total**	**42**	**82**
	Sum	**99**	**100**	**Sum**	**51**	**100**

The overview in the table first of all tells us that nouns are relatively more frequent than pronouns, just as classification is a more common feature in these newspapers than naming. The table reveals that pronouns occur to a larger extent in *Aftenposten*, with a total of 20% of the total number of pronouns and nouns. In *VG*, the equivalent figure is 8%; thus it slightly lower. However, an interesting feature is how the disparity between the papers on frequency of nouns goes in favour of *VG*, with 80% in *Aftenposten* and 92% in *VG*. When juxtaposing the results for

official and civilian participants, it becomes clear that they differ quite remarkably. As far as the results for pronouns are concerned, the results for official participants came out identical for the two newspapers, whereas there is a distinct difference in frequencies of pronouns used to portray civilians. The result for pronouns in *Aftenposten* is, as mentioned 20%, with 13% occurring with civilian participants. In *VG*, the equivalent figures are 8% and 1% respectively. Moving on to nouns, the situation turns out quite the opposite, if considering that the percentages of all nouns used on participants are divided into officials and civilians. This time the discrepancy is in favour of *VG* in which the result for nouns is 92%, versus 80% in *Aftenposten*. The internal differences for the participants show that *VG* uses more nouns to portray officials, with 58% compared to 32% in *Aftenposten*. As for civilians, the number of occurrences in *Aftenposten* is the highest, with 48% in contrast to 34% in *VG*. Thus, although *VG* obtained higher total frequencies for nouns, the numbers for civilians show an opposite trend.

In terms of naming and classification of social participants in *Aftenposten* and *VG*, there is no doubt that classification is more frequent than naming. The largest deviations here occur in the depiction of classified participants, where 65% of the occurrences in *Aftenposten* are classified civilian participants. The corresponding figure for *VG* is 35%. Altogether, there is one isolated example of a civilian participant being named, and that occurs in *Aftenposten*. Overall, few participants are referred to by pronouns or named at all, and the choice of using nouns and classification instead is hugely favoured.

The remaining results with referential functions concern the linguistic phenomena of de-lexicalisation, over-lexicalisation, meaning relations such as synonyms, antonyms and hyponyms and finally metaphors. These will be attended to below. The qualitative results are naturally harder to handle in the sense that they are not as easy to compare between the two newspapers as is the case for the quantitative data. I will therefore provide some examples from *Aftenposten* and *VG* of the mentioned features and include comprehensive lists in appendices. As for the comparisons between Norwegian and British newspapers, and broadsheet and tabloids, they will be based primarily on the quantitative data. However, the qualitative results will also be brought to attention, but mainly to add nuance and depth to the quantitative results.

Summary

In sum, *Aftenposten* and *VG* are most similar in their use of central referent chains that focus on places, and most dissimilar in their attentiveness towards civilian participants, where *Aftenposten* focuses a great deal more on civilians than *VG*. As concerns the other participants, *VG* devotes more space to both 'officials' and 'nature' as participants than *Aftenposten*. As for the results in Table 4.2, they revealed that *Aftenposten* had higher occurrences for pronouns and classification, whereas *VG* used more nouns and naming when referring to social actors. There were however internal differences, stated above, for how civilians and officials were depicted. The purpose of the referential function is to denote what is going on, and below I will attempt to investigate whether the qualitative data supports the findings of the quantitative data given above. Among other issues, it will be interesting to see whether *Aftenposten* retains the emphasis on 'civilians' and whether *VG* still opts for 'officials' as a centre of attention in the qualitative data.

De-lexicalisation

There were not too many evident cases of de-lexicalisation. Although all the journalists who wrote the news stories automatically opt for a certain view on reality through their language, de-lexicalisation is not judged to be present unless the word is seen as biased in one way or another. Example 17 is from *Aftenposten*, and 18 and 19 are from *VG*: They both refer to the same concept.

[17] fortune hunters

[18] a delegation of American Senators and several representatives

[19] VIP's

People from other parts of Indonesia who moved to Aceh looking for work and fast money are referred to as 'fortune hunters', which could be seen as a somewhat biased term. A news story in *VG* offers two word choices that refer to the same phenomenon. The journalist writes: 'a delegation of American Senators and several representatives', whereas an anonymous diplomat who is quoted in the article speaks of 'VIP's'. Appendices 2 and 3 provide extensive lists of all occurrences of de-lexicalisation, as well as the other following features found in *Aftenposten* and *VG*.

Over-lexicalisation

The presence of over-lexicalisation is helpful in the sense that it reveals which words are used the most, and thereby implicitly gives us the main content of the texts. The results tend to overlap slightly with the central referent chains. Nevertheless they can broaden the insight, since the type of referent chains looked at here merely provide results within the set categories of places and participants. Over-lexicalisations in the articles may, and do, concern other words in addition to places and participants. Examples of over-lexicalisation follow, with number 20 and 21 collected from *Aftenposten*, and 22 and 23 from *VG*:

[20] 'insurance' in all combinations

[21] the Acehnese

[22] water, water masses or masses

[23] 'delay' in all forms

Numbers 20 and 23 are examples of words that appeared more than three times in the respective articles, but that did not fit into the set referent chain categories of places and participants.

Meaning relations

Below are three examples from *Aftenposten* of synonyms, antonyms and hyponyms respectively, then three from *VG* presented in the same order.

[24] the Acehnese - a small minority

[25] a glorious kingdom - a damaged scenery

[26] insurance: travel insurance - debt insurance - life- or pension insurance -
      accident insurance

[27] tourists - foreigners

[28] tourist/foreigner - inhabitant

[29] water: wave - flood wave - tsunami

The examples here show how the journalists created meaning relations between these words.

Metaphors

The first metaphor below is collected from *Aftenposten*. The context of situation relates to the election of a new president in Indonesia. The other example, taken from *VG*, is a direct quote from a flood wave expert.

[30] What he can shake out of his sleeve is so far unclear

[31] 'If the coast is as flat as a toad the water will go hundreds of metres up on the

    shore'

The meaning of example 30 appears to be close to having a secret plan or scheme; it is unclear what he might come up with. The latter describes one phenomenon by referring to another. The semblance of 'coast' is compared to that of 'toad'.

Overall it seems that the qualitative data belonging under the referential function does not follow the tendencies discovered in the quantitative data unambiguously, in that the selected categories are not equally represented in the quantitative and qualitative data. However, some results do coincide. For instance, *Aftenposten* still focuses on civilian participants and also to a higher degree than *VG* does. The categories labelled 'places', 'nature' and 'other' also receive attention to a large extent in *Aftenposten*, although the central referent chains retrieved from the same paper focused the least on 'nature' of all the categories. The metaphors in *Aftenposten* were quite concerned with 'nature'. *VG* still gives focus to 'officials', but the category which receives the most attention is 'nature', and as in *Aftenposten*, it is the metaphors that to a large degree contribute to this result. The qualitative results seem to support the quantitative results to a certain extent, but they also add nuance and breadth to the full picture.

Interpersonal function

Who/what does the text show solidarity with?

Solidarity is often expressed rather implicitly; for instance by speakers/writers taking for granted that the hearers share their version of reality, and have the same values as them (Vagle 2005:160f). Example 32 is from *Aftenposten* and can be said to express solidarity or sympathy for one party. Number 33 is from *VG*.

[32] The opposition between the dominant Java and the dominated Aceh

[33] Aid workers are worried that the arrivals of delegates from different countries to

the disaster area in Aceh will delay the transportation of aid supplies

The word choices of 'dominant' and 'dominated' in example 32 may create sympathy for the dominated part and aversion to the dominant part. Number 33 shows the lead of that specific news story. Throughout the story, solidarity with the victims of the disaster is expressed implicitly by fronting opinions of people who express concern for whether the arrival of 'officials' and 'important people' to the affected areas may delay the aid work.

The general impression from the *Aftenposten* articles, is that implicit solidarity is shown through, for instance, personification of the masses by including the voice of civilian victims. However, mass nouns such as '10,000' and 'death toll' are also utilised, thus the focus shifts and so does the presence of solidarity. More specific solidarity is shown by choice of words, as illustrated above in example 32. The focus is only partially on Norwegian victims, but more on victims as a general group, although the article which emphasises a financial aspect is mainly directed at Norwegian people. The general impression from *VG*'s articles is that the disaster is approached from a more scientific point of view where 'what' and 'how' are emphasised more than 'who'. However, one of the articles expresses concern for whether official delegates are prioritised to the degree that transportation of aid supplies to civilians in Banda Aceh are affected, thus implicit solidarity for victims is present.

Expressive function

Are there any evaluative words?

The two examples below are taken from *Aftenposten* and *VG* respectively, and exemplify instances where the sender, either the journalist or an external source, colours the statements and evaluates the situation.

[34] The natural phenomenon of a tsunami is **extremely rare** and according to

experts **impossible** to predict

[35] A diplomat described the situation as **difficult**

In *Aftenposten* most of the evaluative words are found in the longer feature article which mostly resembles soft news. In this subgenre of news, journalists tend to include their own opinions to a large extent. This is verified here when contrasting the other two hard news articles and use of evaluations in them, which are mainly directly related to the disaster, as shown in example 34. In *VG* as well, most of the evaluation occurs when describing the tsunami or its consequences. However, in the article about the aid workers' concern for the transportation of aid supplies, some of the sources who are quoted evaluate the situation, as in example 35.

4.1.1.2 Grammatical level

In the following, all results at grammatical level are categorised by language functions.

Referential function

Table 4.3: Grammatical level – referential function

GRAMMATICAL LEVEL Referential function	*Aftenposten*	N	%	*VG*	N	%
Which processes dominate?	Material	143	54	Material	85	52
	Relational	66	25	Relational	42	26
	(54 attributive,			(30 attributive,		
	12 identifying)			12 identifying)		
	Verbal	22	8	Verbal	25	15
	Mental	21	8	Mental	5	3
	Existential	10	4	Existential	5	3
	Behavioural	3	1	Behavioural	2	1
	Sum	**265**	**100**	**Sum**	**164**	**100**
Which participants dominate?	**In material processes**			**In material processes**		
	Actor	82	40	Actor	60	51
	Goal	82	40	Goal	37	32
	Scope	20	10	Scope	20	17
	Client	2	1	Client	0	0
	Recipient	11	5	Recipient	0	0
	Attribute	8	4	Attribute	0	0
	Sum	**205**	**100**	**Sum**	**117**	**100**
	In relational processes			**In relational processes**		
	Attributive clauses			*Attributive clauses*		
	Carrier			Carrier		
	Attribute	54	40	Attribute	28	35
		56	42		30	37
	Identifying clauses			*Identifying clauses*		
	Identified			Identified		
	Identifier			Identifier		
	Token	9	7	Token	5	6
	Value	9	7	Value	5	6
		3	2		6	7
	Sum	3	2	**Sum**	7	9
		134	**100**		**81**	**100**

	In verbal processes			In verbal processes		
	Sayer			Sayer		
	Verbiage	16	40	Verbiage	25	51
	Receiver	22	55	Receiver	18	37
	Target	2	5	Target	5	10
		0	0		1	2
	Sum	**40**	**100**	**Sum**	**49**	**100**
	In mental processes			**In mental processes**		
	Senser	20	49	Senser	7	50
	Phenomenon	21	51	Phenomenon	7	50
	Sum	**41**	**100**	**Sum**	**14**	**100**
	In existential processes			**In existential processes**		
	Existent	10	100	Existent	4	100
	Sum	**10**	**100**	**Sum**	**4**	**100**
	In behavioural processes			**In behavioural processes**		
	Behaver	3	60	Behaver	0	0
	Behaviour	2	40	Behaviour	0	0
	Sum	**5**	**100**	**Sum**	**0**	**0**
Are there nominalisations?	Number of occurrences	17		Number of occurrences	7	
	Occurrences per. 1000 words	36		Occurrences per. 1000 words	8	
Are the sentences active or passive?	Number of occurrences	23		Number of occurrences	16	

	(passive)			(passive)	
	Occurrences per. 1000 words	49		Occurrences per. 1000 words	18

As far as the processes are concerned, Table 4.3 shows that the results from *Aftenposten* and *VG* to a large extent coincide when comparing frequencies of processes. Material processes take a clear lead; in *Aftenposten*, 54% of all the processes are material, while the corresponding percentage for *VG* is 52%. Then there is a fairly big leap down to the next five process types, which are ranked identically by descending percentages in the two papers: relational, verbal, mental, existential, and finally behavioural. The clearest divergence between *Aftenposten* and *VG* is found in the percentages of verbal and mental processes. The percentage figures are 8% for each of the process types in *Aftenposten*, compared to 15% and 3% in *VG*. A preliminary conclusion could thus be that the news stories in *VG* are more occupied with speech verbs that represent human symbolic activity than *Aftenposten* seems to be, whereas mental processes that require the presence of human consciousness are not prioritised in *VG* to the same extent as in *Aftenposten*.

Moving on to participants, it becomes evident that *Aftenposten* uses a wider range of participants in material clauses than *VG*. In *Aftenposten* 'Actor' and 'Goal' both occur in 40% of the material clauses. Also, 'Scope' is used with a 10% frequency in *Aftenposten*. The participants 'Client', 'Recipient' and 'Attribute' are used altogether 10% of the time in material clauses in *Aftenposten*, while in *VG* on the other hand, only the three participants 'Actor', 'Goal' and 'Scope' are used, with 51%, 32% and 17% each. Another striking difference involves the participants in the verbal process clauses, where 'Sayer' is more frequent than 'Verbiage' in *VG*, with a 51% and 37% frequency rate. In *Aftenposten* the situation is the opposite, with 40% of the verbal participants being 'Sayers', and 55% 'Verbiages'. Also, there are no 'Behaver' or 'Behaviour' participants in *VG*, whereas *Aftenposten* has three instances of 'Behaver' and two of 'Behaviour', which make 60% and 40% of the total amount. Otherwise, the results seem rather straightforward when considering the process frequencies.

The use of nominalisations and passive constructions may be seen as tools chosen more or less consciously to avoid questions of cause, purpose and responsibility (Vagle 2005:169f). They are therefore directly connected to the two points in the table regarding whether the use of agents is unclear, and whether the processes are what they seem. In the table, the result frequencies for

nominalisations and passive constructions have been converted into number of occurrences per 1000 words, in order for the numbers to be comparable. As the table reveals, there were 36 instances of nominalisation per 1000 words in *Aftenposten*, and only eight in *VG*, whereas the numbers for passive sentences are even further apart between the papers, with 49 occurrences per 1000 words in *Aftenposten* versus 18 in *VG*. Based on these findings one could claim that the *Aftenposten* journalists are more frequent users of linguistic tools that hide active participants than the *VG* journalists.

To illustrate the two queries of whether the use of agents is unclear and whether the processes are what they seem, I have included below, first from *Aftenposten* and then from *VG*, one example of events portrayed as a happening or condition rather than an act performed by responsible agents, one example of nominalisations and one example of passive constructions. The examples relate to these mentioned questions as they are viewed to serve a more superordinate function.

Aftenposten

[36] The death toll is expected to rise.

[37] She apologised to the Acehnese people for the acts of war, imprisonments and executions.

[38] Many suspects were executed summarily.

In example 36, the agent that is expecting a rise in the death toll is concealed. The process is thus portrayed as a material process, with the death toll as the 'Goal'. There is no 'Actor' to hold responsible for the action. Example 37 includes three instances of nominalisations, namely: acts of war, imprisonments and executions. The responsible agents are concealed by transforming processes into nouns. Number 38 shows a passive construction with a so called agentless passive where the agent is omitted.

VG

[39] 100 people were injured.

[40] Dr. Vikram Tirkey, from Emmanuel Hospitals Association, who is waiting for permission to start the rescue work on the Andaman islands.

[41] The earthquake that started off the flood wave had a much more powerful energy

than the nuclear bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima.

Like example 36, the first example here is of a process portrayed as a happening, or condition, something that just 'is' in contrast to an act where someone or something makes something happen. In example 40, the process of someone permitting something is made into a noun: 'permission', which hides the responsible person or persons. The last example is of another agentless passive construction, where the agent once again is omitted. We are not told explicitly who dropped the bomb, just that it was dropped, thus the construction is agentless.

Interpersonal function

Who do the pronouns *we* and *you* refer to?

According to Vagle, *we* can be used both in an inclusive and an exclusive manner. As for *you*, it tends to mark proximity between the involved participants (2005:181f). Below is included one example from *Aftenposten* and two from *VG*.

[42] '**We**, the people of Aceh'

[43] 'What **we** know is that four foreigners are missing. **We** are looking for them'

[44] Here **you** can see the violent forces of the flood wave

Example 42 is a statement from GAM, the Free Aceh Movement. *We* is used to include and exclude, perhaps to create a sense of community, and to distinguish 'us' from 'them', who in this case is everyone who is not Acehnese. The next example is a direct quote from *VG* by Thai vice Governor Pongpao Ketthong. The first instance of *we* is used inclusively, probably about the nation in general, and the second use of *we* might refer to the official government, and perhaps rescue workers more specifically. The final example is the sole occurrence of *you* present in the Norwegian corpus. *You* is used here to include the reader and the sentence refers to three large pictures of the development of the tsunami in the article.

The instances of *we* in *Aftenposten* involve two statements from official participants, where one is used inclusively and the other both inclusively and exclusively. The other two examples originate from the journalist, who seems to wish to include the reader in his trail of

thought. In *VG*, *we* is used inclusively by an official, and the use of *you* is conveyed in example 44.

Expressive function

How does the sender commit to the truth or probability of the referential content of the statements?

News as a genre tends to commit to the truth of the content of statements as if everything was categorically true without expressing any doubt or hesitation regarding the certainty (Vagle 2005:184f). Below is one example from *Aftenposten* and one from *VG* which denote exceptions in the sense that they do express a weaker certainty, by use of the modal verb *can* and the adverbial *supposedly*.

[45] 'The biggest payments **can** come in addition to other insurances than travel
    insurance'

[46] Tourists were **supposedly** pulled out to sea

Examples 45 and 46 show to which degree these particular senders, a spokesperson for the Norwegian Financial Services Association and a journalist respectively, commit to the content of their statements. Although example 45 is a direct quote and in that sense does not originate directly from the journalist, direct and indirect quotes from sources are part of the news genre, and the journalist did after all make an active choice of including the statement in the news article.

Uncertainty about the content of the statements in *Aftenposten* is not expressed frequently. The few exceptions concern the accuracy of the death toll in the first article, and on a few occasions, hesitation or doubt is expressed through modal verbs and adverbials in the other two. The journalists themselves are the ones expressing most of the uncertainty, but quoted sources also contribute. Although, by including quotes from sources, the journalists become implicitly responsible for the content. As for *VG,* it is interesting to note that the situation is opposite, and that the quoted external sources are the ones setting forth feelings of hesitation, while the journalists' own language hardly ever communicates doubt.

Summary

To reiterate, it is clear that there do exist linguistic differences between the Norwegian broadsheet *Aftenposten* and the tabloid *VG*. At word level, differences are realised by different focuses on the participants, where *Aftenposten* is, for instance, clearly more concerned with civilians than *VG*. This point is supported in findings for pronouns, nouns, naming and classification, where *Aftenposten* has higher frequencies for civilians for all four features. The qualitative data at word level partly support the quantitative data, and it is revealed that *Aftenposten* does express more solidarity for victims, and *Aftenposten* also make more extensive use of evaluative words than *VG*. At grammatical level, it was discovered that *VG* had higher frequencies for verbal process clauses, whereas *Aftenposten* included more mental process clauses in the articles. As for the general expressing of agency, *VG* has higher occurrences for the active participants 'Actor' and 'Sayer', whereas *Aftenposten* obtained identical frequencies for 'Actor' and 'Goal', as well as a remarkable higher frequency for 'Verbiage' than for 'Sayer'. There are also clearly more instances of passives and nominalisations in *Aftenposten*. The qualitative data under the interpersonal and expressive function showed that *Aftenposten* made more use of the pronoun *we*. As for the expressive function, the journalists were more expressive in *Aftenposten*, while in *VG*, external sources were the ones expressing feelings of doubt or hesitation.

4.1.2 British newspapers

The six articles collected from the broadsheet paper *The Times* and the tabloid the *Sun* all link up to the tsunami disaster differently. The ones dating from 26 December, the actual day of the catastrophe, are seemingly angled mostly to inform new readers about the event. The article in *The Times* is concerned with 'what' and 'where', and gives numerous statistics, especially in connection with the stating of death tolls in different places. On 30 December, the focus shifts and the topics of the news stories become less broad and more specialised. One concentrates on a specific region in Sri Lanka, and the state of affairs there, while the *Sun* devotes the whole article to a British man's narration about his escape from the tsunami. Finally on 8 January, the angle shifts, and *The Times* is concerned with British tourists' switch in holiday destination to other parts of the world than South East Asia, whereas the *Sun* presents a rather short story on how the tsunami is the worst catastrophe since the Second World War in terms of British death tolls.

Pictures in the news articles also play a role in the British papers. *The Times* only includes one single photograph in one of the articles, namely the one from 26 December 2004. The picture is rather small and positioned between the lead and the byline. There is no accompanying text to tell us where it was taken or who is in the picture. The location could be any of the four countries mentioned in the lead as struck by the tsunami. The picture portrays a group of people standing in the midst of destruction, with pieces of splintered wood surrounding them. As far as the hard impact of the tsunami is concerned, the picture could probably also have been taken in any of the countries included in the article, in any case, specification of location was considered redundant.

In the *Sun*, a picture is present in the article from 8 January 2005, and only here. The fairly small photograph occurs in the top right corner of the page next to the headline of the story, and it shows British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw pointing at a wall covered with flyers. The accompanying text says: *Sorrow…Jack Straw at wall yesterday*. The main text deals with the British tsunami toll and how it has doubled, making the tsunami the worst British catastrophe since the Second World War. There is no mention of which wall the picture refers to, where it is situated etc; however, it is likely to assume that the location is Thailand, since it says in the main text that Straw announced the news of the British death toll there. The mentioned wall is probably covered with flyers that include pictures of missing people and contact information to their relatives.

The results are presented below in a manner identical to that for Norwegian newspapers. The quantitative results at word level are introduced first in two tables before we move on to the qualitative data. At grammatical level, one table displays the quantitative data, followed by the remaining qualitative analyses. All results are divided by language function.

4.1.2.1 Word level
Referential function
The referent chains on word level will be addressed initially here as well, in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4: Word level. Central referent chains – referential function

WORD LEVEL Referential function	*The Times*	N	%	The *Sun*	N	%
What is the text about? **Referent chains (3+)**	**Places** Country, place	6	35	**Places** Country, place	2	17
	Participants Officials Civilians Nature	 3 6 2	 18 35 12	**Participants** Officials Civilians Nature	 2 6 2	 17 50 17
Total		**17**	**100**		**12**	**100**

The table shows us that both of the British papers focus more on civilian participants, although *The Times* has identical percentages for both 'civilians' and 'country'/ 'place' with 35%. In the *Sun*, the three categories 'country'/'place', 'officials' and 'nature' have the same frequency, with 17% for each one. The leap up to the frequency for 'civilians' is rather huge considering that civilian participants constitute 50% of the total number of occurrences. The corresponding figure for *The Times* was, as mentioned, 35%. Furthermore, the two participants that were referred to the least through central referent chains in *The Times*, were 'officials' with 18% and 'nature' with 12%. The biggest difference between the two papers regards the frequency of central referent chains referring to 'country' or 'place', with 35% in *The Times* and only 17% in the *Sun*. To reiterate briefly, *The Times* seems to be most concerned with 'country'/'place' and 'officials', whereas the *Sun* focuses mainly on civilians. Below are some examples of long referent chains found in *The Times*.

[47] the Maldives – the Maldives – in the Maldives – from the Maldives – island
country

[48] travel agents – tour operators – travel agents – the Association of British Travel
Agents – Thomson Holiday – Thomas Cook – Kuoni, the leading long-haul operator -
Essential Escapes – Magic of the Orient

[49] Britons – British people – one Briton – a man on holiday

[50] tidal wave – a tidal wave – the Tsunami – the tidal wave

Example 48 demonstrates a central referent chain which includes all the different travel agencies or tour operators in the article. The label 'travel agents' is meant to include all the elements shown in full in example 48 above. The examples below provide a full overview of the main content of the central referent chains in *The Times*, which is likely to reflect what the writers of the selected articles had as their points of interest:

[51] Places: The Maldives, Sri Lanka, places in Asia affected by the
           tsunami, the Caribbean, damage-hit regions, Bali

[52] Participants, officials: Indian officials, travel agents, spokespersons

[53] Participants, civilians: victims/civilians, Britons, people, people/the public,
           tourists/travellers, volunteers

[54] Participants, nature: tidal wave, earthquake

To sum up, one can say that these specific articles from *The Times* focused mostly on places and civilian participants rather than official participants and nature. Below follow examples of the central referent chains in the *Sun*:

[55] Hikkaduwa – Hikkaduwa - Hikkaduwa

[56] teams – DFID disaster response teams – the UN disaster response assessment
  and co-ordination teams – two other assessment teams – World Health
  Organisation's response team - teams

[57] most Brits – the British tsunami toll – most of the British victims – a further
  2,000 Brits

[58] tsunami – huge wave – wave – wave – wave – wave

All the long referent chains' subjects are shown below:

[59] Places: places affected, Hikkaduwa

[60] Participants, officials: official teams, Foreign Secretary Jack Straw

[61] Participants, civilians: victims, Mr. Ravindra, Mr. Ravindra's family, victims, survivors,
           Britons

[62] Participants, nature: tsunami, wave

When looking at the central referent chains in the *Sun*, it becomes evident that the journalists pay most attention to the civilian participants, and less to official participants. Below follows Table 4.5 which shows how the British newspapers presented social participants.

Table 4.5: Word level. Social participants - referential function

WORD LEVEL **Referential function**	*The Times*	N	*%*	The *Sun*	N	*%*
Pronoun	Officials Civilians	10 8	12 9	Officials Civilians	7 45	6 41
	Total	**18**	**21**	**Total**	**52**	**47**
Noun	Officials Civilians	31 37	36 43	Officials Civilians	17 41	16 37
	Total	**68**	**79**	**Total**	**58**	**53**
	Sum	**86**	**100**	**Sum**	**110**	**100**
Named	Officials Civilians	5 2	9 4	Officials Civilians	5 10	9 18
	Total	**7**	**13**	**Total**	**15**	**27**
Classified	Officials Civilians	20 30	35 53	Officials Civilians	11 31	19 54
	Total	**50**	**88**	**Total**	**42**	**73**
	Sum	**57**	**101***	**Sum**	**57**	**100**

*All the figures are rounded up and in this case it resulted in a total of 101%

Regarding the use of nouns and pronouns, the most visible difference is found in the use of pronouns. The *Sun* uses pronouns to portray participants in 47% of the instances altogether, while the corresponding figure in *The Times* is only 21%. Out of the *Sun*'s 47%, 41% depict civilian participants. The percentage in *The Times* is 9%, thus the divergence is rather significant. To reiterate, the *Sun* articles include many more pronouns referring to social participants, than is the case in *The Times,* and the difference is clearest between the two when looking at the reference to civilians. As for the use of nouns, *The Times* is in the lead with 79% compared to 53% in the *Sun*. Again, the *Sun* is more occupied with civilians than officials. However, the largest difference between the papers is found in the frequency of nouns that refer to official participants with 36% in *The Times* and 16% in the *Sun*.

It is evident that naming is not a frequent feature in any of the newspapers. Regardless of type of participant, naming is not nearly as frequent as classification. Just as pronouns, naming is also more frequent in the *Sun*. The same tendency, although not as clear, is present for the distinction of named/classified, where civilian participants are named 18% of the total number of instances of naming and classification in the *Sun*. The corresponding percentage for *The Times* is merely 4%. Otherwise there is a slight divergence in the number of official participants that are classified: 35% in *The Times* and 19% in the *Sun*. Again, the *Sun* has the highest frequency for civilians. Below, the remaining qualitative results at word level will be presented in the same fashion as previously. These results are also included in full in appendices.

Summary

According to the frequencies of central referent chains in *The Times*, this newspaper focuses mostly on 'country'/'place' and 'civilians' and less on 'officials' and 'nature'. The *Sun* is most of all concerned with 'civilians' and the remaining categories received exactly the same amount of attention. The two papers resemble one another in quantity of central referent chains referring to 'officials' and 'nature', whereas the greatest differences come across through *The Times*' stronger focus on 'country'/'place' and the *Sun*'s high presence of referent chains involving 'civilians'. Additionally, the *Sun* uses pronouns and naming to refer to social actors more frequently than *The Times*, and has much higher frequencies for civilians within both features, whereas *The Times* are more frequent users of nouns and classification. Further it is interesting to examine

whether the qualitative data belonging within the referential function reveals information beyond these findings, or if the data more or less supports the quantitative results.

De-lexicalisation

The same manner of presenting the results will be followed for the British newspapers, thus examples from both, where attainable, are included under each point. Below is an example of de-lexicalisation in *The Times*. No occurrences were found in the *Sun*.

[63] 'The damage-hit regions'

Here, the journalist could be said to add a certain meaning to the mentioned regions, by focusing on one particular aspect.

Over-lexicalisation

Examples 64 and 65 are from *The Times*, and examples 66 and 67 are collected from the *Sun*.

[64] panic
[65] holiday
[66] train
[67] lots of/a lot of

All the examples include instances of words that occur three times or more frequent in an article and thus form central referent chains that do not fit into the categories of places and participants. In this manner they provide extra information about what the British articles were concerned with and thus complement the quantitative data.

Meaning relations

The six examples below are instances of synonyms, antonyms and hyponyms found in *The Times* and the *Sun*, with three from each paper, starting with *The Times*.

[68] statement – alert – warning
[69] South East Asia – other parts of the world

[70] the damage-hit regions: Thailand - Sri Lanka - the Far East - Indonesia

[71] aid - help - rescue

[72] western survivors - Sri Lankan people

[73] western survivors: Mr. Ravindra - a Swedish woman called Karina - two
     other Swedish tourists - a Western man

All the examples show how meaning relations can be created by the writer between words that may seem incompatible in other contexts or simply from other people's point of views.

Metaphors

Metaphors were not in frequent use in the British newspapers, in fact no instances were found in the articles in *The Times*. However, one example from the *Sun* is included in example 74.

[74] a wall of water

This metaphor is a conventional metaphor which is so incorporated into the English language that it should not provide any challenges for readers as far as understanding the meaning of it is concerned.

The qualitative data presented above concurs with the quantitative data to a certain extent. The qualitative results for *The Times* do show that a focus on places and civilian participants is present; however, the categories 'nature' and 'other' are more dominant altogether. As for the *Sun*, the qualitative results support the point proven in the quantitative data regarding 'civilians' being the focal category. Other categories that are represented in the qualitative data from the *Sun* are first of all 'other', and 'nature', but also 'officials' and 'places' to a certain degree.

Interpersonal function

Who/what does the text show solidarity with?

It is often hard to pin down exact words and phrases that express explicit solidarity or sympathy for one or several parties. It may instead be the angling of a text as a whole that gives this away. The two following examples are taken from *The Times* and the *Sun* respectively.

[75] 'It had already been recommending that Britons make only essential trips to Sri

Lanka', 'between 10,000 and 20,000 British people are on Christmas holiday in the affected areas', 'So far only one Briton has been confirmed dead – officials said a man on holiday in the Maldives died of a heart attack as the tidal wave struck'

[76] 'A British man', 'he may be one of only five Western survivors', 'a Swedish woman called Karina', 'two other Swedish tourists', 'a Western man'

Example 75 consists of three sentences that show the article's focus on British people. Britons are the only people mentioned as other than numbers, or death tolls, thus an implicit form of sympathy is shown. In example 76 from the *Sun*, I have tried to make clear that the article focuses on so called 'Westerners'. The local population is only mentioned on one occasion. Thus, the journalist seems to focus all attention on one specific group.

The overall tendency in these two British newspapers is that solidarity for British victims is emphasised first and foremost. *The Times* implicitly expresses this by, as referred to in example 75, referring to Britons as individuals, whereas others are simply depicted as a number included in the death toll. Otherwise the articles in *The Times* focus on civilians in Sri Lanka and how the tsunami has impact on the tourist industry respectively. In the *Sun*, solidarity with victims of the tsunami in general is expressed in the first article. However, in the two other articles, only British people and 'Westerners' are mentioned specifically, while the local population and people from other parts of the world are virtually ignored.

Expressive function
Are there any evaluative words?
The two examples here originate from *The Times* and the *Sun* in that order.

[77] '**In a sick kind of way** this could help Bali **quite a lot'**
[78] 'I **feel** he's **very lucky**'

Example 77 is a direct quote from Emma Barnett, who is the founder and managing director of a travel agency. She is included due to her expertise on travelling and holidays, and in the given sentence she evaluates the conditions in the aftermath of the tsunami disaster. The next example

is also direct speech, originating from a British survivor's mother. The quote expresses her opinion on the subject matter, namely that her son survived.

In *The Times* corpus, nearly all the sentences where evaluative words occur originate from outer sources in direct or indirect quotes, and thus not directly from the journalist. Where the journalist does indeed evaluate with her own words, it mostly occurs in connection with conditions related to the tsunami, describing the consequences etc. The articles in the *Sun* also include evaluative words, where most originate from quoted sources. In the second article, the one which resembles a personal narrative, there is an especially high presence of evaluations, and also a few on the journalist's account. The last article includes some evaluations that are linked to the British death toll and that it is the worst since the Second World War. Altogether both papers make use of evaluative words.

4.1.2.2 Grammatical level

The results at grammatical level are presented below by language function, starting with the referential function in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Results at grammatical level – referential function

GRAMMATICAL LEVEL **Referential function**	*The Times*	N	*%*	The *Sun*	N	*%*
Which processes dominate?	Material	72	40	Material	73	50
	Relational	49	28	Relational	24	17
	(32 attributive, 7 identifying)			(15 attributive, 3 identifying)		
	Verbal	39	22	Verbal	18	12
	Mental	12	7	Mental	22	15
	Existential	5	3	Existential	8	6
	Behavioural	1	1	Behavioural	0	0
	Sum	**178**	**101***	**Sum**	**145**	**100**
Which participants dominate?	**In material processes**			**In material processes**		
	Actor	42	45	Actor	45	46
	Goal	36	38	Goal	40	41
	Scope	13	14	Scope	8	8
	Client	1	1	Client	1	1
	Recipient	0	0	Recipient	2	2
	Attribute	2	2	Attribute	2	2
	Sum	**94**	**100**	**Sum**	**98**	**100**
	In relational processes			**In relational processes**		
	Attributive clauses			*Attributive clauses*		
	Carrier			Carrier		
	Attribute	31	42	Attribute	13	38
		29	39		15	44
	Identifying clauses			*Identifying clauses*		
	Identified			Identified		
	Identifier			Identifier		
	Token	4	5	Token	3	9
	Value	4	5	Value	3	9
		3	4		0	0
	Sum	3	4	**Sum**	0	0

		74	100		34	100
	In verbal processes			**In verbal processes**		
	Sayer	35	39	Sayer	20	48
	Verbiage	50	56	Verbiage	22	52
	Receiver	5	6	Receiver	0	0
	Target	0	0	Target	0	0
	Sum	**90**	**101***	**Sum**	**42**	**100**
	In mental processes			**In mental processes**		
	Senser	7	37	Senser	21	51
	Phenomenon	12	63	Phenomenon	20	49
	Sum	**19**	**100**	**Sum**	**41**	**100**
	In existential processes			**In existential processes**		
	Existent	5	100	Existent	8	100
	Sum	**5**	**100**	**Sum**	**8**	**100**
	In behavioural processes			**In behavioural processes**		
	Behaver	1	50	Behaver	0	0
	Behaviour	1	50	Behaviour	0	0
	Sum	**2**	**100**	**Sum**	**0**	**0**
Are there nominalisations?	Number of occurrences	18		Number of occurrences	11	
	Occurrences per. 1000 words	23		Occurrences per. 1000 words	10	

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Are the sentences active or passive?	Number of occurrences (passive)	16		Number of occurrences (passive)	7	
	Occurrences per. 1000 words	20		Occurrences per. 1000 words	6	

*All the figures are rounded up and in these cases it resulted in totals of 101%

To begin with the use of processes in the broadsheet paper *The Times* and the tabloid the *Sun*, it is worth mentioning that the descending frequencies for the different processes come in the same order in both papers. However, when comparing how the processes are divided by percentages in each paper, many of the numbers differ quite considerably. The most palpable differences occur in the use of material, relational and verbal processes, which are also the three most frequent processes in both papers. Percentage frequencies of the three processes in *The Times* are 40%, 28% and 22% respectively, while in the *Sun*, the corresponding figures are 50%, 17% and 12% for these types. Also, the *Sun* uses slightly more mental and existential processes, with a divergence of 8% for mental processes and 3% for existential processes between the two papers. Based on these results, a claim can be made that the journalists in the *Sun* emphasise doing and experience in the physical world through their extensive use of material processes, but also sensing and the world of consciousness expressed through the high frequency of mental processes. *The Times*, on the other hand, favours verbal processes that depict human symbolic activity, and the world of abstract relations manifested in the relational processes.

When looking at participants and usage frequencies, most of the numbers seem to coincide with the results for processes, meaning that for instance *The Times* had many more relational processes than the *Sun*, and therefore it is only natural that there exists a higher quantity of the participants 'Carrier', 'Attribute' etc. in *The Times*. Nevertheless, there are still a few points where further commenting seems to be in order. The frequency of participants in clauses with verbal and mental processes is one property which deserves attention. The divide between the percentage of 'Sayer' compared to 'Verbiage' in *The Times* and the *Sun*, is relatively large. In *The Times*, 'Verbiage' occurs 56% of the time verbal participants are used, whereas the 'Sayer'

participant is only used in 39% of the occurrences. In the *Sun* however, the difference is hardly noticeable with 'Verbiage' constituting 52%, and 48% being 'Sayers'. This tendency is even stronger with the participants in mental clauses. In *The Times* the frequency of 'Phenomenon' is higher than that of 'Senser', with 63% of the instances being 'Phenomenon' compared to 37% for 'Senser. This makes a 26% difference in favour of 'Phenomenon'. In the *Sun*, the corresponding difference is 2%, but here 'Senser' is the most frequent participant, the frequencies being 49% for 'Phenomenon' and 51% for 'Senser'. Thus, not only are the results between the two newspapers quite divergent in terms of percentage frequencies, but there are also great internal deviations concerning the quantity of the active participants 'Sensers' and 'Sayers', occurring mostly in *The Times*' articles and hardly at all in the *Sun*. Based on these figures one could make a claim that there are fewer visible active participants in *The Times* than in the *Sun*, at least as far as verbal and mental processes go.

Nominalisations and passive constructions are next in line. The numbers obtained were calculated into occurrences per 1000 words, since the two corpora are not identical in size. According to the results in Table 4.6, both nominalisations and passive constructions are more frequent in *The Times* than in the *Sun*. Nominalisations are used 23 times in every 1000 words in *The Times* compared to only 10 in the *Sun*. For passive constructions the numbers are 20 in *The Times* corpus and 6 in the *Sun*. The points involving whether 'the use of agents is unclear' or 'whether the processes are what they seem', are illustrated below with three examples from each newspaper. One exemplifies an event portrayed as a happening or condition rather than as an act performed by a responsible agent, one is an example of nominalisation and the final example is of a passive construction. The overall image here, including the functional grammatical analyses and also occurrences of nominalisations and passives, shows that *The Times* conceal active agents to a considerable extent in contrast to the language used in the *Sun*, which tends to present agents and prefer active sentence constructions.

The Times

[79] The threat of new killer waves sparked panic in Nagappattinam, a coastal town in
    southern Tamil Nadu state where more than 4,000 people died at the weekend.
[80] 'There is total confusion here.'

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[81] The Indonesian death toll was put at 1,900.

In example 79, the death of 4000 people is conveyed as a happening that occurred without influence from outside actors of any kind. In number 80, a noun is used to describe the state of things, thus participants or agents are not included. The final construction represents a passive sentence, where an agentless passive construction portrays an act, and excludes the responsible agent.

The *Sun*:

[82] 'I thought it was just a freak tide, I thought the water level was going to go out
    and any minute now there would be help.'

[83] 'I just saw this wall of water coming towards us and then the screaming and the
    shouting.'

[84] International rescue and aid operations were launched today to help survivors of
    this morning's tsunami waves.

These examples from the *Sun* illustrate more or less the same features described above. In example 82, the concept of 'help' is depicted as existing on its own, independently of animate beings. Number 83 is another example of a nominalisation and example 84 is of an agentless passive construction. The results for interpersonal and expressive language functions at grammatical level are the next to be accounted for.

Interpersonal function
Who do the pronouns *we* and *you* refer to?
No instances of the pronoun *you* were found in any of the British newspapers. Examples 85 and 86 include instances of the plural pronoun *we* found in *The Times* and the *Sun*, presented sequentially.

[85] **We** have not said tsunamis will hit again. **We** are saying there is a possibility
    and **we** should take all precautions.

[86] '**We** are doing all **we** can to offer practical help and support.' '**We** have already

agreed to help fund the World Health Organisation's response team and **we** are looking to see if **we** can charter civilian helicopters to help in search and rescue operations in Sri Lanka.'

The first example is a direct quote from Kapil Sibal, the Indian Science and Technology Minister. He refers to how the Home Ministry's tsunami alert was meant to advise people. *We* is used to include the Home Ministry and one might get a sense that he is speaking on behalf of the official India. In that manner *we* is used to include. In fear of reading too much into the situation, it could also be that the Indian Minister uses *we* to direct the attention away from himself and stress that he alone is not responsible. The latter example is a quote by the British Secretary of State for International Development Hilary Benn. Altogether it seems that *we* is used inclusively on behalf of the official Britain and Britain as an aiding nation. *We* in this context excludes people who are not involved in the rescue operations, but it may also function inclusively for Britain as an aiding nation. The use of *we* seems to attempt to embrace the official British standpoint, and although it is probably not very likely that Benn is going to charter helicopters, he chooses to include himself by saying *we*.

As illustrated in example 85, *The Times* includes *we* on several occasions, and one of them involves an official participant's use of the pronoun. The use of *we* in *The Times* also occurs when a civilian participant speaks, and she uses *we* to include the other civilians in the same situation, and thus everyone else is excluded. The only instances of *we* in the *Sun* are included in example 86 and accounted for above. The use of *we* is not very widespread, and *you* is not present in the British material.

Expressive function
How does the sender commit to the truth or probability of the referential content of the statements?
These examples are included to illustrate how use of modal verbs and adverbials can change the sender's commitment to the truth or probability of the statements.

[87] 'It's **probably** going to have negligible impact'
[88] A black-suited Mr Straw, speaking at Phuket's Emergency Crisis Centre,

warned relatives that some victims **may** never be identified

Example 87 is from *The Times*, and is a direct quote from Jason Ali, an earthquake expert at the University of Hong Kong, giving his opinion about how the impact of the earthquake that occurred in the aftermath of the tsunami was not likely to have significant effects. The adverbial 'probably' indicates that Ali does not commit 100% to the referential content of his statement in terms of portraying it as a categorical truth. Number 88 is a statement given in an article in the *Sun*, from British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw on the state of affairs for relatives of victims of the tsunami. The modal verb 'may' lessens the certainty of the referential content of the statement as a whole.

On the matter of expressing uncertainty, *The Times* does it quite a lot, but mostly indirectly through quoted sources. Doubt expressed explicitly by the journalists occurs only to a small extent, and when it does it mainly refers to hypothetical situations, and not so much to the referential content. In the *Sun* articles, doubt or uncertainty is solely expressed by quoted sources, and never by the journalists. Altogether the selected *Sun* corpus adheres strictly to the news genre in this sense, by presenting almost all the information as categorical truth without display of hesitation. *The Times* shows a higher degree of doubt, but, as mentioned, this mostly occurs through quoted sources.

Summary

Linguistic discrepancies between the British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers were also documented. At word level, differences were discovered in the newspapers' use of central referent chains, where it was exposed that *The Times* focused more on 'country'/'place', and the *Sun* mostly on 'civilians'. Further, it was established that the *Sun* uses more pronouns and naming when portraying social actors, whereas *The Times* had higher frequencies for nouns and classifications. The qualitative data support the quantitative in that the *Sun* still showed preference for 'civilians', whereas the results for *The Times* were slightly more ambiguous. Results for the interpersonal and expressive language functions indicated that both papers express solidarity for victims; however, the *Sun* tended to focus more particularly on Britons and 'Westerners'. Furthermore, both papers use evaluative words, and mostly then from quoted external sources. At grammatical level, it was brought to our attention that *The Times* retrieved

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higher frequencies for relational and verbal processes, while the *Sun* had higher occurrences for material and mental process clauses; thus they focused on different aspects of reality. The tendency regarding agency found in the Norwegian papers is confirmed here through *The Times*' low frequencies for active participants, and especially in verbal and mental process clauses. The frequencies for passives and nominalisations also show that *The Times* uses more of these linguistic constructions than the *Sun*. As regards the final qualitative data, there is only limited use of the pronoun *we*, and mostly in *The Times* where it tends to be used inclusively. Expression of uncertainty or doubt is mainly done through external sources quoted directly or indirectly in the articles of both papers.

4.1.3 Comparisons

The Norwegian and the British corpora have already been compared by type of newspapers within each country in the above presentations, thus the hypothesis regarding potential divergence in language use between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers has been at least partially touched upon. However, it is time to go up one level, and to address the two initial hypotheses regarding possible differences or similarities between Norwegian and British newspapers more directly. The hypothesis on possible divergence in the broadsheet and tabloid coverage will also be addressed below. I have used the same layout for the tables as above, but now the data are juxtaposed first according to countries and secondly according to whether the source was a broadsheet or a tabloid newspaper.

4.1.3.1 Norwegian and British newspapers

The interesting point here is whether the two Norwegian and the two British online newspapers are similar or dissimilar in their portrayal of the tsunami disaster in the specific articles from the three chosen dates selected by the current criteria. The quantitative data are presented first, and then the qualitative data will be considered with emphasis on whether they support or reject the information deduced from the quantitative results. As in the above presentation, the results at word level will be attended to first before moving on to grammatical level, starting with central referent chains in Table 4.7 below.

Table 4.7: Word level. Central referent chains – referential function

WORD LEVEL Referential function	Norwegian newspapers	N	%	British newspapers	N	%
What is the text about? **Referent chains (3+)**	**Places** Country, place	11	28	**Places** Country, place	8	28
	Participants Officials Civilians Nature	 10 11 7	 26 28 18	**Participants** Officials Civilians Nature	 5 12 4	 17 41 14
Total		**39**	**100**		**29**	**100**

Table 4.7 reveals that the two nations' newspapers are relatively attuned when looking at percentages of referent chains dedicated to 'country'/'place' and 'nature'. Bigger differences are found for referent chains involving participants. Basically, the table tells us that Norwegian newspapers are more concerned with official participants, with 26% against 17% in the British. However, the British papers focused to a higher degree on civilians, with 41% compared to 28% in the Norwegian corpus.

The qualitative results achieved for de-lexicalisation, over-lexicalisation, meaning relations and metaphors could also help enlighten us on what the articles focused on and give an extra indication of what the emphasis of the respective Norwegian and British news stories was. The results from *Aftenposten* and *VG*, included in full in appendices 2 and 3, show that the qualitative data are mostly concerned with 'country'/'place' and the participant 'nature'. The grouping into categories in the appendices provides a good overview of the qualitative data. Otherwise, it is clear that the Norwegian corpus includes much data that do not fit into the given categories of places and participants that are used to a wide extent to make sense of the data. 'Other' and 'other people' are the labels used for these occurrences, which range from the de-lexicalisation 'fortune hunters' to 'insurance' used as a hyponym. These labels are meant to include words that do not fit under the set headings of places and participants. In terms of relating to the quantitative data in Table 4.7, the qualitative data support the tendency that 'country', 'place' is given much attention. However, as for participants, the subcategories of 'civilians' and 'officials' are not nearly as much in focus here. 'Nature' in different forms occurs in almost all of the subcategories besides antonyms and hyponyms, and is especially central in the metaphors.

As concerns the qualitative results from *The Times* and the *Sun*, they do not coincide with the findings in Table 4.7. The central referent chains in the British newspapers focused mostly on civilian participants and places. Although these categories are represented in the qualitative data to a certain degree, 'nature' and 'other' are both more represented, especially under these points: antonyms, hyponyms and metaphors. In contrast to the qualitative results for the Norwegian corpus, the British ones focus much more on both civilians and officials and less on 'other people'. Table 4.8 distinguishes between the use of pronouns and nouns in representation of social actors in the two corpora.

Table 4.8: Word level. Social participants – referential function

WORD LEVEL Referential function	Norwegian newspapers	N	%	British newspapers	N	%
Pronoun	Officials	16	7	Officials	17	9
	Civilians	21	9	Civilians	53	27
	Total	**37**	**16**	**Total**	**70**	**36**
Noun	Officials	93	40	Officials	48	25
	Civilians	101	44	Civilians	78	40
	Total	**194**	**84**	**Total**	**126**	**65**
	Sum	**231**	**100**	**Sum**	**196**	**101***
Named	Officials	20	13	Officials	10	9
	Civilians	1	1	Civilians	12	11
	Total	**21**	**14**	**Total**	**22**	**20**
Classified	Officials	47	31	Officials	31	27
	Civilians	82	55	Civilians	61	54
	Total	**129**	**86**	**Total**	**92**	**80**
	Sum	**150**	**100**	**Sum**	**114**	**100**

*All the figures are rounded up and in this case it resulted in a total on 101%

The figures tell us that the British newspapers use pronouns to portray social participants in 36% of the total number of instances, while the figure in the Norwegian ones is 16%. Regarding use of nouns, the divergence is here instead in favour of the Norwegian corpus with 84% compared to 65% in the British. For pronouns, the greatest distinction between the Norwegian and British

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papers concerns civilian participants, where the occurrence in the Norwegian corpus is 9% contrasted to 27% in the British corpus. As for nouns, the deviation is largest between official participants. In *Aftenposten* and *VG* the frequency is 40%, while it is lower in *The Times* and the *Sun* with 25%. What is also striking is the almost non-existing difference in the two countries' use of naming and classification, at least when looking at the total numbers, which in the Norwegian papers are 14% and 86% for naming and classification respectively, and 20% and 80% in the British ones. However, there is some divergence on how the total is divided internally between 'officials' and 'civilians' in the two corpora. For instance naming of civilians occurs only 1% of the total amount of instances in *Aftenposten* and *VG*, against 11% in *The Times* and the *Sun*. As for classification, the differences are very slight, with the most deviant numbers occurring between 'officials' where the Norwegian corpus has 31% and the British 27%. In sum, the British papers use more pronouns, the Norwegian more nouns, and for naming and classification the differences are minimal.

Moving on to the interpersonal and expressive language functions at word level, the most striking findings concern the degree to which the two countries' newspapers choose a national angling instead of giving attention to international conditions. The Norwegian newspapers tend to focus mostly on hard facts and death tolls, which could cause the opposite effect of evoking solidarity. However, there are instances of personification of the victims and one article expresses explicit concern, although mostly through external sources, for victims of the tsunami. In another, the journalist demonstrates explicit solidarity for a specific region in the affected area throughout the whole article. Solidarity for Norwegian people is mostly presented implicitly by for instance choice of topic, as in one of the articles which deals with financial issues that are only relevant for Norwegians. The overall image is thus not one-sided. As for the British papers, they tend to focus on British victims and the British death toll to a rather strong degree compared to the extent to which the Norwegian papers stress Norwegian conditions. Britain as an aiding nation, Western survivors and change of British holiday destinations are a few of the topics. However, there is also some emphasis on affected regions and civilians.

As far as the use of evaluative words is concerned, there is a clear divide between the two countries that regards whether the evaluating is being performed explicitly by the journalist or implicitly by a quoted source. In the Norwegian papers, the journalists evaluate a great deal, and

more so than the sources they quote. The situation in the British newspapers is the exact opposite, and almost all evaluative words originate from sources.

Table 4.9 below compares the quantitative results retrieved at grammatical level from the Norwegian and British newspapers.

Table 4.9: Grammatical level – referential function

GRAMMATICAL LEVEL Referential function	Norwegian newspapers	N	%	British newspapers	N	%
Which processes dominate?	Material	228	53	Material	145	45
	Relational	108	25	Relational	57	18
	(84 attributive			(47 attributive		
	24 identifying)			10 identifying)		
	Verbal	47	11	Verbal	73	23
	Mental	26	6	Mental	34	11
	Existential	15	4	Existential	13	4
	Behavioural	5	1	Behavioural	1	0
	Sum	**429**	**100**	**Sum**	**323**	**101***
Which participants dominate?	**In material processes**			**In material processes**		
	Actor	142	44	Actor	87	45
	Goal	119	37	Goal	76	40
	Scope	40	12	Scope	21	11
	Client	2	1	Client	2	1
	Recipient	11	3	Recipient	2	1
	Attribute	8	3	Attribute	4	2
	Sum	**322**	**100**	**Sum**	**192**	**100**
	In relational processes			**In relational processes**		
	Attributive clauses			*Attributive clauses*		
	Carrier			Carrier		
	Attribute	82	38	Attribute	44	41
		86	40		44	41
	Identifying clauses			*Identifying clauses*		
	Identified			Identified		
	Identifier			Identifier		
	Token	14	7	Token	7	7

	Value	14	7	Value	7	7
		9	4		3	3
	Sum	10	5	**Sum**	3	3
		215	**101***		**108**	**102***

	In verbal processes			**In verbal processes**		
	Sayer	41	46	Sayer	55	42
	Verbiage	40	45	Verbiage	72	55
	Receiver	7	8	Receiver	5	4
	Target	1	1	Target	0	0
	Sum	**89**	**100**	**Sum**	**132**	**101***

	In mental processes			**In mental processes**		
	Senser	27	49	Senser	28	47
	Phenomenon	28	51	Phenomenon	32	53
	Sum	**55**	**100**	**Sum**	**60**	**100**

	In existential processes			**In existential processes**		
	Existent	14	100	Existent	13	100
	Sum	**14**	**100**	**Sum**	**13**	**100**

	In behavioural processes			**In behavioural processes**		
	Behaver	3	60	Behaver	1	50
	Behaviour	2	40	Behaviour	1	50
	Sum	**5**	**100**	**Sum**	**2**	**100**

Are there nominalisations?	Number of occurrences	25		Number of occurrences	28	
	Occurrences per. 1000 words	**81**		Occurrences per. 1000 words	**60**	
Are the sentences active or passive?	Number of occurrences (passive)	37		Number of occurrences (passive)	22	
	Occurrences per. 1000 words	**119**		Occurrences per. 1000 words	**47**	

*All the figures are rounded up and in these cases it resulted in totals of 101% and on one occasion 102%.

We learn from Table 4.9 that differences in occurrences of processes in the papers occur among the top three types, which are material, relational and verbal processes. The British articles actually have a higher occurrence of verbal processes than relational ones. The most significant deviation is found in connection with verbal processes. The Norwegian papers use those 11% of the total amount of processes, whereas the British ones use verbal processes as frequent as 23% of the total amount of occurrences. The divergence is thus 12%. The differences between use of material and relational processes are 53% in the Norwegian ones and 45% in the British for material processes and 25% and 18% for relational process clauses in the Norwegian and British papers respectively. As for the remaining processes, they differed only slightly between the countries.

The quantitative results for use of participants in the different processes indicate that the differences are indeed almost non-existing. The only process type which gave diverging results between the two nationalities' news articles is the verbal one. There is a 10% difference in the use of 'Verbiage', with 45% in the Norwegian corpus and 55% in the British. The percentages for the 'Sayer' participant are correspondingly 46% and 42%. Hence, in the Norwegian papers there is only a 1% divergence between percentage of 'Sayer' and 'Verbiage', whilst in the British; the divergence is as big as 13%. Additionally, the 'Receiver' participant occurs 8% in *Aftenposten* and *VG* compared to 4% in *The Times* and the *Sun*. The other differences seem rather insignificant, and perhaps the most significant result here is in fact that there are so few differences.

Nominalisations and passive constructions on the other hand, are areas where much higher frequencies occurred in the Norwegian corpus for both features. Per 1000 words, the Norwegian articles included 81 nominalisations and 119 passive sentences, in contrast to 60 nominalisations and 47 passive constructions in the British news stories. Based on such figures one could claim that in these specific articles, Norwegian journalists were more eager to utilise linguistic tools that, deliberately chosen or not, have the effect of concealing active agents, and thus the persons responsible for whatever actions that are portrayed. Nevertheless, altogether the most striking result could be said to be the lack of differences between the two countries' newspapers.

The qualitative results for the interpersonal and expressive language functions reveal that in the Norwegian papers, *we* and on one occasion *you* are used by the journalists, and also by official sources that are quoted in the articles. In the British papers, *we* is used strictly by official and civilian sources. As for means of expressing hesitation or doubt through use of modal verbs and adverbials, the clear tendency is that the journalists in the Norwegian newspapers are responsible for a considerable amount of the cases where this occurs. The journalists in the British papers on the other hand, express uncertainty primarily indirectly through quoted sources. These findings seem to indicate that the Norwegian journalists of these articles are more present as responsible or direct senders in the texts than their British colleagues.

4.1.3.2 Broadsheet and tabloid newspapers

Here the data will be contrasted on the grounds of whether it was found in a broadsheet or a tabloid newspaper. The data will be presented in the same order as in section 4.1.3.1 above, starting with central referent chains at word level, presented in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Word level. Central referent chains – referential function

WORD LEVEL Referential function	Broadsheet newspapers	N	%	Tabloid newspapers	N	%
What is the text about? **Referent chains (3+)**	**Places** Country, place	13	33	**Places** Country, place	6	22
	Participants Officials Civilians Nature	8 14 5	20 35 13	**Participants** Officials Civilians Nature	7 9 6	25 32 22
Total		40	101*		28	101*

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*All the figures are rounded up and in these cases it resulted in totals of 101%

The largest discrepancy, as Table 4.10 shows us, amounts to 11% and occurs for 'country'/'place', where the broadsheet corpus has a frequency of 33% against 22% in the tabloid corpus. Moreover, the second largest difference is found with 'nature', where the percentage in the broadsheets is 13% in contrast to 22% in the tabloids. The different types of papers are very similar as far as percentage of referent chains devoted to civilian participants goes, with a divergence of only 3%. The difference is not that great for official participants either, with a 20% occurrence rate in the broadsheet papers and 25% in the tabloids. To reiterate, one could say that the papers pay approximately the same amount of attention to human participants. Where they differ is in the coverage of places and 'nature', where the broadsheets favour places and the tabloids tend to prioritise 'nature'.

When examining the qualitative data it becomes clear that they support the quantitative data to a large extent indeed. The dominant categories are not, as in Table 4.10, the official and civilian participants. Nevertheless, the qualitative data show that the two broadsheets and the two tabloids both focused on these two categories to a relatively high degree. As for the remaining qualitative findings, they also seem to coincide with the quantitative results. The broadsheets focus more on 'country'/, 'place' while the tabloids put more emphasis on 'nature'. The qualitative results also reveal that much of the data from *Aftenposten* and *The Times* do not fit into the set categories, and were thus put into separate categories labelled 'other' or 'other people'. In *VG* and the *Sun* on the other hand, this did not occur to a great extent. The conclusions that could be drawn from the quantitative results in Table 4.10 have thus found support in the qualitative data as well. Table 4.11 shows how social participants are portrayed in the given broadsheet and tabloid newspapers.

Table 4.11: Word level. Social participants - referential function

WORD LEVEL Referential function	Broadsheet newspapers	N	%	Tabloid newspapers	N	%
Pronoun	Officials Civilians	21 28	9 12	Officials Civilians	12 46	7 25
	Total	**49**	**21**	**Total**	**58**	**32**
Noun	Officials Civilians	81 113	33 47	Officials Civilians	60 66	33 36
	Total	**194**	**80**	**Total**	**126**	**69**
	Sum	**243**	**101***	**Sum**	**184**	**101***
Named	Officials Civilians	16 3	10 2	Officials Civilians	14 10	13 9
	Total	**19**	**12**	**Total**	**24**	**22**
Classified	Officials Civilians	43 94	28 60	Officials Civilians	35 49	33 46
	Total	**137**	**88**	**Total**	**84**	**79**
	Sum	**156**	**100**	**Sum**	**108**	**101***

*All the figures are rounded up and in these cases it resulted in totals of 101%

The results which are of most immediate interest here concern the differences in percentage between the total sums of the two types of newspapers for pronoun, noun, naming and classification. For pronouns and naming the figures obtained from the broadsheet corpus are 21% and 12%, whereas the tabloid corpus gives the numbers 32% and 22% for the same features. Thus according to the numbers, both pronouns and naming are used more frequently to portray

participants in the two tabloid papers. As for nouns and classification, both are used to a higher extent in the broadsheets. For nouns the total frequency is 80%, and for classification 88%. The corresponding numbers in the tabloids are 69% and 79% respectively. Hence, pronouns and naming are more popular in these tabloids than in the broadsheets, while the more standardised forms of nouns and classifications are preferred in the current broadsheet papers. Table 4.11 also tells us that the differences occur mainly with civilians and only to a small degree with officials. Nouns used to portray official participants, remarkably enough, showed the exact same frequency in the broadsheets and tabloids, with 33%. Otherwise the most significant differences are found in the newspapers' depiction of civilian participants, where for instance classified civilians accounted for 60% of the occurrences in the broadsheets, compared to 46% in the tabloids. There is also a large difference in number of occurrences of civilians portrayed as pronouns, with 12% in the broadsheets and 25% in the tabloids, which constitutes a 13% divergence.

To summarise, the broadsheet papers had higher frequencies for the more common features of nouns and classification. These characteristics were also more present in the tabloids, but they had significantly more occurrences for pronouns and naming than the broadsheets. Finally, divergence between the two types of newspapers is clearest when looking at frequencies for civilian participants.

Further, the results belonging under the interpersonal function are diverse and somewhat difficult to sum up. However, when considering the whole picture it may seem that the broadsheets cover the event in a more multifaceted manner than the tabloids, in the sense that the overall coverage is broader as far as topics go. The broadsheets show explicit solidarity for victims and conditions in specific affected regions as well as including personification of the masses to give the victims a face. On the other hand the broadsheets make widespread use of mass nouns such as 'death toll' and numbers etc. Some of the articles also have a more practical focus where outspoken solidarity is hard to pin down. The tabloids mostly emphasise a scientific aspect of the disaster, but there are still examples where solidarity for civilians is expressed. The articles from the *Sun* all relate to British conditions in one way or another, thus national solidarity could be said to be strongly present. The broadsheet papers can undoubtedly be said to have more focus on and hence show more solidarity for civilians affected by the disaster than the tabloids do.

Evaluative words that belong under the expressive language function occur both in the broadsheets and in the tabloid newspapers. It can be established that in *Aftenposten* and *The*

Times, the journalists themselves are direct senders of evaluative words to a larger extent than in *VG* and the *Sun*, where the evaluations primarily are performed by external sources. As mentioned in the above section, where Norwegian and British newspapers are compared, the Norwegian papers include many evaluative words which stem directly from the journalists. It is thus the results from *Aftenposten* that contribute the most to this result, which again may be founded on the fact that one of the articles in the corpus from *Aftenposten* is a feature article, where the journalist evaluates rather freely in comparison to what is common in a more standard hard news article. The evaluative words in the tabloids in general are more dramatic than the ones in the broadsheets, but this is probably due to the general characteristics of tabloid style.

Below in Table 4.12, the results at grammatical level are juxtaposed by frequencies obtained from the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers.

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Table 4.12: Grammatical level – referential function

GRAMMATICAL LEVEL Referential function	Broadsheet newspapers	N	%	Tabloid newspapers	N	%
Which processes dominate?	Material	215	49	Material	158	51
	Relational	115	26	Relational	66	21
	(86 attributive, 19 identifying)			(45 attributive, 15 identifying)		
	Verbal	61	14	Verbal	43	14
	Mental	33	7	Mental	27	9
	Existential	15	3	Existential	13	4
	Behavioural	4	1	Behavioural	2	1
	Sum	**443**	**100**	**Sum**	**309**	**100**
Which participants dominate?	**In material processes**			**In material processes**		
	Actor	124	40	Actor	105	49
	Goal	118	38	Goal	77	36
	Scope	43	14	Scope	28	13
	Client	3	1	Client	1	1
	Recipient	11	4	Recipient	2	1
	Attribute	10	3	Attribute	2	1
	Sum	**309**	**100**	**Sum**	**215**	**101***
	In relational processes			**In relational processes**		
	Attributive clauses			*Attributive clauses*		
	Carrier	85	41	Carrier	41	36
	Attribute	85	41	Attribute	45	39
	Identifying clauses			*Identifying clauses*		
	Identified	13	6	Identified	8	7
	Identifier	13	6	Identifier	8	7
	Token	6	3	Token	6	5
	Value	6	3	Value	7	6
	Sum	**208**	**100**	**Sum**	**115**	**100**

	In verbal processes			**In verbal processes**		
	Sayer	51	39	Sayer	45	50
	Verbiage	72	56	Verbiage	40	44
	Receiver	7	6	Receiver	5	6
	Target	0	0	Target	1	1
	Sum	**130**	**101***	**Sum**	**91**	**101***
	In mental processes			**In mental processes**		
	Senser	27	45	Senser	28	51
	Phenomenon	33	55	Phenomenon	27	49
	Sum	**60**	**100**	**Sum**	**55**	**100**
	In existential processes			**In existential processes**		
	Existent	15	100	Existent	12	100
	Sum	**15**	**100**	**Sum**	**12**	**100**
	In behavioural processes			**In behavioural processes**		
	Behaver	4	57	Behaver	0	0
	Behaviour	3	43	Behaviour	0	0
	Sum	**7**	**100**	**Sum**	**0**	**0**
Are there nominalisations?	Number of occurrences	35		Number of occurrences	18	
	Occurrences per. 1000 words	**118**		Occurrences per. 1000 words	**36**	

| Are the sentences active or passive? | Number of occurrences (passive) | 39 | | Number of occurrences (passive) | 23 | |
| | Occurrences per. 1000 words | **132** | | Occurrences per. 1000 words | **46** | |

*All the figures are rounded up and in these cases it resulted in totals of 101%

Based on this table, one can see that the frequencies for processes are quite similar. For instance, the frequencies for material processes are 49% and 51% in the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers respectively. The divergence for relational processes is 5% between the two types; with 26% in the broadsheet corpus and 21% in the tabloid. Otherwise the differences are quite small, and in one case even non-existing, which is the case with verbal processes that retrieved identical frequencies in both papers, with 14%.

As for participants, the results seem to conform to a considerable extent. A striking tendency, however, concerns frequencies of the active participants in the material, verbal and mental processes. Common for all these, is that the tabloid papers have higher frequencies for the active participants 'Actor', 'Sayer' and 'Senser', while the broadsheet ones have higher occurrences for the participants which represent that which is being done, said or sensed, namely 'Goal', 'Scope', 'Verbiage' and 'Phenomenon'. For instance in the material processes, 'Actor' has a frequency of 40% in the broadsheet papers in contrast to 49% in the tabloids.

Still, the difference is most apparent for participants in the verbal processes. Here, the percentage frequency for the active participant 'Sayer' is 39% for *Aftenposten* and *The Times*, while the corresponding figure for *VG* and the *Sun* is 50%. The divergence between the two types of newspaper is thus 11%. For 'Verbiage' on the other hand, the situation is quite the opposite, with 56% of the occurrences collected from the broadsheet corpus, compared to 44% in the tabloid corpus. The difference here is thus even larger, with 12% in favour of the broadsheets. The great divergence here is especially striking considering that the broadsheets and tabloids had the exact same frequencies for verbal processes with, as mentioned, 14%. The percentages for participants in the mental processes further support these findings. There exists a 6% divergence in frequencies for both 'Senser' and 'Phenomenon' between the newspapers. The frequencies for 'Senser' are higher in the tabloids with 51% here compared to 45% in the broadsheets, while the situation is vice versa for 'Phenomenon', with a 55% occurrence in the broadsheets and 49% in

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the tabloids. Based on the figures in Table 4.12, it is viable to state that the broadsheet newspapers *Aftenposten* and *The Times* focus more on what is done, said or sensed than the responsible persons who do, say and sense. In contrast, *VG* and the *Sun* do the exact opposite by concentrating on the agents to a larger extent than what the agents do, say or sense.

The results for nominalisations and passive constructions further support the previous claim that the broadsheets conceal actors or agents to a larger extent than the tabloids do. After the numbers obtained were converted into occurrences per 1000 words, the results showed that in *Aftenposten* and *The Times,* there were 118 nominalisations and 132 passive constructions per 1000 words. The corresponding figures for the tabloids *VG* and the *Sun* are 36 and 46 occurrences per 1000 words. The differences are thus considerable. The high number of occurrences of passive constructions in the broadsheet papers could perhaps be tied to the point made earlier regarding the low frequency of active participants in a number of process types. A high quantity of agentless passive constructions could be part of the explanation.

As regards the results for the interpersonal function, the findings do not reveal great disparity between the two newspaper types. The broadsheets include *we* in direct quotations originating from civilians, and other than that they seem to concur rather closely on this area. The expressive function at grammatical level relates to how or whether doubt or hesitation regarding the certainty of the referential content is present. Here, the most remarkable difference between broadsheets and tabloids seems to involve type of sender. In the two broadsheets, the journalists themselves express direct uncertainty on several occasions, whereas this phenomenon is hardly found in the tabloids where the sources are mainly the ones to convey weak certainty about the referential content of their statements.

To summarise briefly then, there seem to be greater differences between the broadsheet – tabloid corpora than the Norwegian – British corpora. In the latter case, the similarities are more striking than the differences. A preliminary conclusion could therefore be that type of newspaper has more impact on linguistic choices than whether the language used is Norwegian or English.

4.2 Discussion

The aim of this discussion section is to take a deeper look at the results, and to take a step backwards and attempt to see the findings in a larger context. Given the extent of the results, this section will concentrate on the broader picture and discuss different arguments/points that may

add insight on the matter of certain uses of language and different linguistic tools in news articles. Vagle makes use of the terms text interpretation and text explanation, where the goal is to look at what a text means and how it forms part of a social connection or context respectively (2005:199, 211). Like Fairclough, she mentions that there is an indirect relationship between text and society, which is mediated through the process of interpretation. Here, I will emphasise the link between the data and the hypotheses and aim and scope of the investigation. The focal point of interest is how the data and results relate to and are relevant for the hypotheses, which relate to how news discourse may coincide or contradict depending on similarities or dissimilarities between cultures or type of newspaper. It is also interesting to investigate different premises that may support or challenge the conclusions that are to be presented based on the empirical data.

4.2.1 Hypotheses and results

4.2.1.1 Hypothesis 1 and results

To reiterate, the first hypothesis that is empirically tested predicts that: 'cultural, historical, social, political, ideological, or institutional differences between different newspapers, countries, or regions must necessarily result in differences in news discourse about a given world event' (van Dijk 1988:32). The underlying assumption could thus be summed up briefly to entail that different cultures lead to different news discourse, and vice versa, that different news discourses can be explained by cultural differences. Danuta Reah supports this notion when she claims that: 'Newspapers are cultural artefacts. The print media of different countries and different cultures differ in a variety of ways' (2004:54). Here she refers specifically to print media, but although it is online news that is investigated in the present examination, online papers can still arguably be labelled 'a product of the culture it comes from' (Reah 2004:54).

Reah's claim is the key idea being considered in this thesis. The objective was to investigate whether culture is indeed significant for news as a product and, more importantly, for the language of newspapers. According to Reah, culture matters to quite a large extent. She states that: 'The transmission of a message through language almost of necessity encodes values into the message. Language gathers its own emotional and cultural "loading"' (2004:55). Based on Reah's opinions, it does not seem far-fetched to assume that she would support, or at least expect a verification of hypothesis 1, where differences are expected to occur in two cultures' portrayals

of an identical event. She would, based on her initial claims, see the Norwegian corpus, and all its linguistic implications, as a result of Norwegian culture, and perhaps more specifically, the Norwegian newspaper culture. The same goes for the British corpus. The language used in *The Times* and the *Sun* would all, in Reah's view, be encoded with British values embedded in the British culture. Allan Bell advocates a similar stand to Reah's when he asserts that: 'Media "discourse" is important both for what it reveals about a society and because it also itself contributes to the character of the society' (1998:64). Bell believes that: 'A close, linguistically proficient analysis of the text needs to be the foundation for all attempts to unpack the ideologies underlying the news' (1998:65). Thus, it is firmly established that by investigating language use, new insight on the textual and social context may be gained.

A further point worth mentioning regards the aim of this study, and the degree of cultural difference. The objective here is not to actively search for discrepancies by opting for two cultures or countries that are extremely dissimilar in all respects. Moreover, the chosen media event is not explicitly related to religion or policy or other subjects that might have better secured diverging results. Instead, the opposite approach is favoured in the present thesis. First, the British and Norwegian cultures are relatively similar. They are both western democratic countries situated in the northern and wealthy part of Europe, and the two countries are not opposites religiously or politically. Also, the tsunami disaster took place in another continent and affected both European countries similarly. Lastly, the selected Norwegian newspapers are meant to correspond to the British ones in terms of newspaper type. Still, the two cultures are undoubtedly also different in many ways, perhaps especially historically and socially.

Differences in newspaper language use in the Norwegian and British newspaper corpora were not very extensive, though they did occur. At word level, as elaborated in Section 4.1, the countries differed on which types of referent chains were most frequent, and it was revealed that *Aftenposten* and *VG* included a higher quantity of referent chains with official participants, whereas the central referent chains in *The Times* and the *Sun* focused more on civilian participants. It is hard to explain this phenomenon, but part of an explanation could relate to the *Sun*'s highly personalised focus. Jeremy Tunstall says that amongst the 'lower' tabloids: 'There is an overwhelming emphasis on personalities' and also a focus on: 'sensational human interest stories' (1996:11). The quantitative results regarding usage of nouns and pronouns utilised for representing social actors further support this notion. In the British newspapers, 36% of the total

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number of occurrences was for personal pronouns, whereas the equivalent number for pronouns in the Norwegian corpus is 16%. One article in the *Sun* contributes heavily to this result as the journalist creates more of a personal narrative with a private person's dramatic story in focus.

Fairclough brings the concept of generic reference into focus. The mentioned binary distinction between use of pronouns and nouns relates to what Fairclough refers to when he says that: 'Generic reference in general is associated with the universal, for instance the oscillation between particular and universal (2003:150). For instance, it is clear that the Norwegian journalists to a larger extent use nouns when referring to social actors than the British. Thus the language of the Norwegian journalists could be described as more generic and universal than the more specific references in the British papers. What is also striking is that there is virtually no difference in frequencies for pronoun use for official participants, whereas for civilians, the occurrences are 9% and 27% for the Norwegian and British papers respectively. The results for naming and classification follow this tendency with a higher frequency for naming of civilians occurring in the British papers, although the figures for classification are almost identical. Fairclough also addresses the notion of how: 'Impersonal representation of social actors (…) can dehumanize social actors, take the focus away from them as people' (2003:150). His idea can in this case be related more specifically to assessing how personal reference is manifested through the newspapers' representations of civilian actors. If victims of the tsunami disaster are constantly portrayed by use of mass nouns such as 'death toll', 'them' etc, Fairclough's point is highly relevant. These examples of mass nouns are utilised by all four newspapers, however, it does seem that the Norwegian newspapers are more frequent users of nouns when referring to civilian social actors. The frequencies of these specific mass nouns have not been mapped in detail; hence it is hard to conclude any further here.

Use of personal pronouns relates directly to the qualitative results at grammatical level in the present analyses, and these revealed that *we* and *you* are used by the journalists, as well as by official sources that are quoted in the Norwegian papers. The British journalists on the other hand, do not on any single occasion use these pronouns, and when they are indeed present in the articles, they are strictly used by official and civilian sources quoted in the texts. This indicates that the Norwegian journalists are more present in the texts as authors through their use of these personal pronouns which when used by the author are intended to include the readers. The argument here is also corroborated by results retrieved at grammatical level under the expressive

language function. As mentioned briefly in section 4.1, the Norwegian journalists make use of evaluative words as well as modal verbs and adverbials, of which the two latter can be used to convey hesitation or doubt. All these features are present in the Norwegian articles to quite a considerable extent compared to in the British ones. These findings could be interpreted to mean that although the British papers are more personalised as concerns frequencies of pronouns and nouns, Norwegian journalists are more expressive in the sense that they mark their presence more clearly in the texts through different linguistic tools. To sum up, they evaluate extensively compared to the British language use, and they are thus personal in a different manner than their British colleagues. However, it should be noted that one of the Norwegian articles in the material is indeed a feature article, and when considering its extensive length, it is fair to say that it may have skewed the results.

As far as representation of agents or active participants is concerned, it is interesting to look at the results from the functional analyses for processes and participants at grammatical level, including passive constructions and nominalisations. Although the differences are not controversial, there are differences. The verbal process type stands out in that respect, with results showing that 23% of the overall occurrences for processes in the British corpus were verbal, compared to 11% in the Norwegian. As for the corresponding participants, the results for the active participant, which is the 'Sayer', were 46% of the total in the Norwegian articles and 42% in the British, while 'Verbiage' received a total of 45% and 55% in the respective corpora. When interpreting these figures, it would seem as though the British journalists opted for completely omitting the active participant responsible for saying more frequently than the Norwegian journalists. However, these figures seem to be exclusive for the verbal processes, which means that indirect or direct speech from external sources is realised differently linguistically between the Norwegian and the British newspapers studied here.

To comment further on the notion of agency, the investigation documented 81 occurrences of nominalisations and 119 occurrences of passive constructions per 1000 words in the Norwegian corpus, whilst the equivalent figures for the British corpus are 60 and 47. However, even though passive constructions occur more frequently in the articles from *Aftenposten* and *VG*, this does not mean that the active agent was always elided, but that it was frequently placed towards the end of sentences. However, whether the passive constructions were or were not agentless was not distinguished quantitatively. It is still safe to say that the

Norwegian journalists expressed less emphasis on active participants by opting for the passive voice to a larger extent than the British authors.

The choice of using nominalisations and passive constructions is in many cases seen as salient in the sense that these linguistic tools can be utilised to weaken the prominence of actors, or even to delete them. Roger Fowler advocates an ideological perspective on the matter, and in *Language in the News*, he dedicates a chapter to different linguistic tools he sees as significant in relation to how: 'certain areas of language are particularly implicated in coding social values' (1991:67). He includes active and passive constructions among those tools, and he refers to nominalisation as a feature which: 'offers substantial ideological opportunities' (1991:80). Van Dijk also comments on the use of passive constructions, and says that: 'the use of passives or similar constructions is a semantic and rhetorical operation of vagueness and suggestion' (1988:274). Why passive constructions and nominalisations are sometimes opted for by journalists may relate to, as mentioned, style. However, it cannot be ignored that there are times when the purposes for choosing such linguistic tools should be examined[1], or at least questioned. Examples 89 and 90 below are taken from one of the articles in *Aftenposten*, and they make good illustrations of instances where the use of nominalisations and passive constructions can lead to questions regarding the sender's intentions to conceal responsible agents.

[89] She apologised to the Acehnese people for the acts of war, imprisonments and executions.
[90] Many suspects were executed summarily.

However, as described in Chapter 2, Allan Bell believes that to accept such a conscious view of linguistic processes is to go too far, and to presuppose too strong of a link between language and ideology (1991:214).

According to the results presented in Section 4.1, the differences between British and Norwegian newspaper cultures are not so great. To rephrase, linguistic differences were not widely exposed in the news articles, when examined according to the given characteristics. Van Dijk studied differences between First World and Third World presses, and although: 'So many interests, views and goals are involved in the Middle East conflict that a maximum variety of news could, in principle, be expected' (1988:35), his extensive study of international news did not reveal substantial differences structurally or quantitatively, although there was much variation

among newspapers and regions (1988:129). Still, in the present study there are differences which can instigate discussion regarding some of the linguistic choices favoured by the journalists of the two different nationalities and cultures, and that could form the basis of further studies, either qualitative or quantitative. For instance, the issues of evaluation and the presence or absence of the author, as well as quantities of passive constructions and nominalisations could profit from further research.

4.2.1.2 Hypothesis 2 and results

The second hypothesis: 'would essentially predict the opposite, viz. the similarity of news accounts' (van Dijk 1988:32). The central point here regards how globalisation may lead to similarity in news discourse. This hypothesis implies that all national presses and thus journalists share a more or less common set of values and norms in their profession, which culminates in similar representations of the same event, regardless of historical, social, cultural and political differences between countries. In the new technological world of the internet, one could claim that the world is getting smaller and smaller, and that one effect of an increasingly globalised world is that news reports are also becoming more alike.

Journalists, who are basically the senders or authors of media language, are likely to have major influence on the content of newspapers. Van Dijk stresses the fact that journalists as a group belong to a professional middle class, and that most of them may be white, male and live in Western countries (1988:27). Hence, a group that shares similar backgrounds may also very well be similar in other respects. Furthermore, van Dijk states that: 'At the same time, journalists share general knowledge about the news format (...) as well as style of language use, preferred topics, or person or group description' (1988:28). All these factors have the potential to impact newspaper language, and the linguistic choices journalists make. Van Dijk emphasises that: 'news reports, as well as their production and understanding, presuppose vast amounts of shared social representations, including specific prejudices and ideologies' (1988:28). Based on this statement, one may assume van Dijk to believe that when two news reports from different countries resemble one another closely, the reason may be that the two countries are similar in their ideological perspective on social representation, which, among other things, is expressed through the representation of events in news reports.

Linguistic similarities between the two countries' newspapers were rather frequent and were present on both word level and grammatical level. The first manifestations occurred in the central referent chains at word level. As previously stated, long referent chains which include the same animate or inanimate participants can help reveal the main content of a text, in this case news stories. The figures from the four newspapers in the two countries show that they dedicated equal amounts of central referent chains to the category 'places', or 'country'/'place'. Differences were also slim for 'nature' as a participant. These findings are thought-provoking in the sense that the countries are so attuned when it comes to representation of inanimate participants, whereas the differences are quite larger for the animate ones: 'officials' and 'civilians'. The tsunami disaster was indeed a news story that received global attention, and it is perhaps not so unexpected then that the two countries focused equally on 'nature', given the extent of the tsunami as a natural phenomenon. Van Dijk partly explains his similar results by suggesting that there is: 'an implicit system of rules and values in the news accounts of an international event (...). This globally shared code of journalistic practices leads to a standardized description of events' (1988:130). Whether the two countries' newspapers adhered to such a shared code or not, there is no doubt that much of the main content in the selected news stories is, in fact, similar.

It was established in sub section 4.2.1.1 that the two countries differed in social representations of actors by use of nouns and pronouns. However, for the use of naming and classification of social actors, the figures are strikingly similar. In the Norwegian papers, the total percentages for naming and classification respectively amount to 14% and 86%, while the numbers for *The Times* and the *Sun* are 20% and 80%. It is thus clear that there is little divergence regarding whether the journalists chose to refer to the social actors individually by name, or in terms of class or category. A general trait found in the investigated newspapers is thus that social actors are mainly referred to by classification, and more rarely they are named directly. On a general note one can assume that by naming the persons involved, they become more individualised in the sense that the strangers in the news stories are more personalised. It may be easier to relate to a named person than to many people referred to by a mass noun or category. Fairclough's point on dehumanising of social actors by the use of impersonal representation mentioned in the previous section is highly relevant here as well, and it is evident that the British papers demonstrate a slightly higher frequency of naming, whereas the Norwegian papers are more frequent users of classification when referring to social actors.

The results retrieved at grammatical level from the systemic functional analyses are rather striking in their similarity. Aside from some differences concerning frequencies of processes, the results are clear. The quantitative results for the different participants are almost the same in the two countries' newspapers. As stated in Chapter 2, Bloor and Bloor claim that a functional theory should say something about how language works as social interaction. Newspaper language can be viewed as a type of social interaction where the readers are interactive receivers of the newspaper discourse used, and by studying such language, one can achieve knowledge on how such discourse works. As concerns the different process types, the newspaper languages in the two countries particularly resemble one another in the percentage occurrences for mental, existential and behavioural processes. The differences are not substantial for material and relational processes either, with an 8% and 7% divergence respectively. Apart from the clauses which included verbal acts, it is clear that the distribution of material, relational, mental, existential and behavioural process clauses is almost equal in the two corpora. Based on the results for participants, one could claim that the clauses in the two corpora work quite similarly, and thus perform mainly the same functions within the very same contexts. The figures almost speak for themselves: The similarities are nearly unambiguous. As mentioned in the previous section, the frequencies for 'Verbiage' are the most different. Additionally, the Norwegian papers showed higher frequencies for nominalisations and passive constructions. Since the figures for participants show that the frequencies for the responsible 'doer' participants are so similar, it can be concluded that there are small differences concerning frequencies of passive constructions which are agentless; where the responsible agent is omitted altogether. However, as briefly mentioned, amounts of passives which include or omit agents are not specified quantitatively in the analyses.

Overall, the results indicate that in these 12 news articles, both Norwegian and British journalists, more or less consciously, chose a similar way of making meaning. As a partial explanation of why there were so few differences between First and Third World press coverage, van Dijk points to the standardisation of the Western news product, and claims that it is present also in the Third World. It should then come as no surprise that the newspaper language in Norwegian and British newspapers is indeed similar. However, it is still remarkable that the similarities are so great.

4.2.1.3 Hypothesis 3 and results

Finally, the third hypothesis deals with how there can be: 'different results depending on the type of newspaper (quality vs. popular)' (van Dijk 1988:32). This is perhaps where the greatest differences are expected to occur. The comparison of different newspaper types is an area which has been covered quite thoroughly, in contrast to the less familiar field of comparisons of news language between countries, at least countries that are relatively similar as England and Norway. Hypotheses 1 and 2 mirror each other in that they cover two sides of the same story, with an opposite focus. The present hypothesis however, focuses on whether the newspaper type is significant for the language, regardless of whether the newspapers are British or Norwegian.

Especially British newspapers have been extensively studied, and as stated in Chapter 2, a common way to distinguish between British newspapers relates to the socio-economic profiles of their readership. Several of the previous studies presented in Chapter 2 did show diverging results between language use in broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, as the studies of Jucker, Bednarek and Hillier documented. Jucker, for instance, assumes that editors will strive in content and in style to satisfy the majority of their readers, and he believes that: 'It is only natural to expect that these considerable differences (...) will be reflected in the language used by the individual papers' (1992:58). Norwegian newspapers are, however, not usually divided into nearly such absolute categories as the British. In his investigation of Norwegian newspapers, Sigurd Allern compares Norwegian conditions to British and American when he says that the tradition from aggressive American and British popular journalism was transformed into a more serious and 'social democratic' variant in Norway as well as in Sweden (2001:29). He does say that *VG* stands out by its heavy focus on crime, sports and entertainment. However, Allern does not view *VG* as a parallel to a tabloid such as the *Sun*, due to *VG*'s considerable news coverage of societal matters (2001:141). Consequently, it may not come as a surprise that there are numerous studies on differences in content, language etc between British broadsheet and tabloid papers, whereas such studies of Norwegian newspapers are scarce.

As mentioned in sub section 4.2.1.1, van Dijk's large study of First and Third World news reports did not provide many fundamental differences. However, van Dijk notes an exception: 'Generally, differences are more marked between reports of the elite press and those of the popular or tabloid press' (1988:129). The starting point thus appears to be that differences

between broadsheet and tabloids have been established on numerous occasions. The next point is to see whether the data collected for the present thesis will fulfil these expectations.

To start with the word level, a noteworthy point is revealed when looking at frequencies for central referent chains. The greatest differences occur for 'country'/'place' and 'nature', with 33% and 13% in the broadsheet corpus compared to 22% and again 22% in the tabloid corpus. These participants are inanimate, while the frequencies for 'officials' and 'civilians' are far less discrepant. This situation is the exact opposite of the results found when comparing across countries, where the largest differences between Norway and England were found for the animate participants. A preliminary conclusion is thus that *Aftenposten* and *The Times* were preoccupied with 'places' to a larger extent than *VG* and the *Sun*, which tended to place their focus more on 'nature' as a participant than the broadsheets. It is hard to find explicit explanations for these facts; however it is still quite extraordinary that the results are opposite for whether they are compared according to country or type of newspaper.

As far as the representation of social actors is concerned, the results show that the broadsheets have higher frequencies for nouns and classifications than the tabloids, and vice versa for pronouns and naming, where the tabloids have the most occurrences. In sub section 4.1.3.2 we learned that the differences are remarkably larger for civilian participants, while the frequencies for officials are surprisingly similar between the corpora. The largest differences are found for pronouns and classification, where the figures are 12% and 60% in the broadsheets respectively, and 25% and 46% in the tabloids. According to these results, one could argue that the broadsheets make more extensive use of language that creates a bigger gap between the people who read the newspaper and the people referred to in the actual news stories. Their frequent use of nouns and classification of social actors stands in contrast to the tabloids' use of more direct and personal references through pronouns and naming. As mentioned under the previous sub section, this can relate to Fairclough's point on dehumanisation of social actors, if reference is increasingly made through impersonal linguistic constructions. Fairclough maintains that different linguistic choices made when representing social actors are indeed socially significant (2003:155). However, the qualitative findings under the interpersonal function give the overall impression that the broadsheets focus more on, and thus show more solidarity, for civilians affected by the disaster than the tabloids, despite the broadsheets' extensive use of mass nouns to portray the social actors. One might then question whether solidarity is mainly

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expressed through direct focus and the amount of attention paid to the given participants, or in how the participants are represented linguistically in the texts.

At grammatical level, the functional analyses reveal little difference in percentages for process types; the largest difference actually occurs for relational processes. The results that stand out, on the other hand, concern the active participants in the material, verbal and mental processes. To reiterate the results from Section 4.1, the frequencies for 'Actor', 'Sayer' and 'Senser' in *Aftenposten* and *The Times* are 40%, 39% and 45%. The corresponding numbers for *VG* and the *Sun* are 49%, 50% and finally 51%. As is evident, the tabloids have higher occurrences for all these, which are the active participants in clauses and the participants responsible for the act being performed, whether it is an act of doing, saying or sensing. A rather contradictory finding is then revealed for the reciprocal participants which denote what is being done, said or sensed. The frequencies for 'Goal', 'Scope' and 'Verbiage' are, as previously stated, 38%, 56% and 55% in the broadsheet corpus, compared to 36%, 44% and 49% in the tabloid corpus. Again, the differences are most apparent for 'Sayer' and 'Verbiage', where it becomes evident that the active 'Sayer' accounted for 39% in the broadsheets and 50% in the tabloids, while the numbers obtained for 'Verbiage' gave the opposite results with 56% in the broadsheet corpus in contrast to 44% in the tabloids. As mentioned in sub section 4.1.3.2, this is quite striking given that both corpora demarcated exactly the same overall frequency for verbal processes, with 14%. The papers thus obtained the same relative frequency, but the internal division of participants is very different.

In sum, these results provide the image of two broadsheets which, from a functional perspective, put less emphasis on the active agent in clauses and more so on the act itself. Mainly, the broadsheets tend to favour participants that are affected by the process instead of the participants which are performing. There is thus a clear tendency that type of newspaper is salient for the language users' linguistic choices in these news articles. Tony Trew's findings generally support the present results in that: 'In the *Sun* processes have participants as their initiators' (Trew 1979:148), also he discovered that *The Times* is among the four which present action without external causes or active participants (1979:151). Trew investigated a news event which dealt with riots and had 'gangs' and 'police' as participants. The discourse thus takes a more immediate ideological stance that is hard to compare to the present media event. However, that the linguistic

tendencies in the broadsheets and tabloids are still so similar to the results retrieved here is worth mentioning.

The notion of agency also clearly relates to the linguistic stratification of nominalisations and passive constructions in the texts. According to the results previously presented in Table 4.12, there are 118 nominalisations and 132 passive constructions per 1000 words in *Aftenposten* and *The Times* compared to 36 and 46 occurrences per 1000 words in *VG* and the *Sun*. The divergences between the two corpora are thus considerably larger than between the corpora distinguishing between countries. Again, tendencies found in the first round of comparison are stronger when type of newspaper is the criterion of comparison. Also, as stated in sub section 4.1.3.2, it is true that there is a correlation between high quantities of agentless passive constructions and low frequencies of active participants in a number of process types.

The reasons for linguistic differences between broadsheets and tabloid newspapers are undoubtedly complex and multifaceted. However, some of the factors that may be influential have already been touched upon in Chapter 2, such as for instance Reah's point on the 'real' reader and an 'implied' reader which does not actually exist, but is more of an idealisation that newspapers and journalists aim to please. One way in which this is done is through language use. By adhering to a certain style, the idea is that readers are given what they want. Monika Bednarek follows up on this point when she mentions stereotyping as a factor which should be taken into account when performing analyses of news stories; she believes that: 'both readers and speakers work with a stereotyped image of the other' (2006:14). Further, she claims that: 'A considerable amount of shared knowledge, beliefs, norms, values, etc. must therefore be presupposed, and writers as well as readers work with stereotypes of the supposed Other' (2006:14). This notion may be, and probably is, manifested in language use. Bednarek's investigation of evaluation in media discourse, presented in Chapter 2, revealed that fewer evaluations were found in the broadsheets than in the tabloids. Evaluative words were not investigated quantitatively in the present thesis. The results documented that both the broadsheets and tabloids make use of such words, although the ones in the tabloids tended to be fairly more dramatic in style. Bednarek partially explains her findings by the idea that: 'Evaluations in newspapers can be used to express emotive values in order to attract a certain implied readership' (2006:203).

Allan Bell indirectly supports Reah and Bednarek in his claim that: 'I believe the essence of style is that speakers are responding to their audience. It is typically manifested in a speaker

shifting her style to be more like that of the person she is talking to' (1991:105). As regards adjusting style after your audience, one could perhaps assume that since the British newspaper audience is so distinctly categorised by socio-economic profiles, the journalists would be more likely to live up to and advocate a news language directed at more stereotypical groups, as Bednarek implied. The Norwegian audience is not classified in a similar manner, and therefore it may be harder to pin down a stereotypical newspaper reader, which again could influence the language. Van Dijk also explains differences in language use when he refers to how the focus of analysing discourse is on the preferred grammatical structures that characterise language use in such discourse (1988:10). He specifically mentions how broadsheet papers have a more formal jargon: 'Especially for the quality press (...) which tend to have long, complex sentences; many nominalizations' (1988:10). Altogether there is little doubt that type of newspaper does affect language use.

In sum, this investigation is extensive, and has thus provided extensive results. The results section and the following discussion section have presented and discussed the results deemed the most interesting in relation to the aims and hypotheses of the present thesis. As will be elaborated in Chapter 5, the results revealed that the linguistic choices of the Norwegian and British newspapers are indeed similar. However, there are still differences which need to be acknowledged and discussed. Finally, according to previous studies and supported by findings in the present, type of newspaper does impact the linguistic choices of meaning makers.

5 CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary and conclusions

The results of the present study are extensive and therefore complicated to handle. It is safe to say that all the results have not been commented on or discussed as thoroughly as is preferable, due to lack of time and first and foremost considerations of space. Nevertheless, the main tendencies and most striking findings have been addressed and discussed to the degree deemed appropriate here considering the aim and scope of the thesis.

To begin with, a brief summary of the results is in order. First, the data was compared within each country between the Norwegian broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, and then the British newspapers. The quantitative and qualitative data gave somewhat diverging results at word level. Nevertheless it was clear that *Aftenposten* and *VG* differed in their language use: *Aftenposten* focused more on civilian participants whereas *VG* concentrated to a larger extent on official participants. At grammatical level the results coincided rather closely, although *Aftenposten* had higher frequencies for mental processes and *VG* for verbal process types. There were also divergences in frequencies for the participants in verbal processes, where *VG* showed higher occurrences for the active participant 'Sayer'. *Aftenposten* also accounted for the largest number of occurrences for nominalisations and passive constructions in the Norwegian articles. As far as the results obtained for the British newspapers were concerned, the *Sun* is clearly more focused on civilian participants while *The Times* had higher frequencies for 'country'/'place' and 'officials'. This fact was confirmed by the quantitative as well as the qualitative data. At grammatical level there were considerable differences regarding frequencies for processes. The *Sun* journalists are clearly occupied with the physical world of doing, and also sensing, which was evident by high frequencies for material and mental processes. *The Times*, however, accounts for higher occurrences for verbal and relational processes which indicate a different focus from the meaning makers, the journalists.

When comparing the results between the two countries, some differences are revealed, mainly at word level, while at grammatical level the results are remarkably similar. As presented and discussed in sub sections 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.1.2, the two British papers have a more personalised focus which is expressed through higher frequencies for civilian participants in the central referent chains, and further in the British papers' extensive use of personal pronouns and naming

compared to the Norwegian papers. Altogether, the language in the British corpus seems to be more personalised and concrete than its Norwegian counterpart. The latter has higher frequencies for nouns, classification and also for nominalisations and passive constructions. However, Norwegian journalists tend to be more expressive in that they make use of evaluative words to a higher extent than their British colleagues; hence they are personal in a different way. I claim that hypothesis 1 has been partly verified. There are indeed differences, and especially so at word level, between the linguistic representations of an identical news event between two countries, in this case Norway and England. It is naturally hard to pass judgement on which specific factors may have influenced specific language use, but that Norwegian and British journalists do indeed make divergent linguistic choices at word level is beyond doubt.

As much as the countries differed in their portrayals of animate participants, they were quite similar as concerns the inanimate ones. 'Country'/'place' and 'nature' accounted for almost identical frequencies in the two corpora. Also, results between the two countries concurred fairly closely in the total frequencies obtained for naming and classification of social actors. The most striking similarities were nevertheless retrieved at grammatical level. Only small divergences in use of process types were found here, and as regards participants, the differences were almost non-existent. It is indeed striking that after having analysed all sentences in the selected articles, that the results are so similar between the two countries' functional choices. Hypothesis 2 has also been verified; there are indeed similarities in these news accounts. Both hypotheses have been verified. The results have thus shown that the relationship between language and culture is not one-sided. Striking linguistic similarities between the Norwegian and British articles were found. However, there are still differences which should not be ignored without discussion.

The next point was to compare the data by type of newspaper: broadsheet or tabloid. This procedure procured the most diverging results of all. The largest discrepancies for central referent chains were interestingly enough found for the inanimate participants, which is the opposite of the results retrieved when comparing between countries. These findings also find support in the qualitative data. Less surprisingly is it perhaps that the tabloids were found to be more frequent users of pronouns and naming than the broadsheets. The largest differences were found for civilians, while for officials the divergences were somewhat smaller. The quantitative differences for process types at grammatical level were not so great. A striking tendency is, however, found in the frequencies for participants, where it became clear that the tabloid papers have higher

occurrences for the active participants 'Actor', 'Sayer' and 'Senser'. The broadsheets, on the other hand, obtained higher frequencies for 'Goal', 'Scope', 'Verbiage' and 'Phenomenon'. The tendency is clearest for participants in the verbal processes. The results for nominalisations and passive constructions further adhere to this notion: *Aftenposten* and *The Times* obtained considerably higher frequencies for both nominalisations and passive constructions. Altogether there is no doubt that type of newspaper does impact the journalists' language use and that news discourse is indeed different in typical broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, such as the ones investigated here. Based on the above findings I find it safe to say that hypothesis 3 has been verified.

On the whole it can be concluded that there are linguistic differences in newspaper language in the selected news articles about the tsunami disaster. Furthermore, there are also striking linguistic similarities in the Norwegian and British news language. Finally, it was exposed that linguistic differences were greatest when comparing language in broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, thus type of newspaper seems to be more significant for linguistic choices than country.

5.2 Further studies

As stated in the introduction, the aim was not to map the complete newspaper coverage of the tsunami disaster in Norway and England. Rather, the goal was to investigate a small sample of news articles to gain detailed insight on the language use and potential linguistic similarities and dissimilarities. Although the results are not statistically significant, they are still reliable in the sense that they can be replicated by following the same methodological framework on identical material. The present findings can also serve the purpose of forming the basis of further studies, both quantitative and qualitative. Interesting tendencies have been discovered, and suggestions for areas that may merit further study are many.

The main tendency within media language research, especially within the critical tradition, is that the focus tends to be on language and ideology. For instance Roger Fowler and Tony Trew's approach to discourse have in common that they attempt to reveal a link between language and ideology. Although the present framework builds on the critical tradition, the focus has been more on how, and whether, language, culture and type of newspaper impact linguistic choices. As far as results of previously conducted studies go, it has been established that van

Dijk's study of international news gave similar results to the present one. Van Dijk found that the differences between Third and First World press coverage of the same news event did not give fundamentally different results. Where he did discover divergent results was mainly between reports of what he calls the elite press and popular press. The findings in this thesis thus support van Dijk's conclusions, although his study was much larger in scale in terms of material, amount of countries etc. He comments that naturally, he cannot claim to have collected a representative sample of the global press, just as I cannot assert that the articles selected here are representative for the Norwegian and British press. Nevertheless, the results definitely reveal tendencies that can be used for what they are worth, and that may form the basis of further studies within the field.

One issue that could benefit from being investigated more thoroughly, either quantitatively or qualitatively is the manner in which the newspaper language is personalised. As revealed in the present thesis, British newspapers tend to focus more on civilian participants, and they used more personal pronouns and naming in the news stories. Although the concept of 'civilians' as a type of participant per se may be hard to transfer to other news events, the term still indicates a strong emphasis on people, and ordinary people rather than the contrastive participant 'officials'. Also, the Norwegian journalists tended to be more expressive through extensive use of evaluative words etc. These differences, and whether they are generally manifested in newspaper language, could be a good starting point for further cross-cultural studies of news discourse in Norway and England. This could also be linked further to Bednarek's study of evaluation in media discourse, mentioned in Chapter 2, where she found that tabloids are more evaluative than broadsheets. In the present study it was established that the journalists in the chosen broadsheets were more often direct senders of evaluative words than in the tabloids. However, this area could also be investigated in more detail.

Another area which should be pursued in further studies, concerns the issue of agency in broadsheets and tabloids. This point could be approached from many angles. In this thesis, the systemic functional analyses provided clear results regarding how the language choices differed between the two newspaper types. Those findings were supported by the frequencies found for nominalisations and passive constructions, which also correlate with Tony Trew's functional analyses of British newspapers, as concerns his findings that the tabloids were more likely to emphasise the active participants than the broadsheet ones (1979:117f). Especially quantitative studies could be preferable in order to examine whether use of linguistic tools to conceal agents

are present in broadsheet papers to a degree that shows statistical significance. In contrast, one could also look at whether tabloids do opt for including the responsible person to a larger extent than broadsheets do. The results for participants in verbal processes were some of the most controversial findings in this study, thus it would also be purposeful to study further the functional stratification of verbal processes and participants in news discourse.

In sum, I would claim that the present thesis achieves its intended purpose of being an exploratory study of newspaper language in Norwegian and British papers. The aim of the thesis as a predominantly qualitative study has been reached through the gaining of an overall understanding of the specific conditions presented here, which could contribute to the development of theories and further hypotheses regarding the language of newspapers. All the examples of linguistic similarities and differences show that dedicating time and effort to studying newspaper language is indeed worth while and further research and results may help improve the theoretical and methodological frameworks available within the field.

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APPENDIX 1

The following newspaper articles have been used in the present investigation:

26 December 2004:

Aftenposten
Bølgene kan ha tatt livet av 10.000
http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/uriks/article936656.ece

VG

-Én død, fire savnet etter flodbølge i Thailand
http://www.vg.no/nyheter/vaer/artikkel.php?artid=260122

The Times

Tidal wave kills thousands in Asia
http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/article405939.ece

The *Sun*

Aid sent to quake-hit zone http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/article99942.ece

30 December 2004

Aftenposten

Store forsikringsutbetalinger etter katastrofen
http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/uriks/article938897.ece

VG

Så sterk var flodbølgen
http://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/jordskjelv-i-asia/artikkel.php?artid=101991

The Times

Indian tsunami alert causes panic in region
http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/article1078074.ece

The *Sun*

'I saw a wall of water'
http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/article100437.ece

8 January 2005

Aftenposten

Acehs drøm om frihet
http://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kronikker/article944121.ece

VG

Forsinker hjelpeprosessen
http://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/artikkel.php?artid=261608

The Times

Travellers switch to Bali and Caribbean islands
http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/article409813.ece

The *Sun*

Most Brits dead since war
http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/article100989.ece

APPENDIX 2

AN OVERVIEW OF HOW THE RESULTS ARE PRESENTED IN APPENDICES 2, 3, 4 AND 5:

I. Word level

A. Referential function

1. De-lexicalisation
2. Over-lexicalisation
3. Meaning relations
 a) synonyms
 b) antonyms
 c) hyponyms
4. Metaphors

B. Interpersonal function

1. Who/what does the text show solidarity with?

C. Expressive function

1. Are there any evaluative words?

II. Grammatical level

A. Referential function

1. Are there nominalisations?
2. Are the sentences active or passive?

B. Interpersonal function

1. Who do the pronouns *we* and *you* refer to?

C. Expressive function

1. How does the sender commit to the truth or probability of the referential content of the statements?

I. Word level

A. *Referential function*

1. De-lexicalisation

January 8:
Places:
'A glorious kingdom'
'A damaged scenery on northern Sumatra.'
'The **dominant** Java'
'The **dominated** Aceh'
'Indonesia – a geographical innovation'

Other:
'She apologised to the Acehnese people for the acts of war, the brutality and the killings'
'Several thousand fortune hunters from other parts of the country have **invaded** the province in search of work and fast money.'
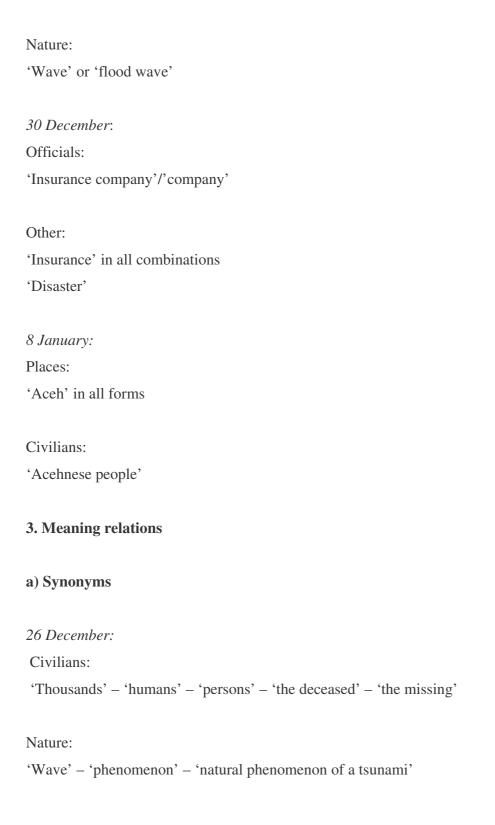
Other (people):
'Several thousand **fortune hunters**'

2. Over-lexicalisation

26 December:
Officials:
'Insurance company'/'company'

Nature:

'Wave' or 'flood wave'

30 December:

Officials:

'Insurance company'/'company'

Other:

'Insurance' in all combinations

'Disaster'

8 January:

Places:

'Aceh' in all forms

Civilians:

'Acehnese people'

3. Meaning relations

a) Synonyms

26 December:

 Civilians:

 'Thousands' – 'humans' – 'persons' – 'the deceased' – 'the missing'

Nature:

'Wave' – 'phenomenon' – 'natural phenomenon of a tsunami'

30 December:

Other:

'Quick' - 'efficient'

8 January:

Civilians:

'Acehnese people' – 'a small minority'

b) Antonyms

December 26:

Civilians:

 'Tourists' – 'locals'

January 8:

Places:

'A glorious kingdom' – 'a damaged scenery' (about Aceh)

c) Hyponyms

December 26:

Civilians:

'Scandinavians': 'Norwegians', 'Danes'

'Thousands of European tourists': 'Norwegians', 'Danes'

'Deceased and missing': 'South – Africans', 'Dutch people', 'British people'

December 30:

Other:

'Insurance': 'travel insurance', 'debt insurance', 'life- or pension insurance', 'accident insurance'

4. Metaphors

26 December:

Nature:

1. 'When the water drew back'

2. 'The water had already started pushing its way into the cabin'

3. 'In Sri Lanka, the waves first struck the idyllic beaches'

8 January:

Places:

4. 'The country was a mosaic of former sultanates and kingdoms'

5. 'The rich and expansive Java led on (Norwegian: 'walked in front') in the uniting
   of Indonesia and Aceh'

Other:

6. 'If we ignore the rhetoric, they had good cards in their hands'

7. 'It is so far unclear what he can shake out of his sleeve.'

8. 'The following negotiations did not lead to anything and the war blazed up again.'

9. 'The government sent several thousands soldiers to the obstinate province to force
   Aceh down (Norwegian: on knee)'

B. Interpersonal function

1. Who/what does the text show solidarity with?

December 26:

Descriptions of people, personification that evokes sympathy:

- In Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh: 'relatives gathered around their dead family members on
the beaches'

- In Madras: Fisherman Ravichandran is quoted directly, this personifies the masses

- Small paragraph on Norwegians and Danes

- The headline: 'The waves may have killed 10,000' does not show much sympathy for the victims as they are referred to only by numbers.

December 30:

The journalist focuses on a practical aspect which is important for the victims of the tsunami disaster, namely financial issues and insurance payments in the aftermath of the disaster. The focus is thus implicitly on Norwegian victims.

- The spokesperson for The Norwegian Financial Services Association (FNH), says that insurance companies will prioritise to treat cases connected to the tsunami disaster and that they intend to contribute to a quick and efficient settlement.

January 8:

The journalist focuses on Aceh and its history and thereby shows explicit and implicit solidarity for the nation and its people.

- Expressions such as 'the dominant Java' and 'the dominated Aceh' may lead to sympathy for the dominated part, and aversion against the dominant one.

C. Expressive function

1. Are there any evaluative words?

December 26:

1. Nobody could predict the **catastrophe**.

2. Sri Lanka and South-India were **worst** affected.

3. The **idyllic** Indian island group.

4. The long tall waves approached the shore with **enormous** speed.

5. The wave caused **great damage**.

6. In Sri Lanka, the waves struck the **idyllic** beaches northeast on the island first.

7. In several countries national **disaster** was declared.

8. 'We are in **chaos**'

9. 'The natural phenomenon of a tsunami is **extremely rare** and according to experts

impossible to predict.’

December 30:

10. ‘A **quick** and **efficient** settlement’

January 8:

11. Will there **finally** be peace in the Indonesian province of Aceh?

12. A **glorious** kingdom.

13. A **damaged** scenery.

14. The story of Aceh is about **greatness**, **decline**, occupation and guerrilla war.

15. The **dominant** Java.

16. The **dominated** Aceh.

17. The **strange** regime in Jakarta.

18. The **strange** population on the island of Java.

19. The **rich** and **expansive** Java.

20. The **obstinate** province.

21. There was never a **real** peace.

22. If the Dutch people’s colonialism was **despicable**, how can the Javanese people’s colonialism be **perfectly alright**?’

23. The **lucrative** oil industry.

24. The people of Aceh saw a new opportunity for a **peaceful** solution.

25. Megawati **suffered** a **degrading** defeat in last year’s presidential election.

26. As a former Minister of safety, he has **a strongly developed sense for calmness and order**.

27. They do not label themselves as **fundamentalists**.

28. Indonesia supporters, and especially USA, are **highly sceptical** of Aceh’s desire for independence.

29. **One of the last things that USA would want is an Islamic state in the shipping channel of the strategically important Strait of Malacca.**

30. Now, in the aftermath of the tsunami, **Aceh’s dream of independence could seem more distant than ever**.

II. Grammatical level

A. *Referential function*

1. Are there nominalisations?

December 30:
1. 'Insurance **payments**'
2. 'Big **payments**'
3. 'The biggest **payments** could come in connection with other insurances than just travel insurance.'
4. '**Payment**'
5. 'The companies will prioritise the **treatment** of cases connected to the great disaster.'

January 8:
6. 'The story of Aceh is about **greatness**, decline, occupation and guerrilla war.'
7. 'Decline'
8. 'Occupation'
9. 'Guerrilla war'
10. 'The government has responded with **arrests**, imprisonments and executions.'
11. 'Imprisonments'
12. 'Executions'
13. 'Megawati had been in **opposition** for a long time.'
14. 'She apologised to the Acehnese people for **the acts of war**, the brutality and the killings.'
15. 'The brutality'
16. 'The killings'
17. 'The **rebuilding** of the province will take many years.'

2. Are the sentences active or passive?

December 26:

Passive sentences

1. 'People ran for their lives to escape the giant waves, but many were caught.'
2. 'Over 8600 were reported dead on Sunday afternoon and many thousand were still missing.'
3. 'It was reported that many villages were under water in the Indian states Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.'
4. 'When the water drew back, relatives gathered around dead family members on the beaches, and one body after another was driven away.'
5. '400 fishermen are reported missing in Andhra Pradesh.'
6. 'National catastrophes were declared in several countries.'
7. 'The small island of Ko Phi Phi, (where the motion picture "The Beach" was made in 2000,) was totally destroyed according to eyewitnesses, and 600 tourists and locals were evacuated.'
8. 'Where the motion picture "The Beach" was made in 2000'
9. '70 divers were rescued from the tourist attraction Emeral Cave in the south.'

December 30:

Passive sentences

10. 'Preben Sandborg Røe from the FNH says that on Thursday, the companies received hundreds of damage and loss reports from (people who were affected).'
11. 'People who were affected'
12. 'Those who were affected by the disaster.'

January 8:

Passive sentences

13. 'Others fear that the peace is temporary, and that the oppositions between the dominant Java and the dominated Aceh will reoccur as soon as the dead are put in the ground.'

14. 'The banner of rebellion was hoisted December 4, 1976.'

15. 'The climax was reached in the 17th Century.'

16. 'Whilst new oil installations are being installed, male Chinese are standing in line to participate in the boom.'

17. 'Villages were burnt to the ground in the search for the GAM-soldiers.'

18. 'Several hundred thousand civilians were forced to escape.'

19. 'Many suspects were executed summarily.'

20. 'Wahid was removed from office in 2001 due to "corruption, incompetence and negligence."'

21. 'Indonesia got their third president in three years, Megawati Sukarnoputri.'

22. 'They were promised 70% of the income from Aceh's export of oil and gas.'

23. 'The Acehnese would be permitted to introduce sharia, Islamic law, if they wanted to.'

B. Interpersonal function

1. Who do the pronouns *we* and *you* refer to?

December 26:

'**We** are in chaos'

- said by Vice director of Thailand's department of catastrophe, Somsak Sunwansujarit,

January 8:

'**We**, the people of Aceh'

- said by GAM, the Free Aceh Movement.

'If **we** ignore the rhetoric, they had good cards in their hands'

'If **we** are to believe GAM's leaders, the Acehnese people do not get much of the money.'

- written by the *Aftenposten* journalist.

C. Expressive function

1. How does the sender commit to the truth or probability of the referential content of the statements?

December 26:

1. The waves **may** have killed 10,000.
2. 'According to an Italian scientist, the disaster **may** have claimed as many as 10,000 lives.'

December 30:

3. One is expecting that eventually far more **will** come.
4. 'Sandborg Røe says that the biggest payments **could** come in connection with other insurances than just travel insurance.'
5. Debt insurances, life- or pension insurances and strict accident insurances **will** come to payment for many.

January 8:

6. People who are familiar with Asia, **will** draw a parallel between Aceh and the western province of Xinjiang in China.
7. When Islam came to the island, **probably** around 700 B.C.
8. Now, in the aftermath of the tsunami, Aceh's dream of independence **could** seem more distant than ever.

APPENDIX 3

VG – COMPREHENSIVE RESULTS TRANSLATED FROM NORWEGIAN:

I. Word level

A. Referential function

1. De-lexicalisation

30 December:
Nature:
'Death wave'

8 January:
Officials:
The journalist's description: 'a delegate of American senators and several
                                        representatives'
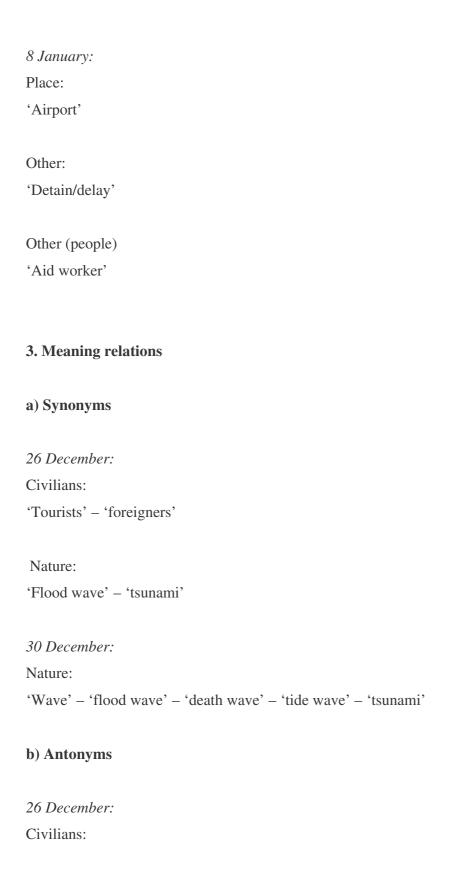An anonymous diplomat's description: 'VIP's'

2. Over-lexicalisation

26 December:
Nature:
'Flood wave' or tsunami
'Earthquake' or 'quake'

30 December:
Nature:
'Water'/'water masses'/'masses'
'Wave'

8 January:

Place:

'Airport'

Other:

'Detain/delay'

Other (people)

'Aid worker'

3. Meaning relations

a) Synonyms

26 December:

Civilians:

'Tourists' – 'foreigners'

 Nature:

'Flood wave' – 'tsunami'

30 December:

Nature:

'Wave' – 'flood wave' – 'death wave' – 'tide wave' – 'tsunami'

b) Antonyms

26 December:

Civilians:

'Tourists'/'foreigners' – 'locals'

c) Hyponyms

30 December:
Nature:
'Water': 'wave' – 'flood wave', 'death wave' – 'tide wave'

4. Metaphors

30 December:
Nature:
1. 'The flood wave was this strong'
2. 'The first death wave attacked Sri Lanka'
3. 'The water pulled back from the beach (before the next wave hit the shore)'
4. 'Before the next wave hit the shore'
5. 'If the coast is as flat as a toad the water will go hundreds of metres up on shore.'
6. 'The water masses ravaged the Kalutara area'
7. 'The water pulled back from the beach as much as 343 metres'

8 January:
Other:
8. 'The stream of delegates from different countries'

B. Interpersonal function

1. Who/what does the text show solidarity with?

26 December:
The text focuses on hard facts, and mainly the flood wave in Thailand.

- One local inhabitant of Banda Ache is quoted directly; this could create solidarity by personifying the masses.

30 December:

The news story is occupied with the tsunami as a natural phenomenon, and its powers. The voices that are heard are those of two scientists, namely one is labelled a 'wave expert' and another who is referred to as 'a flood wave expert'.
- One of the experts talk about circumstances for victims of a tsunami, but by using general words such as 'people', 'many' etc, no explicit solidarity is shown.

8 January:

The article promotes the voices of people who express concern about whether 'officials' are favoured in a manner that risks the lives of ordinary people.
- An anonymous diplomat is quoted: 'VIPs come to see the destruction, and after them comes the help'

C. Expressive function

1. Are there any evaluative words?

26 December:
1. 'The quake was measured to **as much as** 8.5 on the Richter scale, according to US Geological Survey'

30 December:
2. Here you can see the **violent** forces.
3. The water pulled back from the beach **as much as** 343 metres.
4. The earthquake that triggered the flood wave, had a **much more powerful** energy than the nuclear bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima.
5. 'The stream had a **violent** force'
6. The **aggressive** water masses.

7. The water masses (…) brought **enormous destructions**.

8. The **violent** earthquake.

9. 'The picture looks **dramatic**'

10. 'It shows how **chaotic** the situation in the area was'

11. 'Local conditions probably have **great significance** for the appearance of the water masses'

12. The longitude of the waves is what makes the tsunami waves so **dangerous**.

13. 'The wave is like a **very fast** tide wave.'

14. 'If the coast is **as flat as a toad.**'

15. The tsunami that struck Asia was **lethal**.

16. 'The returning stream can be **as harmful as** an incoming wave'

17. 'This water will have **a very powerful** current'

18. The **very high** number of deceased.

19. 'It is **very common** that the deceased are not found after a tsunami'

20. The water masses **ravaged** the Kalutara area.

21. The next wave hit the shore **mercilessly**.

8 January:

22. Aid workers are **worried**.

23. 'Queues in the airport delay **critical** help supplies.'

24. 'I think they need to coordinate this **better.**'

25. 'A diplomat described the situation as **difficult**'

26. More than 6000 people are **feared** dead.

27. **Desperate** people are fighting for supplies.

II. Grammatical level

A. Referential function

1. Are there nominalisations?

26 December:

1. 'One **dead**, (four missing after flood wave in Thailand')

2. 'Four **missing** after flood wave in Thailand'

30 December:

3. 'The work of finding and identifying the very high number of deceased is going on'

8 January:

4. 'Delaying the **aid process'**

5. 'A**ir transportation** of aid relief'

6. 'It must handle dozens of **flights** every day'

7. 'India's Prime minister Manmohan Singh has started his **tour**'

8. 'Dr. Vikram Tirkey is waiting for **permission** to start the rescue work on the Andaman islands'

2. Are the sentences active or passive?

26 December:

Passive sentences

1. 'Tourists were supposedly pulled out to sea.'

2. 'The flood waves, also called tsunami, were caused by a massive earthquake outside the coast of Indonesia.'

30 December:

Passive sentences

3. 'The first picture was taken in January this year'

4. 'Picture number 2 is taken by a satellite'

5. 'The nuclear bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima'

6. 'The popular tourist area that is being hit by the aggressive water masses'

7. 'The picture is taken at 10.20 local time'

8. 'It is very common with tsunamis that the deceased are not found'

9. 'Many are taken out to sea by water that is running back'

10. 'The first picture is taken prior to the disaster'

8 January:

Passive sentences

11. 'The only airport in Banda Aceh was closed'

12. 'A team from Pakistan with 220 persons of medical and technical personnel was one of many aid teams that were delayed due to Powell's visit to Banda Aceh.

13. 'More than 6000 people are feared dead on the distant islands that were devastated by the tsunami'

14. 'Desperate people are fighting for supplies being loaded off an American Navy Sea Hawk helicopter in Meulaboh'

B. Interpersonal function

1. Who do the pronouns *we* and *you* refer to?

26 December:

'**We** know that four foreigners are missing. **We** are looking for them.'
- said by Thai Vice governor Pongpao Ketthong.

30 December:

'Here **you** can see can see the violent forces of the flood wave'
- written by the journalist as a reference to three large pictures which show the development of the tsunami in the article.

C. Expressive function

1. How does the sender commit to the truth or probability of the referential content of the statements?

26 December:

1. Tourists were **supposedly** pulled out to sea.

30 December:

2. 'Experts *VG* has been in touch with, emphasise that the picture shows the water movements that **can** occur'

3. 'Local conditions **probably** have great significance for the appearance of the water masses'

4. 'The returning stream **can** be as harmful as an incoming wave'

5. 'People who are clinging on to something **must** often give in to the water'

8 January:

6. Supplies **could** not land.

7. Wounded survivors **could** not be evacuated.

8. 'I **think** they **need** to coordinate this better'

9. 'It is a busy airport for rescue work and it **must** handle dozens of flights every day'

APPENDIX 4

THE TIMES – COMPREHENSIVE RESULTS:

I. Word level

A. *Referential function*

1. De-lexicalisation

December 26:
Other:
'A terrorist separatist movement'

December 30:
Nature:
'The threat of new **killer waves**'

Other:
The journalist's description:
'Tsunami alert', 'tsunami and earthquake warning'
The Indian Science and Technology Minister's description:
'The Home Ministry's statement'

January 8:
Places:
'The damage-hit regions'

2. Over-lexicalisation

December 26:

Places:

'Sri Lanka'

'The Maldives'

Civilians:

'Toll'/'death toll'

Nature:

'Tidal wave'/'tsunami'

December 30:

Nature:

'Tsunami'/'killer wave'

'Earthquake/quake'

Other:

'Panic'

January 8:

Places:

'Bali'

Officials:

'Travel agent'/'tour operator'

Other:

'Holiday'

3. Meaning relations

a) Synonyms

December 26:

 Civilians:

'One Briton' – 'a man on holiday'

'British people' – 'Britons'

Nature:

'Tidal wave' – 'tsunami'

Other

'Advising' – 'recommending'

'Trip' – 'travel'

December 30:

Nature:

'Tremors' – 'aftershocks'

'Tsunami' – 'killer wave'

Other:

'Alert' – 'warning' – 'statement'

January 8:

Officials:

'Kuoni' – 'the leading long-haul operator'

b) Antonyms

January 8:

Places:

'South East Asia' – 'other parts of the world'

c) Hyponyms

December 30:
Nature:
'Water': 'wave' – 'flood wave', 'death wave' – 'tide wave'

January 8:
Places:
'The damage-hit regions': 'Thailand', 'Sri Lanka', 'Indonesia', 'the Far East'

Other (people)
'Volunteers': 'doctors', 'nurses', 'teachers'

4. Metaphors

N/A

B. Interpersonal function

1. Who/what does the text show solidarity with?

December 26:
The article is concerned with describing what happened, and where it happened, and the extent of
the disaster in terms of loss of lives. Implicit solidarity for British victims is present.
- Deaths of people are mainly referred to as tolls, and only by numbers.
- British people are the only ones referred to as individuals: 'British people', 'one Briton.

December 30:
The headline: 'Indian tsunami alert causes panic in region', may be said to show solidarity for the
civilian population. The focus on the confusion and panic mixed statements regarding the

tsunami warning caused could be seen as implicit criticism of the divergent information given to civilians.

- Two civilians are named and quoted directly and they both report of total confusion and bad information from officials.

January 8:

This news story is about how the tsunami disaster made British tourists change their holiday destinations, and especially to Bali and Caribbean islands. Mentioned is also that hundreds of British people are volunteering to help with the reconstruction of the stricken areas. Implicit solidarity is shown for the countries that were affected by the tsunami, since tourism is vital in many of these countries.

- A managing director of a travel agency is quoted, saying that: 'in a sick kind of way this could help Bali quite a lot'.

C. Expressive function

1. Are there any evaluative words?

December 26:

1. 'The Foreign Office said it was now **advising** against any travel to the Maldives.'
2. 'It had already been **recommending** that Britons make only essential trips to Sri Lanka.'
3. **Devastation** would have been **worse**.

December 30:

4. Indian tsunami alert causes **panic** in region.
5. 'Jason Ali, said the aftershocks were **around 1,000 times less powerful than Sunday's.**'
6. 'It's probably going to have **negligible** impact,' he said.
7. 'There is **total confusion** here,' said Rohan Bandara.

8. 'They were running and **jostling** to get into the trucks and other vehicles leaving that area,' said a police constable.
9. Gandhimathi, 40, who uses **only** one name.
10. 'We took **only a few** clothes.'
11. 'Kapil Sibal, the Indian Science and Technology Minster said that the Home Ministry's statement was **meant to advise people to remain cautious, not panic**.'
12. 'We are saying **there is a possibility**'

January 8:

13. 'Tour operators **predicted** that the **sudden surge** in demand for Balinese holidays (…)'
14. The **worst** hurricanes **in years**.
15. '**A significant number** of travellers were sticking to their original holiday plans'
16. '**A fair number** of cancellations'
17. 'Paradise has been **tarnished**'
18. 'The Caribbean is proving **exceptionally popular**'
19. 'It's **vital** that people go to these areas'
20. '**In a sick kind of way** this could help Bali **quite a lot**.'
21. 'Tony Champion (…) said that it was still **too early** to tell what the long-term impact on tourism would be but **predicted** the region would bounce back.'
22. '**Unfortunately** this is **just another** in a series of **setbacks** in this region.'
23. 'Sars had been **more damaging** to the industry than the tsunami, he said, because it was **more widespread**, it was **ongoing** and it was **invisible**"'

II. Grammatical level

A. *Referential function*

1. Are there nominalisations?

December 26:

1. '**Devastation** would have been worse'

2. 'Because of **Indonesian efforts** to deal with a terrorist separatist movement'

3. 'However, the structure of the 1,000 plus island country makes **information gathering** difficult'

December 30:

4. 'Indian **tsunami alert** causes panic'

5. 'A fresh **tsunami and earthquake warning** triggered panic in India and Sri Lanka today'

6. 'An **evacuation** of coastal areas'

7. '"There is total **confusion** here," said Rohan Bandara.'

8. 'Because of **the tsunami warning**'

9. '**The Home Ministry's statement**'

January 8:

10. 'The sudden surge in **demand**'

11. 'The **bombing** of a nightclub'

12. 'The reconstruction effort'

13. '"**Applications** have tripled since the disaster"'

14. 'There "have been a fair number of **cancellations**'

15. '**Bookings** for the Far East'

16. '**Bookings** were settling down after an initial slump after the tsunami'

17. 'We've been through **forest fires** in Borneo'

18. ''The **bomb** in Bali'

2. Are the sentences active or passive?

December 26:

Passive sentences

1. 'The toll was put at 9,300.'

2. 'And said to be still rising.'

3. 'The epicentre was reported to be out at sea.'

4. 'The Indonesian death toll was put at 1,900.'

5. 'Worst affected, in terms of death toll, was Sri Lanka.'

6. 'More than 4,500 were estimated to have died on the Southern and Eastern coasts.'

7. 'In Thailand 198 deaths were confirmed.'

8. 'So far only one Briton has been confirmed dead.'

9. 'No other deaths had been confirmed at 6pm London time from the Maldives.'

December 30:

Passive sentences

10. 'An estimated 5.7 magnitude underwater earthquake was recorded by the Hong Kong observatory at 5am.'

11. 'Additional tremors were felt in Thailand and Burma.'

12. 'Instructions that were heard on radios in Sri Lanka.'

13. 'Indian authorities have been told to bar people from getting within 2 kilometres (1.25 miles) of the coastline.'

January 8:

14. 'The Caribbean, parts of which were devastated by the worst hurricanes in years last summer'

15. 'Around half of them have the professional skills that will be needed out there'

16. 'Paradise has been tarnished'

B. Interpersonal function:

1. Who do the pronouns *we* and *you* refer to?

December 30:

'**We** got into a truck and fled. **We** do not know where to go or where to spend the night. **We** took only a few clothes and left behind all of our belongings, everything **we** had. They do not know when **we** will be able to go back,' she said.
- said by Gandhimathi, a civilian woman.

'**We** have not said tsunamis will hit again. **We** are saying there is a possibility and **we** should take all precautions,' he told Star News Television.
- said by the Indian Science and Technology Minister.

C. Expressive function

1. How does the sender commit to the truth or probability of the referential content of the statements?

December 26:
1. Devastation **would** have been worse.
2. The coastal areas were not packed with visitors in the way they **would** have been later in the day.

December 30:
3. 'Experts said the aftershocks **would** not be strong enough.'
4. 'Jason Ali, said the aftershocks were around 1,000 times less powerful than Sunday's and **probably** not big enough to produce tsunamis.'
5. 'It's **probably** going to have negligible impact,' he said.
6. 'We **should** take all precautions.'

January 8:
7. 'Tour operators predicted that the sudden surge in demand for Balinese holidays in particular **may** help to resuscitate the island's tourist industry.'
8. The Caribbean (…) and Red Sea resorts (…) were the other areas **most likely** to benefit.'

9. 'This **could** help Bali quite a lot.'

10. 'Tony Champion (…) said that it was still too early to tell what the long-term impact on tourism **would** be but predicted the region **would** bounce back.'

APPENDIX 5

THE *SUN* – COMPREHENSIVE RESULTS:

I. Word level

A. *Referential function*

1. De-lexicalisation

December 26:
Places:
'Quake-hit zone'

December 30:
Civilians:
'Western survivors'

Nature:
'This huge wave'
'I just saw this wall of water'

2. Over-lexicalisation

December 26:
Officials:
'Britain's Department of International Development' (DFID)
Different types of 'teams'

December 30:

Civilians:

'Mr Ravindra'

'Dead bodies'

Other:

'A lot of'/'lots of'

'Train'

January 8:

Civilians:

'Brits' or 'British'

3. Meaning relations

a) Synonyms

December 26:

 Civilians:

'Survivors' – 'people'

Nature:

'Tidal wave' – 'tsunami wave'

Other

'Aid' – 'help' – 'rescue'

b) Antonyms

N/A

c) Hyponyms

December 30:

Civilians:

'Western survivors': 'Mr Ravindra', 'a Swedish woman called Karina', 'two other Swedish tourists', 'a Western man'

4. Metaphors

December 30:

Nature:

1. 'A wall of water'

Other:

2. 'His second brush with death'

January 8:

Other:

3. 'My heart goes out to all'

B. Interpersonal function

1. Who/what does the text show solidarity with?

December 26:

This news story is about how British official powers are contributing with aid to the disaster. The headline 'Aid sent to quake-hit zone' sets the standard. Solidarity is thus implicitly shown by focusing on Britain's contribution. Sri Lanka and the Maldives are mentioned specifically.

- Secretary of State for International Development Hilary Benn is quoted expressing his sympathy for the victims and stating that: 'We are doing all we can to offer practical help and support.'

December 30:

The article resembles a personal narrative, told partly by the British tsunami survivor Mr Ravindra and partly by the journalist. Solidarity is mainly shown for this particular British survivor.

- Expressions such as 'one of only five Western survivors' implicitly gives away where the solidarity lies. Also a Swedish woman and two other Swedish tourists are mentioned.
- Only one sentence in the entire story says anything about the local population.

January 8:

The article is about how many British people who have died in the tsunami disaster, and a comparison is made to the Second World War, and how this is the worst catastrophe since then. Solidarity for British victims and relatives of the victims is shown.

- British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw is quoted: 'My heart goes out to all those who face this terrible and, I fear, continuing fate.'
- The journalist writes: 'The British tsunami toll has more than doubled to 440? [sic] making it **our** worst catastrophe since the Second Word [sic] War.' By using the pronoun 'our', the journalists include themselves as Britons, showing explicit solidarity for their own people.

C. Expressive function

1. Are there any evaluative words?

December 26:

1. 'It's clear that many people have lost their lives in this **terrible tragedy**'
2. 'We are doing **all we can**.'

December 30:

3. A British man told today of his **dramatic** escape.
4. 'Mr Ravindra told he had **clambered** through waters filled with dead bodies'
5. A **serious** car accident.
6. 'I heard **lots of** screaming.'

7. 'I (…) saw **lots of** women.'

8. '**This huge** wave comes and hits the train.'

9. 'There were **lots of** children.'

10. 'There were **lots of** dead bodies everywhere, **lots of** children.'

11. 'I thought it was **just** a freak tide.'

12. 'The **most frightening** aspect was when I saw the second wave coming.'

13. 'There was **a lot of** screaming.'

14. 'I **just** saw this wall of water.'

15. 'There were **a lot of** Sri Lankan people there as well.'

16. 'There was **a lot of** dead bodies.'

17. 'I lacerated my leg **quite badly.**'

18. Mr Ravindra's mother, a devout Hindu.

19. 'His **dramatic** escape from the train at Hikkaduwa.''

20. 'A car accident in 1998 which left him **seriously** injured'

21. 'I **feel** he's **very lucky**'

January 8:

22. The British tsunami toll has more than doubled to 440 making it our **worst catastrophe** since the Second Word [sic] War'

23. Foreign Secretary Jack Straw announced the **grim** news yesterday in Thailand.

24. 'It is hoped a large percentage of those are alive.'

25. 'A black-suited Mr Straw (…) **warned** relatives that some victims may never be identified'

26. 'My heart goes out to all those who face this **terrible** and, I **fear**, **continuing fate**'

II. Grammatical level

A. Referential function

1. Are there nominalisations?

December 26:

1. '**International rescue and aid operations**'

2. '**Search and rescue operations**'

December 30:

3. 'His dramatic **escape**'

4. 'I heard lots of **screaming**'

5. 'There was a lot of **screaming**'

6. 'And then **the screaming**'

7. 'And **the shouting**'

8. 'I stated my **intention**'

9. 'After receiving **treatment** from Buddhist monks'

10. 'His dramatic **escape**'

January 8:

11. 'Most Brits **dead** since war'

2. Are the sentences active or passive?

December 26:

Passive sentences

1. 'Aid sent to quake-hit zone'

2. 'International rescue and aid operations were launched today'

3. 'The countries hit by the tsunami'

December 30:

Passive sentences

4. 'A train hit by the tsunami'

5. 'After receiving treatment from Buddhist monks'

January 8:

Passive sentences

6. 'Most of the British victims were swept away'

7. 'It is hoped a large percentage of those are alive'

B. Interpersonal function

1. Who do the pronouns *we* and *you* refer to?

December 26:

'**We** are doing all **we** can to offer practical help and support.'

'**We** have already agreed to help fund the World Health Organisation's response team and **we** are looking to see if **we** can charter civilian helicopters to help in search and rescue operations in Sri Lanka.'

- said by Secretary of State for International Development Hilary Benn.

C. Expressive function

1. How does the sender commit to the truth or probability of the referential content of the statements?

December 26:

1. 'We are **looking to see if** we can charter civilian helicopters.'

December 30:

2. 'Shenth Ravindra, 25, from Crawley, Sussex, **believes** he **may** be one of only five Western survivors.'

3. 'I think another wave **might** come.'

4. 'The house **might** collapse'

January 8:

5. 'Some victims **may** never be identified.'